HCF AJC-ny-Lukas

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

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RECEIVED JAN 5 1956

January 3, 1956

Marion A. Wright, Esq.
President
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wright:

I was delighted to receive from you the other day your very kind letter expressing these warm sentiments.

I feel as though my own contribution to the desegregation battle has indeed been feeble. Both my distance from the scene of the battle, as well as the limitations -- organisational and personal -- which are imposed on our activities have militated so far against any more vigorous participation. However, we are eager to move more deeply into the situation, in whatever manner seems most appropriate; and our determination, as of now, is to locate and enter those aspects of the problem in which we can be most effective.

I take this occasion to extend to you the greetings of the season.

Sincerely yours,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig
cc: George Mitchell

261
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FR

JOINT MEMORANDUM

RECEIVED FEB 16 1956

For your info

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N.Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
of B'NAI B'RITH
515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.

TO: CRC Offices
AJC Area Offices
ADL Regional Offices

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Theodore Leskes

DATE: January 6, 1956

SUBJECT: Ban on racial segregation on Illinois common carriers

Digest: The Illinois Commerce Commission on its own motion on December 21 ordered all common carriers of passengers within the State of Illinois to cease and desist forthwith from any segregation in the transportation of passengers.

On December 21, 1955 the Illinois Commerce Commission on its own motion ordered all common carriers in the State of Illinois to cease and desist from any form of segregation in connection with the transportation or carriage of passengers within the State of Illinois.

The full text of the order follows:

By the Commission:

WHEREAS, it has come to the attention of the Commission that various common carriers operating within the State of Illinois are practicing segregation in the transportation and carriage of passengers within the State of Illinois contrary to the provisions of the statutes and the Public Utilities Act.

NOW, THEREFORE, IT IS HEREBY ORDERED AND DIRECTED that all common carriers of passengers within the State of Illinois forthwith cease and desist from any form of segregation in connection with the transportation and/or carriage of passengers within the State of Illinois.

By order of the Commission at Springfield, Illinois, this 21st day of December, 1955.

(Signed) FREDERICK B. RESAG

(SEAL) SECRETARY

No. 144

JOINT MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 Fourth Avenue - New York 16, N.Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 Madison Avenue - New York 22, N.Y.

TO: CRC Offices
AJC Area Offices
ADL Regional Offices

FROM: Theodore Leskes and Sol Rabkin

DATE: January 16, 1956

SUBJECT: Davis v. St. Louis Housing Authority

DIGEST: U.S. District Court enjoins St. Louis Housing Authority from maintaining racial segregation in any of its public housing projects.

On December 27, 1955 the U.S. District Court (Eastern Division of the Eastern Judicial District of Missouri) ordered the City of St. Louis and the St. Louis Housing Authority to end their practice and policy of racial segregation in the public housing projects under their jurisdiction, management or control. The decision came in an action by a group of Negroes who claimed to have been excluded, solely because of their race and color, from certain low-cost housing developments erected and to be erected in the City of St. Louis.

The decision, handed down by U.S. District Judge George H. Moore, found that the plaintiffs were in desperate need of decent, safe and sanitary housing, that they qualified for public housing; that the City of St. Louis and the St. Louis Housing Authority, with the aid of the Public Housing Authority, have cleared slums in certain areas of the city and have constructed several low-rent, public housing projects; that such projects are erected in part with local tax-raised funds and in part with grants or assistance from the federal authorities; and that the defendants have adopted and maintained a policy of complete racial segregation in the assignment of public housing accommodations.

On the basis of these findings of fact the Court concluded that:

> The resolution, policy, custom, usage, conduct and practice of defendants in refusing to lease to plaintiffs ... and other eligible Negro applicants similarly situated, certain units of public housing under their administration, control and managment in accordance with a policy of racial segregation is a violation of the Constitution and laws of the United States.

The Court thereupon ordered the City of St. Louis and the St. Louis Housing Authority to end their policy and practice of maintaining racial segregation in the public housing developments under their control and jurisdiction. They were also enjoined from refusing to lease or rent public housing accommodations to qualified Negroes on the grounds of race or color.

TL/SR:ag

No. 144

JOINT MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N.Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.

TO: CRC Offices
ADL Regional Offices
AJC Area Offices

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Theodore Leskes

DATE: January 17, 1956

DIGEST: The Attorney General of Minnesota, has ruled that under the Minnesota Fair Employment Practices Act, the press may not be present at sessions at which the Commission is receiving information, discussing or acting upon specific complaints until the conciliation process has been completed.

In a ruling dated December 21st, Attorney General Miles Lord of the State of Minnesota advised Mrs. Eugenie Anderson, Chairman of the Minnesota Fair Employment Practices Commission, that the Fair Employment Practices Law prohibits the disclosure by the Commission to the press of any information concerning its efforts in a particular case to eliminate an unfair employment practice through education, conference, conciliation or persuasion until the conciliation process has been completed.

The ruling was handed down in response to a request for an opinion from the Chairman of the Fair Employment Practices Commission. The request arose out of possible ambiguity in the language of the Minnesota Act dealing with conciliation and persuasion. Subdivision 6 of Section 8 of the Minnesota Law reads as follows:

> "The commission may publish an account of a case in which the complaints has been dismissed or the terms of settlement of a case that has been voluntarily adjusted. Except as provied in other sections of this act, the commission shall not disclose any information concerning its efforts in a particular case to eliminate an unfair employment practice through education, conference, conciliation and persuasion." (Emphasis supplied)

This does not make clear whether representatives of the press could be present at sessions at which the Commission is receiving information, discussing, or acting upon specific complaints, and whether such information could be given to the press by Commission members or staff before the conciliation process was completed.

The Attorney General, after careful consideration of the statute, found that it was the intention of the Legislature to forbid any disclosure of information gathered by the Commission until after the process of conciliation had been completed. He pointed out that one basis for success in eliminating unfair employment practices by conciliation "is the feeling of freedom on the part of the parties to discuss the various difficulties involved in the particular situation without the fear of possible public disclosure and

the effects thereof." The Attorney General added that the presence of the press when information was being received prior to conciliation "would serve as an inhibiting influence preventing the full effectiveness of the education, conference, conciliation and persuasion process."

The Attorney General went on to emphasize that "the right of representatives of the press to be present at Commission sessions is one which ought to be rarely restricted." But in the case of information accumulated prior to completion of the conciliation process, he found that the Legislature had intended that such data should not be made available to the press during the pendency of conciliation.

SR/TL:RAD

No. 146

JOINT MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N.Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 Madison Avenue - New York 22, N.Y.

TO: CRC Offices
ADL Regional Offices
AJC Area Offices

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Theodore Leskes

DATE: January 18, 1956

SUBJECT: Educational Activities of the Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights

DIGEST:

During the past two years, the Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights has addressed letters to all new employers in the State of Connecticut, to Connecticut newspapers, to housing authorities, to police chiefs, to taverns, restaurants, bars, etc. holding liquor licenses, to barbershops and barbers, to hospitals, to hairdressers and cosmetologists, to convalescent homes and homes for the aged, and to dentists, advising them of the existence of the law against discrimination, and of their duty to comply with that law.

It has just come to our attention that the Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights, since September 1953, has addressed letters to various groups which are subject to the Connecticut Law Against Discrimination, advising them of the provisions of the law and offering the Commission's assistance in insuring compliance with the statute. Since 1954, the Commission has mailed to all new employers in the State of Connecticut, on a semi-annual basis, a letter advising such employers that if they employ 5 or more persons, they are subject to the provisions of the Connecticut Fair Employment Practice Act. A copy of the Act is enclosed with the letter and the letter also offers the recipient any additional information he may seek concerning the law's operation.

On October 18, 1955, the Commission advised all Connecticut newspapers that an amendment to the Fair Employment Practices Act, adopted by the General Assembly effective October 1, 1955, makes it unlawful for any employer, employment agencies, labor organization or person to advertise for employment in such a manner as to restrict such employment so as to discriminate against individuals because of their race, color, religious creed, national origin or ancestry. The letter concludes with a statement that the recipient newspaper will want to pass this information on to those advertisers who may not be aware of the statute.

On the same date, the Connecticut Commission addressed a letter to all housing authorities administering both public and publicly-assisted housing in the State of Connecticut, advising them that the Connecticut Law Against Discrimination

was amended, effective October 1, 1955, to authorize the Commission on Civil Rights to initiate complaints involving discrimination in such housing whenever the Commission has reason to believe that the law against discrimination was being violated in public or publicly assisted housing. With the letter was enclosed a copy of the law and the new amendment. The letter closed with a request for the cooperation of the housing authorities in carrying out the new law.

On December 1, 1955, a letter was sent jointly by the Recorder of the Connecticut State Dental Commission and the Chairman of the Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights to all dentists in the State of Connecticut. This letter called the attention of the recipients to the fact that the Connecticut Public Accommodations Statute contains provisions barring discrimination on the basis of race, creed or color by any establishment which caters or offers its services or facilities to the general public. The letter concludes by pointing out that a dentist may accept patients on the basis of the nature of the professional services he offers to the general public, but he may not deny his services to any person solely by reason of race, creed or color.

On November 17, 1954, a letter was sent jointly by the Chairman of the Commission on Civil Rights and the State Commissioner of Health to all owners of convalescent homes and homes for the aged, calling their attention to the fact that the Connecticut Public Accommodations Statute barred discrimination by any establishment which offered its services to the general public. The letter, like the letter sent to dentists, stated that such homes may set standards for the acceptance of aged persons, but these standards could not legally include race, creed or color. The services of such homes which solicit patronage from the general public must be made available to all persons without discrimination because of race, creed or color.

In September 1953, two similar letters were sent by the Commission on Civil Rights, one to all police chiefs in the State and the other to all taverns, restaurants, etc., which had permits for dispensing alcoholic beverages from the State Liquor Control Commission. The letter to police chiefs called their attention to the recently amended public accommodations law barring discrimination on the basis of race, creed or color by places of public accommodation, and making such discrimination a misdemeanor. The letter went on to state that persons so discriminated against might summon a police officer to their help. The letter, therefore, requested the police chiefs to advise all their officers of the change in the law. The letter to taverns and restaurants holding liquor licenses, advised the recipients that their places of business are places of public accommodation under the Connecticut law and offered the recipient any additional information he might wish concerning the operation of the law.

On September 15, 1953, two letters went out jointly over the signatures of the Chairman of the Commission on Civil Rights and the State Commissioner of Health. One such letter went to all hairdressers and cosmetologists and the other went to all hospitals in the state. These letters called the attention of the recipients to the law against discrimination in places of public accommodation and stated that an operator of the type of establishment named might legally set standards for the acceptance of clients but these standards could not lawfully include race, creed or color.

Finally, on the same day, a letter went out jointly over the signature of the Chairman of the Commission on Civil Rights and the State Barber Examiner to all barbershops and barbers in the State. This letter, like the others, informed the

recipients of the law against discrimination in places of public accommodation and advised them that while the managers of such establishments might set standards for the acceptance of clients, these standards could not legally include race, creed or color, nor could the standards set up operate as a device to exclude members of a particular racial or religious group.

These letters served to bring home to the operators of many types of places of public accommodation in the State of Connecticut that there is a law against discrimination based on race, creed or color in the state, and that they must comply with that law or face the risk of a possible prosecution under the law and even possible loss of their licenses.

SR/TL:mwr

No. 147

February 21, 1955

Mr. Will Maslow
American Jewish Congress
Fifteen East Eighty-Fourth Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Mr. Maslow:

I would appreciate fifteen more copies of your "Model Bill to Create a State Commission on Group Relations," and the digest of it.

to A H.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

Encl - 15¢ postage.

February 27, 1956

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

Here in ready print is the map you want. I get it to you ahead of time for our conference Thursday afternoon, March 1.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

Encl.

John:

GSM would like you to answer questions 2 & 3, and have answers ready by Thursday morning - for Ed Lukas' visit Thursday afternoon.

bf

RECEIVED FEB 25 ...3

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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JESSE H. STEINHART, *San Francisco, Vice- President*
ALAN M. STROOCK, *New York, Vice-President*

February 23, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

As matters stand now, I plan to arrive in Atlanta at about 12 noon (Eastern Airlines Flight No. 517) on Thursday, March 1. I will call you soon after my arrival and arrange to meet you at your office. I may want to go over to New Orleans that very evening, so will only have a few hours to spend in your city.

However, it occurred to me, in preparation for our discussion, you might want to know broadly some of the aspects of the desegregation problem in which I will be interested, ~~in~~ in preparation for my meetings in New Orleans.

1. It would be enormously helpful to us if I could take away with me a map indicating the density of Negro population in the deep South (county by county, if possible; otherwise, city by city and state by state).

2. I would be very interested in knowing some further and late details concerning the anti-Semitic manifestations thus far exhibited by the White Citizens' Councils and other individuals and groups. (I don't know whether you have seen the reprint of the Desmond pieces that appeared in the Daily News here; I enclose a copy.)

3. I would be curious to know something of the strength the new Eastland group (the Federation for Constitutional Government) is picking up around the South, and whether it has attracted the "respectables" in significant numbers; also your views concerning its impact on the South.

There are a few other matters which I will want to discuss with you, but you will need little or no preparation for them.

I look forward to seeing you, and send you and Harold Fleming my warm regards.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig
enc.

Mr. Edwin K. Lukas,
American Jewish Committee,
386 Fourth Avenue,
New York 16, NEW YORK.

March 6th, 1956.

Dear Ed:

It was good to see you the other afternoon. I hope your New Orleans meeting had a rewarding outcome.

You may recall my mention of the New York Times (or other) story reporting the official Soviet reaction to the Supreme Court ruling of May 1954. Unaccountably, though I remember it well, we don't seem to have the clipping. If you have a copy which you could share with us, we will greatly appreciate it. I am also looking forward to seeing your summary of foreign reaction to the Miss Lucy case.

I have a guilty feeling that I was in an unjustifiably negative mood when we had our all-too-brief conversation. Please chalk it up to transient weariness and give us another opportunity soon to plan together.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:rl.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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MRS. CAROLINE K. SIMON, *New York, Vice-President*
JESSE H. STEINHART, *San Francisco, Vice- President*
ALAN M. STROOCK, *New York, Vice-President*

March 9, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I send to you herewith a photostat of a piece that appeard in the New York Post on June 23, 1954, quoting Izvestia on the desegregation decision of the Supreme Court. It's the only story of the kind that we seem to be able to find, but it will serve your purpose admirably. I do not know how you plan to use it, but it might not be a bad idea to offer it to the press generally, in a release from the SRC. Perhaps this is as good a time as any to remind the country of the Soviet attitude toward the decision.

By no means feel guilty concerning your "negative mood" during our meeting the other day. I marvel at your and George's patience in dealing with the hot problems that confront you. The New Orleans meeting served to confirm the discouragement both of you felt when I discussed the Southern situation with you. The situation is indeed serious, and I think that we are prepared to become more active than we have been.

I trust I shall see something of you and George soon. Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig
enc.

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas,
The American Jewish Committee,
386 Fourth Avenue,
New York 16, N. Y.

March 13th, 1956.

Dear Ed:

Thanks so much for the photostat of the UP article quoting Izvestia on the desegregation decision. With a few changes, it could easily pass as the comment of some of our demagogues. We certainly want to revive this significant parallelism.

We had a good visit from Seymour Samet the other day. I was much impressed with his idea of seeking the establishment of a Department of Integration within the U.S. Office of Education. We also discussed the desirability of the Administration quietly using its influence with top business and industrial leaders in the South. I hope you will find ways to give both of these ideas a boost.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director.

HCF:rl.

From the desk of . . . .

SEYMOUR SAMET
Area Director

To: Fred Routh

I am sure you will be interested in the attached.

Seymour

SOUTHEAST AREA OFFICE
American Jewish Committee
Metropolitan Bldg.
Miami, Fla.
Tel.: 82-4984

THE PLACE OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE IN EDUCATION

Opie L. Shelton, Executive Vice-President, Baton Rouge Chamber of Commerce before Southern Association of Chamber of Commerce Executives, Shreveport, March 20, 1956

Traditionally, this subject of the place of the Chamber of Commerce in the field of education has concerned itself with B-E Days, E-B Days, Career Opportunity Days, Teacher Welcomes and all of the dozens of worthwhile programs such as you and I have been helping to sponsor over the years. We took our cue from the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, which, in my opinion, has done more to encourage an interest in our educational processes than has any other single American group.

All of our efforts have played an important role in helping to stimulate better education in the various communities we serve.

The basic justification for most of our efforts in the field of education has been the economics involved. We proved to ourselves that good education is good business. And since a chamber's prime purpose is the strengthening of the economy of the area it serves, education has occupied a leading position on most chamber's program of work.

But the Supreme Court's decision concerning the integration of our schools may have knocked our time-honored programs into a cocked hat.

Fifteen years ago no one would have thought of picking up a magazine or a newspaper and reading a mention of syphilis or gonorrhea. Talk of such things just wasn't proper. To much the same degree we in chambers of commerce over the South have avoided any mention of the words segregation or integration.

We may as well meet the subject head on. The South faces a crisis such as it has not met in its lifetime. Paramount in this complex situation are our schools. The question: where do we go from here?

Leave the sociological aspects of this situation to the trained sociologist and anthropologist. We are not qualified in that field. Let's explore for a few minutes, however, the economic aspects which are presented.

Over the years we have described our job as being one of creating new dollars for our community, with no particular interest in who were the principal beneficiaries. We have said that our job was that of upgrading the economic level of all of the people of that area in which we labored. And, for the most part, we have been successful in our efforts.

Incidents already left in the wake of the Supreme Court decision makes it crystal-clear that it is the business man of the South, such as you and I represent, who is to be the one caught in the economic squeeze that threatens.

Already there have been cases of boycott, Negro against white, white against Negro, and even white against white. Falstaff beer lost a large part of its business in Mississippi when it was publicized that in April of 1945, before the Supreme Court decision, Falstaff bought a $500 life membership in the NAACP for one of its Negro salesmen in St. Louis. A similar boycott hit Philip Morris cigarettes because of that company's purported assistance to interracial causes. Ford Motor Company has felt the heat. Ford's offense, in the eyes of many Southerners, is its indirect contribution through the Ford Foundation and the Fund for the Republic to interracial groups. Hart's Bakeries, of Memphis,

suffered a 6% to 10% loss of business when an anti-integration group accused the company of donating $50,000 to the NAACP. The bakery denied the accusation, but the harm was already done.

One Coca-Cola bottler is being boycotted by Negroes because of his refusal to service a Negro retailer while the whites of the same community are urging a boycott of the same firm because Coca-Cola employs Negroes in its TV programs and advertising. The boycott of the Montgomery bus system by Negroes is one of the most publicized of the current boycotts. A similar boycott in my own city of Baton Rouge some three years ago all but broke the back of our bus company.

It may be true that these are but isolated incidents. But what guarantee does your local business man member have that the malignancy won't spread and that eventually he too will become a victim? He may not be saying this out loud, but naturally he is apprehensive.

Extremists on both sides have been those most quoted in the press during all of this internecine warfare. It is rare that a calm voice has emerged from the turmoil. Because this is a subject which reaches deep into the hearts and minds of men and because it appears to be so absolutely devoid of solution it isn't easy to interject dispassionate thinking.

But think we must. Failure to find a solution to the present chaos presents alternatives which threaten our very future. Failure of solution can bring about such catasthropic events as the very abandonment of our public school system. Failure could even lead to bitter bloodshed and economic collapse.

So why pretend any longer that we can merely continue to stage an occasional B-E Day or an E-B Day and thereby discharge our responsibility to our educational systems. The tempo of present day events demands that, distasteful though it may be, we look and look well for the best possible solution to the present and omnipresent turmoil.

When any other matter of extreme importance faces our community to whom do we turn for counsel and advice? Why, to the best thought leaders of our community, of course. To the type of men who make up your board of directors and mine. It is they who are always charged with coming up with a solution to the many vexing problems which beset community life. Why, then, should we now have them abdicate their community responsibility because of the explosiveness of this problem?

It is my sincere belief that the greatest single contribution we who serve Southern Chambers of Commerce can make is to work at the individual community level to help ameliorate a situation which so far has been pretty well left up to the extremists of both sides.

I say on the local level because it is obvious that the same solution doesn't pertain to any two cities. That which will work in Baton Rouge would probably never serve as a guide in Greenville, Mississippi. Nor would the Greenville solution serve as a model for any other city.

I use the word "solution" because of the lack of a better word in my vocabulary. There is really <u>no</u> solution, but there has to be a BEST WAY to do everything.

The time to decide upon that BEST WAY is not when incidents occur which will impair the best thinking of our community leaders. It is now, <u>before</u> your city and mine feels the full impact of that which promises to lie ahead. I can't

help but believe that there are men of both races in every community who are men of reason and who abhor that which has resulted from the Supreme Court's decision on the integration of schools. But if they are reluctant to speak out then we must accept that which follows without protest.

Boycotts, economic reprisals, the possibility of abandoning our public schools, incidents of violence, irresponsible statements -- these are new factors which will now be given consideration by industry and business when they consider a Southern location, each to varying degrees.

Do you not agree, then, that the economics involved require that these are matters worthy of consideration by our boards of directors? Are we to look upon this serious situation believing that it will disappear if only we pay it no heed? Or are we going to: first, admit that an economic threat exists, and second, face up to the problem, using the best brains our community affords.

That to me, in this year of our Lord nineteen hundred and fifty-six is the place of the Chamber of Commerce in Education.

* * * * *

March 26, 1956

Rabbi Philip F. Bernstein, Rochester Chairman
National Convention Committee
American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Mr. Bernstein:

I expect I shall be in Washington, April 11 and 12 and will come up to New York in the forenoon of April 13. Washington address - Cosmos Club. Nobody need bother to meet me; I know my way around that great city and shall turn up at the Biltmore a few minutes before 2:00 P.M.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

American Jewish Congress

ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN *President*
SHAD POLIER *Chairman Executive Committee*
MAX A. KOPSTEIN *Chairman Administrative Committee*
THELMA RICHMAN *Secretary*
BENJAMIN S. KALNICK *Treasurer*

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DAVID W. PETEGORSKY, *Executive Director*
ISAAC TOUBIN, *Associate Director*

STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE, 15 EAST 84th STREET • NEW YORK 28, N. Y. • TRAFALGAR 9-4500

March 22, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Audobon Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

RECEIVED MAR 26 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Mr. Will Maslow advised me that he had spoken with you about accepting an invitation to participate in our National Biennial Convention on Friday, April 13th, at the Hotel Biltmore in New York City.

We are pleased that you have accepted and will be part of a panel presentation which we hope will help considerably in the clarification of many questions and problems in the minds and hearts of our members.

This symposium will be held on Friday afternoon, April 13th, from 2:00 to 5:00 p.m. at the Hotel Biltmore in New York City. The title is THE JEWISH STAKE IN THE SOUTH. The other participants are: Mr. Harry L. Golden, editor of the Carolina Israelite, and Judge Hubert T. Delany.

We are indeed happy to provide our delegates with an opportunity to listen to a representative of the South who will present the issues and the problems that have created the difficulties and the disturbances which now afflict our democracy.

Please be good enough to advise us of your schedule and arrival and if you have any other questions relating to your role, please feel free to ask for additional information.

Again, thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Philip F. Bernstein

Rabbi Philip F. Bernstein, Rochester
Chairman, National Convention Committee

March 30, 1956

Mr. Robert Gary, Director
Department of Public Relations
American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Mr. Gary:

My value to the convention stems from the fact that I will be coming there out of the then current situation in the South. Our situation varies so rapidly that I hesitate greatly to say now what will be right to say April 13.

One thing I suppose I will be saying is that it has been my experience that people don't really get much out of this life until they organize. And that the meaning of the last two or three years and particularly of events at Montgomery and Orangeburg is that the Negro people are now organizing all the way down. Not formally but in an unanimity of resistance. And that therefore those who suppose they can push Negro people back down again are mistaken. Each Southern community will have to realize it is now dealing with a Negro group different in quality with what they were before. It now becomes needful to meet and deal with responsible Negro persons within a framework of equality and human dignity. Those communities which earliest perceive this and move ahead in this spirit will be the more successful Southern towns.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

American Jewish Congress

ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN *President*

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STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE, 15 EAST 84th STREET • NEW YORK 28, N. Y. • TRAFALGAR 9-4500

March 23, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
South Regional Council
63 Audubon Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED MAR 26 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

In an effort to facilitate press coverage of your talk at our Convention, I would appreciate it if you would submit either the full text of your speech or several paragraphs which I can use for news releases. Although the Convention may still appear to be a long way off, I am sure you realize that time has a nasty habit of sneaking up and surprising us when we least expect it. The sooner I receive your remarks, the sooner I will be able to incorporate them into a news release.

Please remember time is essential. Would you kindly send your statement to me, personally, at the American Jewish Congress.

Sincerely yours,

Robert Gary

Robert Gary, Director
Department of Public Relations

RG:es

April 4, 1956

Rabbi Philip Bernstein, Rochester Chairman
National Convention Committee
American Jewish Congress
15 West 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Rabbi Bernstein:

Many thanks for your letter of March 29. I shan't drain you because somebody else is paying for the trip to your part of the world; I will only charge the AJC for a journey from Washington to New York and back.

Many thanks for the program. Harry Golden is my friend and a member of our Board and I look forward to being there with him.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

American Jewish Congress

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STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE, 15 EAST 84th STREET • NEW YORK 28, N. Y. • TRAFALGAR 9-4500

March 29, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Audobon Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED APR 3 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

In my letter of March 22, I neglected to add the information that the American Jewish Congress will take care of all the expenses that you will incur from your trip to and from New York for your participation in our National Biennial Convention on Friday, April 13.

I take pleasure in enclosing a preliminary program which lists all of the sessions of our convention. As you no doubt can well appreciate, we cannot go to press until sometime later this week with a final printed program because of several changes which have occurred.

As soon as this program is ready, I will send you copies. Please feel free to recommend any suggestions for our program.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Philip S. Bernstein

Rabbi Philip Bernstein, Rochester
Chairman, National Convention Committee

PB:mb
Enc.

October

April 4, 1956

Mr. Will Maslow, Director
Commission on Law and Social Action
American Jewish Congress
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Will:

Much pleased to be asked to be a professor again and to lecture at the New School.

This far ahead nothing whatever interferes with October 2, 1956; and you can count on me to show. Quite all right for the compensation to be expenses alone.

I privately hope that by October 1956 the situation in the South will not be a crisis. So I would vote for softening that scaring title.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

American Jewish Congress

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COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION
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LEO PFEFFER, *Assistant Director*

STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE • 15 East 84th St. • New York 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

March 29, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED MAR 30 1956

Dear George:

The Sidney Hillman Foundation and the New School for Social Research have asked me to arrange the third annual series of Hillman Lectures on Civil Liberty to be given at the New School next Fall. These fifteen talks will be delivered on Tuesday nights from 8:30 to 10:10 p.m. I enclose a bulletin describing last year's course to give you an idea of the variety and quality of our lecturers.

The first 45 minutes of each session will be taped for rebroadcast, probably over Station WNYC, the municipally owned radio station which broadcast the series last year. The remaining 55 minutes is set aside for a question period. The class, which averages about 100, consists for the most part of alert and well-informed adults. Each part of the session is informal.

We should very much like to have you give the second lecture in the series to b e entitled "The Crisis in the South" on Tuesday, October 2, 1956. I know that date is far off but the New School is now preparing its Fall catalogue and would appreciate a prompt reply.

I am asking Roy Wilkins of the NAACP to give the third lecture tentatively titled "Desegregation and Gradualism."

An honorarium of $50 is paid to each guest lecturer but in your case we can pay your travel expenses to and from Atlanta but no additional honorarium.

If either the topic, the title or the date is not satisfactory, would you please telephone me collect at TRafalgar 9-4500 and perhaps we can agree on a date and title that you prefer.

In these confused times, it is important for Northerners to realize that there are liberals in the South who do not believe in segregation and I am sure they will profit by and enjoy hearing you. I hope therefore that you can attend.

Sincerely,

Will

Will Maslow

WM:aw

The Sidney Hillman Lectures

THE CHALLENGE TO LIBERTY

Beginning September 27, 1955

The Sidney Hillman Lectures: 1955-56

THE CHALLENGE TO LIBERTY

WILL MASLOW, *Chairman*

This series is sponsored by the *Sidney Hillman Foundation* as part of its program to perpetuate the ideals of the first president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Tuesdays, 8:30-10:10 P.M. The series: $30 including registration fee. Single admission, $2.35. Registration open now.

An analysis of the most pressing civil liberty problems of our day, viewed in their historical, legal and moral contexts and against the background of the demands of internal security. Ample opportunity will be provided for class discussion. Reading lists and "fact sheets" will be available to registered students.

Sept. 27 **QUINCY HOWE**
Commentator, American Broadcasting Company
The Necessity for Civil Liberty

Oct. 4 **PATRICK M. MALIN**
Executive Director, American Civil Liberties Union
Practical Problems in Defending Civil Liberties

Oct. 11 **FOWLER V. HARPER**
Professor, Yale Law School
The Attorney General's List and the Communist Control Act: Political Grade Labeling

Oct. 18 **OSMOND K. FRAENKEL**
Author, "Our Civil Liberties"
The Fifth Amendment: Inferences and Immunity

Oct. 25 **HARLAN CLEVELAND**
Executive Editor, The Reporter
The Internal Security Program

Nov. 1 **TELFORD TAYLOR**
Author, "The Grand Inquest"
Congressional Investigations: Their Uses and Abuses

Nov. 8 **WILLIAM DURKA**
Specialist in Communications Law
Wiretapping: Dirty Business or Legitimate Self-Defense

Nov. 15 **LEO PFEFFER**
Author, "Church, State and Freedom"
The Attack Upon the Secular Public School

Nov. 22 **EDWARD J. ENNIS**
Chairman, American Immigration Conference
The Attack on the Alien

Nov. 29 **MORRIS ERNST**
General Counsel, American Civil Liberties Union
Censorship: Movies, Pocket books and Comics

Dec. 6 **MILTON KONVITZ**
Professor, Cornell University
Academic Freedom and the Communist Teacher

Dec. 13 **THURGOOD MARSHALL**
Special Counsel, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
The Attack on Segregation

Dec. 20 **ROGER N. BALDWIN**
Chairman, International League for the Rights of Man
The International Protection of Civil Liberties

Jan. 3 **EDMOND CAHN**
Professor of Law, New York University, Author, "The Sense of Injustice" and "The Moral Decision"
Can the Supreme Court Defend Civil Liberties?

Jan. 10 **WILL MASLOW**
Director of the Commission on Law and Social Action and General Counsel, American Jewish Congress
Summary and Conclusions

NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

66 West 12th Street, New York 11, N. Y. Telephone: ORegon 5-2700

For possible changes in speakers and dates, see weekly New School Bulletin.

PLEASE POST

THE NEED TO DEFEND CIVIL LIBERTIES

"The greatest tyranny has the smallest beginnings. From precedents overlooked, from remonstrances despised, from grievances treated with ridicule, from powerless men oppressed with impunity, and over-bearing men tolerated with complaisance, springs the tyrannical usage which generations of wise and good men may hereafter preserve and lament and resist in vain. . . . Hence the necessity of denouncing with unwearied and even troublesome perseverance a single act of oppression. Let it alone, and it stands on record. The country has allowed it, and when it is at last provoked to a late indignation it finds itself gagged with the record of its own compulsion."

(Excerpt from editorial in *LONDON TIMES* of August 11, 1846)

The Sidney Hillman Lectures

THE CHALLENGE TO LIBERTY

Beginning September 27, 1955

THE NEW SCHOOL
66 West 12th Street
New York 11, N.Y.

RECEIVED APR 7 1956

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STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE, 15 EAST 84th STREET • NEW YORK 28, N. Y. • TRAFALGAR 9-4500

April 5, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We are pleased to advise you that the moderator for the panel on "Integration--The Position of the Jewish Community in the South" is Dr. Alfred J. Marrow, National Vice-President of the American Jewish Congress, Chairman of our Commission on Community Interrelations and a noted author and lecturer.

He has asked me to arrange for an informal meeting with the participants of your panel on Friday, April 13th at 1:30 P.M. in the room where the panel will be held, Cafe Moderne, adjacent to the Grand Ballroom.

This will allow you, for at least one-half an hour, to discuss the procedures and handling of the presentations.

Thank you very much. If you have any questions, please feel free to call or write me.

Sincerely yours,

Julius Schatz

Julius Schatz, Secretary
National Convention

JS:mr

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April 5, 1958

Mr. George Mitchell, Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 1-32
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We are pleased to advise you that the modesty for the panel on "Unrestriction--The Political Vice-President in the South" is Dr. Alfred L. Martin, Metiomal Vice-President of the Community Interrelations and a noted author. Chairman of our Community on Community Interrelations and a noted author and lecturer.

He has asked me to arrange for an informal meeting with the participants

BIENNIAL CONVENTION AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

APRIL 12-15, HOTEL BILTMORE, NEW YORK

Thurs., April 12-Opening Session-8 P.M.

Rabbi Philip Bernstein
Brandeis and the American Jewish Community

Dr. Israel Goldstein
AJCongress Points The Way

Gov. Averell Harriman
The Challenge to America

Dr. Robert Serebrenik-World Jewish Congress
Warsaw Ghetto Remembrance

Friday, April 13-Plenary Session-10 A.M.

Reports and Discussions

....

AWARD ~~Luncheon~~ Session - 12 Noon

Presentation of Stephen Wise Award to
Dr. Franz Boehm

....

Panel Discussions - 2 P.M.

Panel One: Religion in Education
Rabbi Morris Adler, Rev. Donald Harrington, Prof. John S. Childs

Panel Two: The Jewish Stake in the South
Judge Hubert Delany, Mr. George Mitchell, Director Southern Regional Council, Mr. Harry Golden, Editor Carolina Israelite

---

Saturday-April 14 - Oneg Shabbat - 2 P.M.

The Return to Judaism
Dr. Theodore Friedman, Dr. Judah Pilch, Dr. Trude Weiss Rosmarin

....

Plenary Session - 8 P.M.

Brandeis-The Jurist
Prof. Edmond Cahn, N.Y.U. Law School

(Sat., April 14 Continued)

Presentation of Stephen Wise Award to
Hon. Simon E. Sobeloff
Solicitor General of the U. S.

Mr. James N. Rosenberg
Vice-Pres. AJC
"Reminiscences of Louis D. Brandeis"

Sunday, April 15-Plenary Sessions -10 AM and 4 P.M.

Resolutions-Discussions-Elections

....

Banquet Session at 7 P.M.

Brandeis - The Zionist
Hon. Abba Eban, Dr. Israel Goldstein
Congressman Hugh Scott

WOMEN'S DIVISION CONVENTION - April 11-12

Wed., April 11 - Luncheon at 12 Noon

America's Responsibility for Peace in the Middle East

Justice Justine Wise Polier, Reuven Shiloah, Minister Plenipotentiary of Israel

....

Panel Discussions 3 to 6 P.M.

Panel One: Community Problems
Dr. Isidor Chein, Rabbi Eugene Lippman
Hon. Sylvia Singer

Panel Two: Equality for All
Rev. Joseph A. De Laine, Harry L. Golden, Charles Abrams, Shad Polier

Panel Three: The Challenge of Assimilation
Dr. Salo Baron, Dr. Peter Neubauer

....

Plenary Session - 8 P.M.

The Right to Knowledge
Agnes Meyer, Hon. Arthur Gray

Thursday, April 12

All day discussion of reports and resolutions - Elections

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

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April 13, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am sorry that it has taken me so long to get to the inquiry in your letter of March 13, in which you comment on Seymour Samet's proposals that a Department of Integration be established within the U.S. Office of Education, and that the Administration seek some way of using its influence with leaders in business and industry.

I am not altogether certain that I understand what the functions of the Department of Integration would be, save, perhaps, to promote the orderly implementation of the Supreme Court decision. Actually, as you know, the U.S. Office of Education engages largely in research, and acts as a resource for school systems when called upon for data or help. I would strongly doubt that intransigent Southern states would seek the help of the Department or, if the latter were to offer its help, that that offer would be accepted.

However, the use of influential business and industrial leaders is something that has been on the top of our heads for a long time. We are more and more persuaded -- as you must be -- that when leadership of the "middle force" is finally found, it will be drawn from the ranks of business and industry, as well as from the churches.

Incidentally, have you thought of reprinting the New York Times piece on the hesitancy of businessmen to expand their operations in the South until tensions have disappeared? This piece should be given wide circulation, unless it was generally reproduced or picked up by other newspapers in the South. If you have not seen that item, of course we will send it to you.

George was here for a few days and performed his usually creditable job, charming and enlightening his audiences.

My warm regards.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

April 17, 1956

Mr. Will Maslow
American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Will:

"Tensions in the South,"
or "Strain in the South," is all right.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

American Jewish Congress

ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN, *President*
SHAD POLIER, *Chairman Executive Committee* — MORTON M. BERMAN, *Chairman Administrative Committee*
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COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION
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STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE • 15 East 84th St. • New York 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

April 9, 1956

RECEIVED APR 11 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. - Rm. 432
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

I am glad that you will be able to make the October 2nd date. What title do you suggest instead of "The Crisis in the South"?

Best regards.

Will

Will Maslow

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

MEMORANDUM

April 18, 1956

TO Robert E. Bondy, Director
National Social Welfare Assembly

FROM Theodore Leskes

SUBJECT The proposed regulation of the Internal Revenue Service with respect to tax-exempt organizations

In 1954 the Congress enacted a completely recodified tax law.[1] That action by Congress necessitated revising and renumbering the old tax regulations and that is the process currently being followed by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue in publishing "proposed" or "tentative" regulations in the Federal Register[2] and inviting the submission of "any data, views, or arguments pertaining thereto."

I. Background

A. In the 1954 recodification of the Internal Revenue Code, Section 101 (6), which enumerated and described the organizations entitled to tax exemption, was edited somewhat and renumbered Section 501 (c)(3). Since the proposed regulation, when finalized and adopted, will be the official interpretation by the Internal Revenue Service of Section 501 (c)(3), a good beginning point for this memorandum would be the text of the section of the Code to be interpreted by the proposed regulations. Subdivision (c) reads as follows:

> (c) List of exempt organizations.- The following organizations are referred to in subsection (a): ***(3) corporations, and any community chest, fund or foundation, organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, testing for public safety, literary, or educational purposes, or for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals, no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual, no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting, to influence legislation, and which does not participate in, or intervene in (including the publishing or distributing of statements), any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office.[3]

---

[1] Cited as the Internal Revenue Act of 1954, Title 26, U.S.C.

[2] 21 F.R. 461, January 21, 1956.

[3] The underscored language is new and was added by the 1954 revision of the section.

B. A second type of tax exemption, provided under subparagraph (4) of Section 501 (c), should not be confused with the tax exemption provided under subparagraph (3). A non-profit organization which is operated exclusively "for the promotion of social welfare" is not required to pay Federal income taxes under subparagraph (4). To that extent it is relieved of certain tax responsibilities and liabilities. However, contributions and donations made to "social welfare" organizations which are exempt from taxes under subparagraph (4) are not deductible from the gross income of the donor on his income tax returns. This is the type of Federal tax exemption that was formerly granted under Section 101 (8) of the old Code.

C. Historically, the Internal Revenue Service has granted Section 101 (8) exemptions to many groups to which it has denied the much more significant exemption afforded to organizations described as "religious, charitable, scientific, literary or educational" under the old Section 101 (6) -- the new Section 501 (c)(3).

II. The Proposed Regulations

A number of obvious and significant changes appear in the proposed regulation interpreting Section 501 (c)(3) when it is contrasted with the old regulation that expounded Section 101 (6).

A. Under the category "General" four tests are set forth for an organization to be entitled to exemption. They are:

(i) It must be organized and operated exclusively for one or more of the specified purposes;

(ii) Its net earnings must not inure in whole or in part to the benefit of private shareholders or individuals;

(iii) It must not by any substantial part of its activities attempt to influence legislation by propaganda or otherwise; and

(iv) It must not participate, or intervene, in any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office.

The "specified purposes" mentioned in the first test are "religious, charitable, scientific, testing for public safety, literary or educational." The second and third tests are unchanged. The fourth test is new and would cause the proposed regulation to conform to the new language of the Code.

A completely new paragraph has been added in the proposed regulation to clarify what is meant by "organized and operated exclusively" for one or more of the enumerated purposes.

> For the purposes of Section 501 (c)(3) an organization is deemed to be formed and operated exclusively for one or more of the purposes specified therein if its principal, primary and predominant purposes, and substantially all of its activities, are devoted to such specified purpose or purposes. Thus, an activity which is in fact incidental, secondary or subservient to an organization's exempt purpose or purposes and which, when weighed against the whole of the activities of the organization, is less than a sub-

> stantial part of the total, will not ordinarily operate to deny exemption. See, however....restrictions upon all political activities.

B. An attempt has been made to give additional examples of activities that bring an organization within the category of "charitable." The relief of "distress, or other conditions of similar public concern" is added to "poverty" as a charitable "purpose" which would tend to bring an organization within the tax exempt class. Also, the proposed regulation expressly recognizes that receipt of payment for services by a hospital "will not necessarily preclude exemption" provided the other requisite tests are met.

C. The most extensive changes, by both deletions and additions, are proposed to be made in that portion of the tentative regulations that defines what activities are "educational." In this connection, we must bear in mind that the Internal Revenue Code itself makes a distinction between the formal type of educational institution (one with a student body, curriculum and faculty) and the informal type.

1. The old regulation contained a sentence that read "an organization formed, or availed of, to disseminate controversial or partisan propaganda is not an educational organization within the meaning of the Code." Later, the Internal Revenue Service found it necessary to add:

> However, the publication of books or the giving of lectures advocating a cause of a controversial nature shall not of itself be sufficient to deny an organization the exemption, if carrying on propaganda, or otherwise attempting to influence legislation forms no substantial part of its activities, its principal purpose and substantially all of its activities being clearly of a nom-partisan, non-controversial, and educational nature.

Both of these sentences are omitted from the proposed regulations. In their place there appears the following language as a description of the kind of "educational" activity that is deemed to warrant tax exemption:

> In the determination of whether an organization is exempt under this section consideration will be given not only to the purposes for which it was organized, and the powers it possesses, but also to the methods of its operation. To qualify as an exempt educational organization the methods employed by it must in fact be educational. Thus, not only the purpose but also the activities of such an organization must be designed to disseminate knowledge and basic factual material rather than unsupported opinion. The fact that an organization has a particular viewpoint, or takes a particular position, with respect to the subject or subjects presented by it, and that it openly advocates such position, will not of itself operate to deny exemption if in its presentation of the subject or subjects there is a full exposition of the facts upon which the advocated position is premised whereby the individual or the public may form independent opinions

> or conclusions based upon a fair presentation of pertinent factual material. Conversely, exemption may not be allowed under this section to an organization whose principal function, accomplished through its publications, lectures, or other media, is the presentation of opinion without pertinent facts which would permit the individual or the public to reach independent and informed conclusions.

2. The old regulation tended to stress that an educational organization was primarily one engaged in improving or developing "the capabilities of the individual." "Under exceptional circumstances" an organization whose primary purpose was the instruction of "the public" could also qualify as educational. Significantly, the proposed regulation omits the phrase "under exceptional circumstances."

3. A completely new paragraph interprets the term "educational" as including an organization that conducts a fair or exposition, provided it (the organization) meets all the other requirements of Section 501 (c)(3). However, if its "primary purpose" is to bring about the "betterment of the conditions of persons engaged in particular pursuits, or the improvement of products," the organization may be denied exemption as an "educational or a scientific organization" within the meaning of the section.

D. An organization formed to test electrical products to determine whether they are safe for use by the general public is cited as an example of an organization that qualifies for exemption under Section 501 (c)(3) as an organization "operated exclusively for...testing for public safety" provided it meets the other three tests set forth above.

E. A wholly new section of the proposed regulation is headed "Proscribed Activities." It deals with "attempting to influence legislation" and "political activities" as two categories of proscribed activities.

In the category "attempting to influence legislation" the proposed regulation states that if substantially all of the activities of an exempt organization are actually devoted to the exempt purposes, "an incidental advocacy of legislation will not operate to deny exemption." The incidental publication of books "which advocate or oppose an issue which is or may be, the subject of legislative concern" is cited as an illustration. This portion of the proposed regulation states that:

> Exemption will be denied if a substantial part of the activities of an organization consists of activities such as the publication or distribution of materials which present but one side of an issue and advocate legislation thereon, or the solicitation of the votes of legislators for or against legislative proposals, or the presentation at political conventions of issues on which legislation is sought.

Although the proposed regulation, like its predecessor, does not state any percentage figure of staff time or agency budget that would be considered "substantial," it does recognize that substantiality can only be measured "in connection with all other activities of the organization."

Under the category "political activities" the proposed regulation would provide that tax exemption <u>will be denied</u> if the organization "participates or inter-

venes in any political campaign on behalf of any candidate for public office" whether such office be national, state or local. The publication or distribution of written or printed statements or the making of oral statements on behalf of a candidate is deemed participation or intervention. The proposed regulation recognizes that the "coincidental advocacy" of a principle or an issue is distinguishable from "the advocacy of the candidacy of an individual."

F. The section of the proposed regulation that describes the type of organizations entitled to exemption under subparagraph (4) of Section 501 (c) has the following significant language:

> If the purpose and methods of operation of an organization which promotes social welfare are such that they meet the requirements of Section 501 (c)(3) and the regulations thereunder such organization may qualify for exemption under Section 501 (c)(3).

This makes it clear that an organization may be engaged in "social welfare" activities which tend to benefit "mankind generally" and still be classified as an "educational organization" entitled to exemption under Section 501 (c)(3) rather than necessarily being relegated to the less valuable exemption under subparagraph (4).

III. The Hearings

Public hearings were held in Washington on April 10, 11 and 12, 1956 by the Internal Revenue Service on the proposed regulations covering tax exempt organizations.

The first day's hearings were concerned with a discussion of churches and their functions. Some disagreement arose over the treatment by the Internal Revenue Service of commercial enterprises run for a profit by certain religious groups, with the profit devoted exclusively for church and church-related activities. There was also some discussion of the fact that the less formally constituted religious groups and organizations sometimes find their related activities disadvantaged as contrasted with the tax benefits enjoyed by similar activities of the more formally organized churches which require clerical supervision and control over all church-related activities. Present at the April 10th sessions were representatives of the American Humanist Association, Christian Brothers, National Catholic Welfare Conference, American Association for the Advancement of Atheism, Protestants and Other Americans United for Separation of Church and State, National Council of the Churches of Christ, Methodist Publishing House, Baptist Joint Committee on Public Affairs, Social Legislation and Information Service, Religious News Service and the American Bar Association.

On April 11, 1956 representatives of law, accounting and banking firms discussed those aspects of the proposed regulations which would not be of concern to us.

On April 12, the last day of the hearings, an attorney, Arthur K. Mason of the Washington law firm of Chapman, Walsh & O'Connell, testified with respect to three portions of the proposed regulation that are of immediate interest. The first portion of the regulation that was criticized was that which requires "a full exposition of the facts" upon which the organization's position is premised

so as to enable the individual or the public to form "independent opinions or conclusions based upon a fair presentation of pertinent factual material." It was pointed out that the word "full" was a potential mischief-maker. How does one ascertain that a particular position has been documented by all the facts? Wouldn't such documentation make any presentation of a viewpoint "unduly lengthy and prolix?" It was suggested to the Internal Revenue Service that the proposed regulation require a "fair" presentation (instead of a "full" presentation) of the "principal pertinent facts" (rather than "of the facts") upon which the advocated position is premised so as to enable the individual or public to "form independent opinions or conclusions."

The second suggestion dealt with the same portion of the proposed regulation. It was noted that grants-in-aid and research fellowships are today's common tools of advanced study. A sponsoring organization frequently has no control over the results, or even over the form of the published document, that eventuate from such grants-in-aid. It was therefore proposed that tax-exempt educational organizations not be penalized if they provide financial assistance to independent research or studies, and if the publications embodying the results of such studies openly advocate a particular position or take a particular viewpoint; provided the tax-exempt organization did not control or dictate in advance the conclusions of the study, and provided further that the organization does not use such grants-in-aid as a device to promote the publication of a particular point of view.

The third proposal dealt with that section of the tentative regulation which describes proscribed activities -- attempts to influence legislation. It was pointed out that by providing that tax-exempt status should not be lost by the "incidental" publication of books which "advocate or oppose an issue which is, or may be, the subject of legislative concern," the proposed regulation implies that tax exemption would be jeopardized by more than the "incidental" publication of such books. The recent case of Seasongood v. Commissioner[4] was then cited for the proposition that

> In one sense, nearly every effort made by individuals or organizations in the public interest and for the betterment of government necessarily, has as an indirect result at least, some influence on legislation.

The members of the technical staff of the Internal Revenue Service who were present at the public hearings appeared to see the implications of Mr. Mason's presentation but, as is customary at such hearings, they did not ask him any questions or take issue with any of his statements.

None of the constituent agencies of the National Social Welfare Assembly, none of the civil rights groups and none of the "right wing" organizations sent spokesmen to testify with respect to the proposed regulations.

IV. Conclusions

A. The proposed regulation is an improvement in several significant respects over the old regulation.

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4 6 Cir., Dec. 14, 1955

B. An attempt has been made to spell out in greater detail what is meant by an "educational" organization other than the formal educational institution.

C. The proscribed activities are described at greater length and specific reference is made to the need to consider the totality of the agency's activities and program in determining whether attempts to influence legislation are a "substantial" part of the agency's effort. At what point the effort becomes substantial is still vague.

D. Participation or intervention in political campaigns on behalf of candidates for public office will cause the loss of tax-exempt status.

E. The regulation expressly recognizes that an "educational" organization may be engaged simultaneously in promoting "social welfare."

F. Strict compliance with several portions of the proposed regulation might be impossible.

G. It is not known at this time how the proposed regulation will actually be used by the Internal Revenue Service. In Helvering v. Bliss[5] the Supreme Court said that the provisions granting exemption of income devoted to charitable purposes are "liberalization of the law in the tax payer's favor, were begotten from motives of public policy, and are not to be narrowly construed." This theory dominates judicial thinking about tax exemption. Whether, under the new regulation, it also will dominate administrative thinking, remains to be seen.

TL:mcm
4/18/56

---

5 293 U.S. 144, 151 (1934)

April 18, 1956

Mr. Will Maslow
American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Will:

Safely back and remembering cordially the conference group Friday afternoon.

Here are the expenses involved:

Railway (with sleepers)	
Washington - New York - Washington	33.12
Meals	2.65
Tips	.30
Taxi	.95
	37.02

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

April 18, 1956

FBR:

I am prepared to write Ed Lukas and ask him to send us a labor man to go a'touring. Please confer with me in re.

April 18, 1956

Mrs. Eleanor W. Ashman, Supervisor
Speakers' Bureau
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mrs. Ashman:

Safely back and remembering warmly the visit with your New York Chapter.

Here are the expenses incurred:

All fares	78.47
Telephone	.75
Tips	.90
Subway	.30
Hotel	11.28
Taxi	1.00
Meals	5.68
	98.38

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:mef

April 19, 1956

Mr. Seymour Samet, Area Director
American Jewish Committee
Metropolitan Building
Miami, Florida

Dear Seymour:

Many thanks for the speech by Opie L. Shelton of the Chamber of Commerce. We had received an advance copy of the speech on a confidential basis from one of our contacts in Louisiana. We have already written and requested permission to reproduce Shelton's statement in New South. His answer was that it be done in toto and that things of course be not lifted out of context.

We appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending such things and trust you will continue to do so for occasionally we miss some things that you are apt to latch on to. We will reciprocate as we get new information. I have a choice bit I will be sending you soon. You had better get some stickum for your hair because your scalp will tingle and your hair stand on end.

Best regards,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR

April 19, 1956

Mr. Seymour Samet, Area Director
American Jewish Committee
Metropolitan Building
Miami, Florida

Dear Seymour:

Here is the material which I said would make your hair stand on end. The pieces from Aryan Knights and the Klan were left in the Moore Building in Montgomery in October. The "Preview of the Declaration of Segregation" was distributed as indicated on the sheet. And the one caption "Where shall we draw the line?" was distributed at other WCC meeting. As I mentioned in my previous letter, a bit of hair stickum would be helpful or perhaps some Pepto-Bismol to soothe the stomach walls would be more apropos.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

April 19, 1956

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your letter about the recent article in Business Week. We were able to help their Southern man somewhat in pulling the facts together.

As you will see from the latest issue of New South, enclosed, we think the economic aspect of this question ought to be pushed in every possible way. I would like to see the Business Week article and other similar treatments of this subject given the widest possible dissemination. We have a good many things to choose from, and I had not decided whether Business Week was best for a large scale distribution. If you are interested in making some use of it too, maybe we could get together on it. We would probably farm out to our State groups the job of selecting key economic leaders and opinion makers within their respective states who ought to receive reprints.

Let me know what you are thinking.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

P.S. I note that Seymour Samet is distributing in mimeograph form the excellent speech by Opie Shelton, Executive Vice President of the Baton Rouge Chamber of Commerce. We have obtained Mr. Shelton's permission to print the speech and look upon it as an excellent choice for wide distribution.

HCF:o
enc.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

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April 16, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

May I suggest that you pick up a copy of the March 24 issue of Business Week. I refer you specifically to an article on page 30 of that issue, entitled, "Business in a Troubled South." It delineates quite graphically, I think, the problems that will be encountered by business and industry if the tensions in the South continue to develop.

I would appreciate hearing from you as to how you feel this article might be used most effectively.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

American Jewish Congress

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April 19, 1956

RECEIVED APR 23 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Audubon Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

The Congress Convention is now concluded and our records indicate that our deliberations were the most successful and widely attended in our recent history.

I want to take this opportunity to thank you for having participated in the Panel Discussion on Friday, April 13th, on "Integration -- The Position of the Jewish Community in the South". The delegates who attended were gratified and stirred by the discussion and the deliberations of the convention were influenced by the character of your panel discussion.

On behalf of all of the delegates, I want to thank you both for your presence and your message.

Sincerely yours,

Philip S. Bernstein

Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein, Rochester
Chairman, National Convention Committee

PSB:mk

April 19, 1956

Mr. Seymour Samet, Area Director
American Jewish Committee
Metropolitan Building
Miami, Florida

Dear Seymour:

Here is the material which I said would make your hair stand on end. The pieces from Aryan Knights and the Klan were left in the Moore Building in Montgomery in October. The "Preview of the Declaration of Segregation" was distributed as indicated on the sheet. And the one caption "Where shall we draw the line?" was distributed at other WCC meeting. As I mentioned in my previous letter, a bit of hair stickum would be helpful or perhaps some Pepto-Bismol to soothe the stomach walls would be more apropos.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mef

April 19, 1956

Mr. Seymour Samet, Area Director
American Jewish Committee
Metropolitan Building
Miami, Florida

Dear Seymour:

Many thanks for the speech by Opie L. Shelton of the Chamber of Commerce. We had received an advance copy of the speech on a confidential basis from one of our contacts in Louisiana. We have already written and requested permission to reproduce Shelton's statement in New South. His answer was that it be done in toto and that things of course be not lifted out of context.

We appreciate your thoughtfulness in sending such things and trust you will continue to do so for occasionally we miss some things that you are apt to latch on to. We will reciprocate as we get new information. I have a choice bit I will be sending you soon. You had better get some stickum for your hair because your scalp will tingle and your hair stand on end.

Best regards,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR

April 20, 1956

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

We would like to take advantage of your most kind, tentative offer to send out someone with money-raising experience to advise with people in our twelve state organizations.

The best month is probably May. Could be June.

For our purposes it would be better if your man could take a trip that would get him to Richmond, Charlotte, Columbia, Atlanta, Daytona Beach, Montgomery, Jackson, New Orleans, Austin, Little Rock, Nashville, and Lexington. That is quite a number of cities, but are those in which the best work will be done if he can meet the people on their own ground where they can fetch in their local Board members who can help. If it has to be that way, we could squeeze people together, two states at a time, and cut down the cities to six.

Let me know what seems feasible, and we will arrange things at this end.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

May 'Otherwise

RECEIVED APR 23 1956

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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ALAN M. STROOCK, *New York, Vice-President*

April 20, 1956

Have R.A. ~~to~~ they sent that check yet. Thanks

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Conference, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

Thanks very much for your letter of April 18. I want to take this opportunity to express our appreciation for the splendid contribution you made to our New York Chapter at its last meeting on April 9. I have never seen the group so thoroughly stimulated. The discussion period was really unusually lively.

I have asked our New York Chapter to reimburse you for the expenses you have listed in your letter.

With cordial greetings.

Sincerely,

Eleanor W. Ashman

(Mrs.) Eleanor W. Ashman
Supervisor, Speakers' Bureau

EWA:eb

148-2-55

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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April 26, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED APR 28 1956

Dear George:

I have your letter of April 20.

I have spoken to Emil Bergen of the Joint Defense Appeal (the fund-raising arm of the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League) concerning some of the fund-raising problems of SRC. I am fairly certain that they will not be able to render assistance to you in precisely the fashion you describe in your letter, and when Fred Rauth was here I did not understand that the help he sought involved the extensive travelling that you describe. However, Mr. Bergen plans to be in Atlanta on or about May 23 and 24. He has consented to arrange an appointment with you during one of those days, and to give you the benefit of his rich experience in fund-raising activities, as well as such other help as might be feasible. Perhaps, in the course of that discussion, some other plans might be developed wiich would be serviceable to you.

My warm regards.

Sincerely,

Ed

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig
(dictated but not read)

148-2-56

April 30, 1956

Mr. Will Maslow
American Jewish Congress
15 East Eighty-Fourth Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Will:

I greatly enjoyed the opportunity to be in New York with your group. I am grateful for the meeting and for the expense check which came in today.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

American Jewish Congress

ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN, *President*
SHAD POLIER, *Chairman Executive Committee* — MORTON M. BERMAN, *Chairman Administrative Committee*
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COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION
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STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE • 15 East 84th St. • New York 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

April 26, 1956

RECEIVED APR 28 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

CR #3702
rha

Dear George:

Here is the check for your expenses. We all enjoyed having you. I only regret that I was not able to be present during your talk.

Cordially,

Will

Will Maslow

WM:aw
Encl.

April 30, 1956

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

I'm glad you think the April New South worth distributing to your staff. I'm sending separately a dozen copies for that purpose.

I'm also glad to have your suggestion that Business Week and the Shelton speech be distributed by the Southern Association of Chamber of Commerce Executives. We will see what can be done but I am not too hopeful about this or other Southern business groups distributing material of this kind. Their disposition is to deny the whole problem and to close their eyes in the hope that it will go away. Until they get alarmed enough to do something, I'm afraid organizations like ours will have to do most of the distributing. However, I will let you know if we have any luck.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:o

(sent 15)

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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ALAN M. STROOCK, *New York, Vice-President*

April 26, 1956

Mr; Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you for your letter of April 19. I was delighted to learn that your agency was helpful in pulling the material together for the Business Week piece. I think that the ideal group to distribute that, as well as the Shelton address, is the Southern Association of Chambers of Commerce Managers (I think that is the title of the group). I do not know where that Association is based, but you will have no difficulty in locating it and, I hope, in persuading it to help as the distributing source, to other Chambers of Commerce, to business executives, and others.

In that connection, we could use about one dozen additional copies of the April 1956 issue of New South. It is an excellent issue and I should like to distribute it to those members of our staff in New York who are presently concerned with some of the problems that have arisen in the South. Please bill us for the cost of these additional copies.

My warm regards.

Sincerely,

Ed

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

(dictated but not read)

RECEIVED MAY 2 1956

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

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May 1, 1956

Passed for info. to the Ed.

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

Some months ago you wrote the Beacon Press about your review of Fraternities Without Brotherhood for the Kappa Alpha Journal.

We are very much interested in the National Committee on Fraternities in Education, which has carried out the research on which the book is based. I would appreciate any information you may have regarding the reception of your review.

Cordially,

Larry

Lawrence Bloomgarden

LB:mcm

AIRMAIL

May 8, 1956

Mr. Seymour Samet, Area Director
The American Jewish Committee
213 N. E. Second Avenue
Miami, Florida

Dear Seymour:

I would like very much to get together with you and Max Birnbaum. Unfortunately I am leaving for New York on the morning of May 16th and will be gone until the week end. If there is any chance of your getting to Atlanta a day earlier, I'd be glad to lunch or meet otherwise on Tuesday the 15th. Fred will be here on both days and is looking forward to seeing you.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:e

SOUTHEAST AREA OFFICE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

213 N.E. SECOND AVENUE, MIAMI, FLORIDA TEL. FR 3-4749

SEYMOUR SAMET
Area Director

May 4, 1956

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Max Birnbaum, the National Educational Consultant of the American Jewish Committee, and I are making a trip to several Southern communities during the week of May 14th. We plan to be in Atlanta on May 16th. Would it be possible for us to have lunch with you and Fred Routh on that day or to possibly meet you in the early part of the afternoon. If you could give us about an hour I think the meeting might be mutually rewarding. Please let me know by return mail so we can plan our itinerary accordingly.

Many thanks. Best regards.

Cordially,

Seymour

Seymour Samet
Southeast Area Director

SS:sm
cc: Fred Routh

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COMMUNITY AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT SOL SATINSKY, *Chairman* A. HAROLD MURRAY, *Director*
DR. S. ANDHIL FINEBERG, *Community Relations Consultant*

NATIONAL OFFICE: 386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

231-2-56
18

May 23, 1956

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Ed:

That was a whirlwind trip to New York. I had no real hope of seeing you, but I was reluctant to leave without making an attempt to check in by telephone.

There are a good many ideas that I would welcome a chance to talk over with you but they will have to wait until one of us is in the other's territory again. Meanwhile very best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

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ALAN M. STROOCK, *New York, Vice-President*

May 22, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am truly sorry I missed you when you called on Friday; I had been in and out of the office that day.

When I tried to reach you yesterday, I learned that you had checked out. I am curious to know how things go with you and SRC. Do you plan to be in New York again soon?

My warm regards.

Sincerely,

Ed

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

May 23, 1956

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

We were greatly pleased with your offer to be helpful to us on advice about raising money. Fred Routh was pretty clear that you had thought maybe your people could help our people state by state. Then you wrote us and said no but Mr. Bergen would come to Atlanta. Today Mr. Bergen writes us and says he isn't coming to Atlanta now or in the foreseeable future on account of a last minute change in plans.

It was a good plan and it would still work. Will you try to dig around it a little and see if you can make it grow up again?

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Mr. Mitchell/signed in his absence.

MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 5-0181

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY AFFAIRS
A. HAROLD MURRAY, Director
DR. S. ANDHIL FINEBERG, Community Relations Consultant

RECEIVED JUN 4 1956

Hof 6/5/56

THE MIDDLE EAST FERMENT

Enclosed herewith is a Fact Sheet entitled "The Middle East Ferment" which should, we believe, be of considerable use since the impact of the Middle East Crisis on American opinion has become a major problem with which American Jews and American Jewish organizations must deal.

We hope this Fact Sheet will enable you to do a great deal to offset harmful propaganda. In particular it should help you be on guard against those who inject anti-Jewish hatred into public and private discussions of the Middle East situation.

You may wish to send copies of "The Middle East Ferment" to strategic people in your community. It is available at 15¢ per copy or $10.00 per hundred.

(Mrs.) Dorothy M. Nathan
DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY AFFAIRS

DMN/pc
May 22, 1956
Encl.
CSKE

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

GEORGE S. MITCHELL,
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

June 5, 1956

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

Each Executive Director
SRC Affiliated State Organizations

Fred Routh brought back from New York some copies of a helpful memorandum prepared within the American Jewish Committee on the matter of tax-exemption.

'Tis a technical question, and it is important for you to be up on it.

This is somebody else's memorandum, not ours.

But I advise you to read it. And we will shortly be writing you further about general matters of tax-exemption.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

P.S. Share this with your Chairman

June 26, 1956

Mr. Will Maslow
American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Will:

Thanks for your letter of June 21st concerning the postponement of your meeting. George Mitchell is out of action for the 9th, but as far as I can tell at the moment, I will be available. I will look forward to hearing when you have been able to determine the prospects for the meeting.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

American Jewish Congress

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COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION
HERMAN L. WEISMAN, *Chairman*
WILL MASLOW, *Director*
LEO PFEFFER, *Assistant Director*

STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE • 15 East 84th St. • New York 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

June 21, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

It turned out that we could not get a good enough attendance for our June 27th meeting. Accordingly, we have postponed it until July 9th at 5:30 P.M.

We will again call the group and find out whether this is a better date. If a good turnout is indicated, we should very much like to have you attend and would be glad to pay $100 towards your travel and other expenses. If you can't come, we would be equally pleased to have George Mitchell.

We would also like to discuss with you if you or George do come up your plans for an investigation of the anti-Semitism among the White Citizens Councils.

Sincerely,

Will

Will Maslow

WM:lh

E 15 - Pol.
Miller 2

RECEIVED JUL 1 1956

June 29, 1956

Dear Guest Lecturer:

You will forgive me for not writing you individually, but I do so only to avoid 14 different letters.

I enclose a complete list of the Hillman lectures at the New School next Fall.

Sincerely,

Will Maslow

Will Maslow

WM:aw
Encl.

American Jewish Congress

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July 6, 1956

RECEIVED JUL 9 1956
12:05 p.m.

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Religional Council
63 Audubon Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I am writing to you to confirm my invitation and to tell you how very happy I am that you will join me on Thursday at 4:30. We are planning to have a small group to consider how our Commission on Community Interrelations can best develop a program which will make a maximum contribution in the South today, and at the same time strengthen the Jewish community to meet the special challenge and threat of the White Citizens Councils. I believe that with your help and that of the social scientists who have agreed to meet we can develop something truly worthwhile. We plan to meet at 4:30 sharp, and will have supper served so that we can continue throughout the evening.

I look forward to seeing you, and am very happy that you will be with us.

Cordially,

Justine

Justine Wise Polier

JWP:ag

STAFF:

HCF
FBR
MET
GSA
PA
RHA
JC
FBI

The American Jewish Congress is actively considering picking up what load it can in these Southerns. Here's a memo about it.

I gave them encouragement, but put in a stiff proviso that they had to confer frequently with Southern representatives and national representatives of ADL and AJC. The Congress people said such conferences yielded no results. Still I said "you gotta' confer."

I stand by those terms. We should help them if they make it clear that they are trying honestly to work with the other Jewish groups.

George S. Mitchell

Encl.
GSM/eab
Dictated July 13th

GSM

(RETURN TO EAB)

PERSPECTIVE AND PROSPECT

Since the advent of the 1954 Supreme Court decision barring segregation in the public schools, it is safe to say that no major religious, communal, and professional groups in the North or the South have achieved unqualified support and acceptance of the requirements imposed upon them by this and other historic decisions affecting segregation. To be sure, reluctance to accept and the evasion of the social and moral consequences of these decisions were, in some measure, anticipated by all those who applauded the Court's wisdom and courage. But informed anticipation and insight do not, of themselves, create program that will guide the Southern community toward the establishment of a just and equitable social order.

In particular, the religious bodies are troubled; their membership cleaved, their leadership and resources dissipated. This is not to deny, however, the efficacy of their present efforts to reformulate policy and organization with respect to the problems of desegregation nor the enormous potential that the Southern religious community may eventually bring to bear on these problems. Some segments of the Christian community appear to be defying and obstructing rational efforts to effect an integrated society; others are troubled by organizational difficulties and the inhibiting influence of a dual morality - one for the South and one for the North.

The problems that desegregation have brought to the white Christian majority in the South are not generally, however, accompanied by those real and alleged fears that tend to be associated with minority status and social insecurity. And this appears to be the case concerning the Southern Jewish community. There are approximately 225,000 Jews living in 11 Southern States (85,000 or one-third in the State of Florida.). Investigation of and reports on the reaction of the Southern Jewish com-

munity to the processes of desegregation reveal a growing atmosphere of fear and hysteria. In part, this response can be attributed to the overt anti-Semitism manifested by the White Citizens' Councils and other racist organizations. In addition, there are the persistent rumors of economic boycotts or other reprisals against the Jewish community.

This atmosphere has tended to still the voice of the Southern Jewish community and permit an unproductive conservatism to control both policy and practice. One influential Jewish community council in the South has warned national Jewish organizations that if they persist in overt support of desegregation and the advancement of civil rights, they "will only hurt the cause of the Negro and unleash a wave of anti-Semitism in the South." Needless to say, there is no validity nor morality in these evasive observations. They are primarily the product of frightened and conservative leadership.

It may truthfully be said, however, that the plight of the Southern Jewish community is not lessened by the cleavage and confusion that obtains within the Christian community. There is need, therefore, to strengthen the leadership of all religious and communal organizations toward united policy and program. In this way, opposition to the Citizens' Councils and other irresponsible groups would proceed in concert and not in isolation. Religious and non-religious organizations that are moved to accept some responsibility for meeting the challenge of desegregation will be able to do so on common ground and from a common reservoir of skills and resources.

Toward this end, therefore, it has been suggested that professional personnel, North and South--social scientists, social workers, educators, religious and communal leaders--look toward the establishment of an organizational or advisory body that would serve to amalgamate as well as guide the diverse but potentially influential sources of liberal leadership. Such

an advisory body would be able to provide consultative services, research, institutes and workshops, and a communications network for publicizing the availability of a wide range of professional skills and resources. It is assumed that a liberal leadership, armed with rational skills and insights, with the guidance provided by social scientific inquiry, will gain both in morale and stature.

It is understood that this consultative body and such program and resources as it may develop would serve as an adjunct to and not as replacement of those services now being rendered by other types of organizations and agencies. In the interest of efficiency, it should not invade, confuse or duplicate current services or contributions. It is also clear that the development of services, skills, resources and strategies, should be in cooperation with those persons in the South who are familiar with its problems and potentialities.

These introductory observations are suggestive rather than determinative. We need to explore the feasibility as well as the merit of this proposal. We need to discuss the form and type of organization that would best suit our goals and expectations. In addition, we need to review such questions as type of service or resource to be rendered, how they are to be rendered, the necessity of permanent staff and their location. We may also need to reflect on the possibility of future planning and coordinating conferences and of involving a wider range of professional interests and competencies.

The establishment of such an advisory body is going to present numerous difficulties at the initial stage. But its benefits for and contributions to the development of productive social change in the South, intelligently conceived and executed, are incalculable. Nor should we overlook the fact that the creation of such an organization together with the development of an informed and constructive program should be deemed worthy of support.

August 7, 1956

Mr. Will Maslow
The American Jewish Congress
15 East Eighty-Fourth Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Will:

That was a noble check, and we are deeply grateful.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

American Jewish Congress

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WILL MASLOW, *Director* — LEO PFEFFER, *Assistant Director*

STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE • 15 East 84th St. • New York 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

August 3, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Audobon Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED AUG 6 1956

Dear George:

I found to my dismay that your check for expenses was not sent to you while I was on vacation. Let me apologize for the delay. Here it is.

We all enjoyed having you.

CR $100.00 rhs
Billed 37.02
Honorarium 62.98
rhs

Cordially,

Will

Will Maslow

WM:aw
Encl. (1)

Memorandum from . . . . AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

15 East 84th Street, New York 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

FORM RETURNED 8/23/56
EAB

August 20, 1956

RECEIVED AUG 23 1956

To: Speakers and Artists

We are now checking and revising our biographical records and files. Enclosed is a copy of your biography.

Will you be good enough to look it over carefully and make all necessary deletions, additions and changes. If there are none, please initial the biography with the notation "O.K."

Please return the corrected biography immediately to the Community Service Bureau, American Jewish Congress, 15 East 84th Street, New York 28, N. Y.

Julius Schatz

Encl.

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American Jewish Congress

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August 20, 1956

RECEIVED AUG 23 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Religional Council
63 Audubon Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Ga

Dear George:

I know you will forgive me for not having written to you sooner to tell you how deeply I appreciated your participation in our conference of July 12.

Because of the vacation schedule, we have not yet completed the summary of our discussion of that day and the memorandum on the projects which we agreed should be undertaken by the CCI, with the help of our new Advisory Committee. Dr. Hager is spending a week at the Workshop of the Highlander Folk School. When he comes back next week, we hope to complete this preparatory material and I shall send you a copy for your comment.

I do want you to know how deeply grateful I am for your counsel and for your willingness to assume membership in our Advisory Committee. All of us look forward to working with you and it is our hope that we can make a contribution to the very difficult problems that face not only the Jewish community but the larger community of right-thinking human beings in the South today.

As ever,

Justine

Justine Wise Polier

JWP:d

September 28, 1956

Mr. Will Maslow
American Jewish Congress
15 East Eighty-Fourth Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Will:

I will show in New York in the dawnings of October 2nd. Shall stay at the Abbey Hotel (about 51st Street).

I promised Jim Crown at 30 Downing Street that I would have supper with him that night at 6:30.

I will phone you the morning of the 2nd and hope I can get to see you.

Meanwhile, here is a copy of the speech. I did it weeks ago, and I expect that in redoing it Tuesday night there will be some up-to-date interpolations.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Encl.

American Jewish Congress

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September 26, 1956

RECEIVED SEP 28 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Audubon Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

This will remind you that you are scheduled to speak before my New School class in the Sidney Hillman Lectures on Civil Liberties on the topic "Tension in the South." Your talk will be taped and then rebroadcast over our Municipal Radio Station WNYC.

Could you give me a ring when you get to New York? Perhaps we can take dinner together. Can you let me know when you expect to arrive in New York or at least when I can expect to hear from you? I will be at my office until about 5 o'clock.

Sincerely,

Will

Will Maslow

WM:lh

P.S. Tuesday, October 2
8 30 p.m.
Room 404, New School
66 W. 12 St
N.Y.

AIRMAIL

October 5, 1956

Mr. Don J. Hager
American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Hager:

Many thanks for sending me the copies of Dr. Klineberg's statement and the covering letter sent to potential signers. All of us are fortunate that you and your agency were ready to take on the secretariat burden. I am sure the results will be fruitful for a long time to come.

It was a pleasure to meet you the other night, and I'm looking forward to future occasions on which we will be working together.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

AJC

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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JESSE H. STEINHART, *San Francisco, Vice- President*
ALAN M. STROOCK, *New York, Vice-President*

October 9, 1956

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Thank you very much for your letters of October 4th and 5th, with the information and attachment thereto. The material for The People Take the Lead was most helpful and will be incorporated to the extent that space permits in the new addition.

I am also looking forward to your manuscript which I am sure will be the feature article in the report of the Commission on Civil Rights of NAIRO.

Kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Ted

Theodore Leskes

TL:met

October 17, 1956

Mrs. Justine Wise Polier
Acting Chairman
Commission on Community Interrelations
American Jewish Congress
Fifteen East Eighty-Fourth Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Mrs. Polier:

I feel some uneasiness over spots, particularly on pages four and five, in the account of the New York conference of July 12, 1956, which you so kindly sent me October 2nd.

I have difficulty in putting my finger on this or that couplet of words of what I am reported as having said, which couplet would be erroneous. But it seems to me the account of my few remarks is rather more condemnatory and alarming that I think I was.

I don't really think that Jewish participation in the struggle for integration has been "skimpy." It has been spotty, but everywhere in the South one feels the predominant pressure of the Jewish community for compliance with the Supreme Court's decision. This or that individual may be palpably timid. But as a community, it seems to me Jewish people have been pretty generally on the right side.

I would like to record with you my disagreement with the word "skimpy" (though 'tis one of my words, and I daresay I used it, but I think it has been got a little out of my context). And at the end of my remarks at the top of page five, the first half of the sentence seems to me all right. I worry about "adding that 'when the chips are down there will be bloodshed.'" What I really think is that here and there over the South, as integration proceeds, there will be incidents and occasional outbursts of violence. But I don't expect it at all to be pervasive, and I don't agree in the least that integration will only occur with and after "bloodshed." I guess I was trying to get across that when angry people are out in front, their anger against Jews will be in evidence.

I will be quite content if this letter is merely filed with the National Advisory Committee's Minute Book. No need now to backtrack and attempt alteration of what has gone out.

I praise what the group is in favor of, and continue to stand with you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

American Jewish Congress

ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN, *President*
SHAD POLIER, *Chairman Executive Committee* — MORTON M. BERMAN, *Chairman Administrative Committee*
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October 2, 1956

George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Audobon Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED OCT 3 1956

Dear George:

I am enclosing the Minutes of the meeting of the National Advisory Committee, Commission on Community Interrelations, convened on July 12, 1956, at the Stephen Wise Congress House.

I believe the Minutes to be a reasonably accurate record of the substance of our deliberations, including stated recommendations directed toward advancing the cause of integration in the South. I do hope, however, that you will feel free to comment on the Minutes.

I should also like to add that certain of the recommendations recorded in the Minutes, namely, those having to do with sponsoring attitude surveys and the establishment of a Southern office, have been expanded and incorporated into a formal request for foundation support. I am also happy to report that since our meeting, Dr. Hager spent a very profitable week at the Highlander Folk School (Monteagle, Tennessee) workshop on integration.

Cordially,

Justine

Justine Wise Polier
Acting Chairman

JWP:mk

MINUTES OF THE NATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE,
COMMISSION ON COMMUNITY INTERRELATIONS (CCI),
STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE, JULY 12, 1956

With a view toward increasing the fund of information concerning the role of the southern Jewish community in meeting the problems of integration, a conference of social scientists who had been associated with the National Commission on Community Interrelations and other informed persons was called by Judge Justine Polier. The conference met on July 12, 1956. Those attending included:

Hon. Justine Wise Polier	Acting Chairman
Viola Bernard, M.D.	Chairman, Committee on Social Issues, Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry
Prof. Stuart Cook	Chairman, Graduate Department of Psychology, New York University
Prof. Dan Dodson	Director, Community Field Services, School of Education, New York University
Prof. Roma Gans	Teachers College, Columbia University
Dr. Don J. Hager	Research Director, Commission on Community Interrelations
Prof. Marie Jahoda	Research Center for Human Relations, New York University
Sylvia Kusiel	Staff Counsel, State Commission Against Discrimination; Commission on Community Interrelations
Will Maslow	Director, Commission on Law and Social Action
George Mitchell	Director, Southern Regional Council
Shad Polier	Chairman, Commission on Law and Social Action
Thelma Richman	President, Women's Division
Isaac Toubin	Director, American Jewish Congress

In addition, the following persons have expressed their interest in future participation on the National Advisory Committee although they were unable to attend the July 12th meeting:

Prof. Isidor Chein	Research Center for Human Relations, New York University
Associate Dean Nathan Cohen	New York School of Social Work, Columbia University
Trude Lash	Director, Citizens Committee for Children
Dr. Alfred J. Marrow	Vice-Chairman, Commission on Intergroup Relations of New York City; National Chairman, Commission on Community Interrelations
Albert Vorspan	Commission on Social Action, Union of American Hebrew Congregations

At the end of the day's conference, all present agreed that the project as outlined below should be undertaken and that they were ready to serve as advisors for the proposed program.

Summary of the July 12th Meeting

The meeting opened with a presentation by Justice Polier reviewing the real and alleged fears of the Southern Jewish community regarding its active involvement in the integration process. Reference was made to the fact that these fears are associated with minority status and feelings of social insecurity and that, in part, these responses can be attributed to the overt anti-Semitism manifested by the White Citizen's Councils and other racist organizations. In addition, there are the persistent rumors of economic boycotts or other reprisals against the Jewish community. It was also pointed out that these concerns contributed to a growing atmosphere of fear, apprehension, and indecision, and that they have tended to still the voice of

the southern Jew and permit an outward and unproductive conservatism to control both policy and practice. It was reported, for example, that one influential Jewish community council in the South has warned national Jewish organizations that if they persist in overt support of integration and the advancement of civil rights, they "will only hurt the cause of the Negro and unleash a wave of anti-Semitism in the South."

These conditions do not necessarily present a "Jewish problem." They do however, raise the far broader question of whether we can tolerate the organization of prejudice and hostility against minority groups to prevent their full participation in the moulding of public opinion, their participation in community planning, and their contribution to social change. They also raise the challenging question of what counteraction must be taken so that minority groups shall not be jeopardized or made ineffective in the ongoing struggle to achieve the American ideal. It is essential not only to oppose the growth of racist groups in the South, but to build strength in the Southern community so that all religious and communal groups shall be increasingly effective through cooperative effort in meeting the strategy of the White Citizens Councils to gain support through an appeal to religious as well as racial prejudice.

Judge Polier also reported that in March, 1956, the American Jewish Congress was requested to send a representative to meet with "leaders" of a Southern Jewish community and that, subsequently, first hand reports were secured from Mr. Isaac Toubin, director of the AJCongress and from Mr. Albert Vorspan, who travelled through the South on behalf of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. Both reports established that:

1. A substantial proportion of Jews, even in the deep South, feel that discrimination and segregation of the Negro is

morally wrong, but that they experience difficulty, under present conditions, in publicly expressing this sentiment.

2. Many Jews of the South do not wish to discuss the problem of desegregation and are, through leadership groups, demanding of national Jewish organizations, that they desist from work in the civil rights field and from all work directed to lessen discrimination against the Negro.

3. Some important national Jewish organizations are yielding to this pressure and are compromising their long established positions by saying one thing in the North and another in the South.

4. While all white citizens who show courage are being subjected to threats of economic and physical reprisal, Jewish citizens feel that they are in an especially exposed position as members of a minority group.

5. Where Jews have led in the struggle for integration, as in New Orleans, this action has been used to incite anti-Semitism as another issue through which White Citizen's Councils can be strengthened. Southern Jews who would like to join the liberal forces for integration feel isolated and unsure of their ability to function.

George Mitchell expressed his disappointment that Jewish participation in the struggle for integration had been "skimpy". He felt that it was important that sound efforts should be made to stiffen the backbone of Jews in the South so that they would make a contribution as Jews to the problem of the South and, at the same time, more actively participate in those general efforts by all citizens of good-will directed to the same goal. He also expressed the opinion that many Southerners were respectful of and would respond to a scientific approach -- such as the data that had been presented indicating that segregation is bad for a child and creates emotional problems for the child on whose behalf segregation is maintained as well as the child against whom it is practiced.

Mr. Mitchell questioned the extent to which "Jewish leaders" in Southern communities truly represented the Jewish community rather than

the small group of wealthy old-time residents. He felt it was important to discover what was the real sentiment. He added that although these leaders felt that if they conformed to Southern mores they were safe and would be accepted, he disagreed -- adding that "when the chips are down there will be bloodshed."

Prof. Marie Jahoda reported that SPSSI (Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues) had sent letters to 300 people at universities in the South to inquire whether they felt they needed and wanted help on the problems arising as a result of the conflict over the Supreme Court decision. Seventy-five answers were received most of which were positive and detailed. There was widespread expression of the need for social and scientific material, and for occasional discussion meetings.

Prof. Stuart Cook felt that the time had come to quit talking about the South and the Jews. He stated we need facts about the orientation of the Jewish community. We do not know the proportion of the community that is for, against, or to whom integration is not an important issue. He pointed up the need to be clear on evaluating the noises one hears from the South, the need to know how central to the life of the community is the issue on which conformity is based. How many silently agree or disagree? What potential allies are there in the community? What can or could they do? Such questions need to be answered.

Prof. Cook also felt that in selecting areas for concentrated effort one must differentiate between those states or areas in the South which have moved toward integration, those that have violently resisted, and those that have not moved. He pointed out that when they begin to move they move quickly. He believed that the most strategic use of limited

efforts should be directed to those areas or states that had not yet moved in either direction (e.g., Eastern Tennessee).

Prof. Roma Gans spoke of her experience both in the South and in the North with teachers enrolled for graduate work. She spoke with enthusiasm of the possibility of securing the cooperation of those religious groups who could best take leadership at this time. She welcomed the possibility of closer cooperation between the Catholic and Jewish groups that would work toward justice in the South. She expressed concern about the statement of one Southern employer of teachers who had admitted he could not afford to hire Catholics, but that "the Jews had played ball." Prof. Gans also pointed out the lack of information that exists even within a single Southern community where real progress was made. She also cited the integration program in the parochial schools and in the experimental school at Nashville, Tenn. Too few Southerners know what is going on in their own communities.

Mr. Mitchell also commented on the lack of communication between liberal groups in the South. He reported that in Nashville, Tennessee, a letter supporting the Supreme Court decision from a national Jewish organization had led to a series of meetings at the Jewish Community Center which had included the Protestant Council (which had received a similar letter from a national Protestant group), the Negro PTA, the Jewish groups and several others. This had proved to be an effective but unpublicized series of meetings.

Mr. Mitchell stated that left to itself the Southern community, as such, does little. Often someone from afar with a good approach and status can get things going. He spoke of the conflicting forces that were

supporting the tyranny of conformity and of those persons and groups who were desirous of breaking through or away from such conformity.

Prof. Dan Dodson expressed the opinion that the sanction of church and national groups might help to provide the status needed and some exemption from the persecution that threatened those Southerners who wished to move forward. He felt that work in this field required "angry men in principle who could also compromise and move wisely."

Mr. Shad Polier stated that in any effort to work with and strengthen the contribution of the Jewish community, it was important to remember that apart from the earlier Spanish and German Jews who had lived in the South for over a century, the majority of Southern Jews had emigrated from Eastern Europe to escape the ghettoes and find freedom in the U.S. in the 1890's, after World War I and following World War II. He felt that a large proportion of this group was widely scattered in the South and had little relation to Jews in other parts of the world. They need help to live in accordance with the moral principles of Judaism and not to accept the unworthy role of ignoring and avoiding the challenge presented by the problems of desegregation. He felt that real service must be rendered to achieve this.

Mr. Isaac Toubin then raised a series of questions:

1. How can we ascertain the true facts concerning the attitudes of the Jews in the South toward integration?

2. What can Jews do to strengthen the liberal forces in the South -- through national organizations, through local groups?

3. Is there truth in the allegation that Jewish support of integration would hurt the Negro?

4. Are pronouncements from the North by national Jewish groups helpful, useless, or hurtful?

In the following discussion Mr. Mitchell expressed the opinion that if Jews would volunteer to help in the work of integration it would be a source of great strength. He also urged that every effort be made to achieve cooperation among all national Jewish groups.

In answer to the question whether pronouncements from the North by national Jewish groups were not hurtful, or at least useless, it was pointed out that Rabbi Charles Mantinband of Hattiesburg, Mississippi, had found that the statement of the American Conference of Reform Rabbis supporting the end of segregation and equal treatment of all human beings to be most helpful to him in his efforts on behalf of integration in the South. Rabbi Mantinband observes the practice of reading this statement when he is questioned regarding his stand favoring integration. In this way he invokes religious sanction for the position he has taken and is able to communicate to others the expression of a moral point of view sadly in need of greater circulation in the South.

Conclusions:

At the end of the conference it was agreed:

1. That a National Advisory Committee to C.C.I. should be enlarged to include all those present and additional persons, including representatives of the Negro community.

2. That a program be developed which would be directed toward shoring up the morale of the Jewish community in the South and of the forces seeking integration. Such a program should be directed to securing maximum support from the Jewish community and to securing maximum participation by Jewish citizens in the wider efforts of the entire Southern liberal movement. Plans should be developed to arrange for conferences between Rabbis in the South and between Rabbis and lay members of the Jewish community who could be involved. Likewise plans needed to be developed for closer cooperation between church and synagogue leaders and between Jewish and lay Christian citizens who would work together.

3. That several surveys should be undertaken to determine the attitudes of the Southern Jewish community regarding integration and the extent to which that community sanctions the statements of those

"Jewish leaders" who have demanded that Jews in the South refrain from active support of and participation in the movement toward integration.

4. That methods for closer communication needed to be developed between professionals in different fields (e.g., educators, social scientists, psychiatrists, librarians, ministers) in the North and South so that they could work together, share their knowledge and experiences, so that those in the South would receive supportive help from their colleagues of similar mind in both the South and North. Conferences and seminars with small groups and regional professional meetings could provide a point of departure for this work.

5. That an office be established in the South to be staffed by professional intergroup relations workers. It should be the responsibility of this office to locate, encourage, and strengthen Jewish and non-Jewish sources of liberal sentiment. It should also be prepared to provide services in times of crisis and to reinforce those persons and programs committed to advancing the struggle for integration. It should aid in establishing contact and communication between those persons and groups in the South that desire to increase the effectiveness of the Jewish community as a liberal instrumentality.

6. That a two-year budget be secured for the work and that it be guided as a special project by the National Advisory Committee.

October 1, 1956

Justine Wise Polier
Acting Chairman

American Jewish Congress

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JUSTINE WISE POLIER — Chairman Executive Committee
MAX A. KOPSTEIN — Chairman Administrative Committee
HAROLD B. COHEN — Secretary
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ISAAC TOUBIN, Executive Director

STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE, 15 EAST 84th STREET • NEW YORK 28, N. Y. • TRAFALGAR 9-4500

October 26, 1956

RECEIVED NOV 5 1956

Dear friend:

I am happy to announce the appointment of Mr. Isaac Toubin as executive director of the American Jewish Congress to succeed the late lamented and beloved Dr. David Petegorsky.

Mr. Toubin, who is not unfamiliar to you, has been successively assistant, associate and acting director of the Congress with which he has served for more than ten years. Prior to that he was associated with the National Jewish Welfare Board in a number of executive capacities here and overseas.

A graduate of the Yeshiva College and the Jewish Theological Seminary, he pursued graduate work in economics and history at Columbia University. We know that under his leadership the Congress will continue to render effective service to the Jewish community in the fields of its endeavor.

Sincerely yours,

Israel Goldstein

Israel Goldstein
President

IG:d

GREATER MIAMI CHAPTER

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

2[redacted] 1208 CONGRESS BLDG.
MIAMI 32, FLORIDA

TEL.: FR 3-4749

November 5, 1956

HON. HAROLD B. SPAET
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VAN MYERS
Vice-President

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MRS. E. MAX GOLDSTEIN
Secretary

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Treasurer

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Chairman, Executive Committee

DR. KURT PEISER
Chairman, Advisory Board

SEYMOUR SAMET
Southeast Area Director

Dear Friend:

At our meeting in Tuskegee you will remember that when we agreed on a special emphasis on certain key cities I asked that you assist us here in several ways. They include the following:

1. Personally contacting one or more people in the Greater Miami area from your organization whom you believe will be valuable to this activity;

2. Informing me of the name of this person, how he can be contacted, and how best you feel he should be used;

3. Arranging your own plans for the possibility of a visit to this area by you or by a member of your organization who will be here for the purpose of giving us support and obtaining additional local resources for the project;

4. The possibility of pooling funds with the other organizations interested in the project for the purpose of making available additional professional services here either on a part or full time basis.

I would appreciate any information you may be able to give me on the above as soon as it is possible.

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

Seymour Samet

Seymour Samet
Southeast Area Director

SS:sm

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NATIONAL OFFICE: 386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

November 14, 1956

Mr. Seymour Samet
The American Jewish Committee
1208 Congress Building
Miami 32, Florida

Dear Seymour:

As you may know, George Mitchell alerted Bill Williams to your effort to get concerted local activity going in Miami. Bill will be closely in touch with you as the effort proceeds.

Meanwhile, if we can help further in any way, let us know.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

11/7/56

HCF

Dr. Mitchell received this same letter. (without handwritten note as yours) He talked to Mr. Williams in the Florida office concerning it and and asked me to mail his copy to Mr. Williams which had the notation on it - "to act - GSM".

mbo

Has GSM written Sanet?

RECEIVED NOV 7 1956

GREATER MIAMI CHAPTER

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

21[redacted] 1208 CONGRESS BLDG.
MIAMI 32, FLORIDA

TEL.: FR 3-4749

November 5, 1956

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Vice-President

MRS. E. MAX GOLDSTEIN
Secretary

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DAVID B. FLEEMAN
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Chairman, Advisory Board

SEYMOUR SAMET
Southeast Area Director

Dear Friend:

At our meeting in Tuskegee you will remember that when we agreed on a special emphasis on certain key cities I asked that you assist us here in several ways. They include the following:

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4. The possibility of pooling funds with the other organizations interested in the project for the purpose of making available additional professional services here either on a part or full time basis.

I would appreciate any information you may be able to give me on the above as soon as it is possible.

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

Seymour

Seymour Samet
Southeast Area Director

SS:sm

Thank you for sending me your recommendations. If you have any other names please forward them on to me.

NATIONAL OFFICERS

IRVING M. ENGEL, *President*
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DR. S. ANDHIL FINEBERG, *Community Relations Consultant*

NATIONAL OFFICE: 386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

261
231-3-56

November 28, 1956

Mr. Don J. Hager, Research Director
American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Hager:

I am a long time replying to your letter, but I wanted to look into the question you raised with reasonable thoroughness before answering.

You are right in feeling that little has been done to survey racial patterns in welfare services. Enclosed is an excerpt from a report by the Richmond Urban League which has some relevence. No doubt the Urban League could supply the specific names, places and other particulars of the instances referred to in these two paragraphs.

Another report, somewhat out-dated but of possible interest, is "The Employment of Negroes in Public Welfare in Eleven Southern States, 1936 - 1949" by John R. Larkins, Information Bulletin No. 17 of the North Carolina State Board of Public Welfare, July 1951. This is the only thing of its kind that I know of, and unfortunately we have only one copy. But if you will write to Mr. Larkins, I'm sure he would be happy to send you one.

If I come across any more recent research activity in this field I will let you know.

I was glad to get a glimpse of you at the recent meeting in New York though sorry that we didn't get a chance to talk.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo
Enc.

RECEIVED NOV 15 1956

American Jewish Congress

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SYLVIA KUSIEL
DON J. HAGER, *Research Director*

November 13, 1956

Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I do want to congratulate you on the publication of "Integration North and South." It is excellent and I have already put it to good use.

I did want to make inquiry, however, about the status or prospects of desegregation and integration in a category not included in this recent volume, namely, in public welfare and rehabilitative services (mental institutions, orphanages, homes for the aged, reformatories, etc.). Several mohths ago we made a survey of 35 juvenile courts in the nation concerning their employment and assignment policies with respect to probation officers. Eight courts (4 in the South and 4 in the Midwest) reported employing and assigning probation officers on a segregated basis. So far as I know, this type of segregated case-load does not have a statutory base even in Southern jurisdictions. I am aware that social work organizations and other professional welfare groups are addressing themselves to this problem, but I am wondering if any reports or surveys of segregated (or integrated) welfare services have been made or are under way.

Sincerely yours,

Don Hager

Don J. Hager
Research Director

Can we send U.L. rept?
Jarkins rept?

HCJ

We have very little information on integration of public welfare workers or recipients. John Larkins issued a bulletin in 1951 entitled "Employment of Negroes In Public Welfare In Eleven Southern States, 1936-1949."

The 1955 report of the Urban League on the "Negro Municipal Worker" covers only 31 cities. It reports six cities employing 32 court workers and eight cities employing 306 workers in Departments of Public Welfare. Apparently, some of the Welfare workers are in non-professional jobs. It is not possible to identify (that is, from the report) the cities having these employees or all of the types of jobs held.

JCL

RECEIVED DEC 3 1956

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

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ALAN M. STROOCK, *New York, Vice-President*

November 30, 1956

Dear Dr. Fleming:

I would appreciate it very much if you would send me, by return mail, five copies of the October, 1956 issue of the New South.

Kindest regards,

Sincerely,

Morris N. Kertzer

Rabbi Morris N. Kertzer
Director
Jewish Communal Affairs
Department

Dr. Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

mailed 12/3 - mlo

MNK:fbw

F. B. I. - For your info
HCF

RECEIVED DEC 5 1956

American Jewish Congress

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DON J. HAGER, *Research Director*

December 3, 1956

Harold C. Fleming, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I want to thank you for your good letter of November 28 concerning my inquiry about racial patterns in welfare services. I do appreciate your comment and the listing of reports issued on this topic. They will be helpful. Another article has come to my attention although I have not yet read it: Savilla Simons, "Desegregation and Integration in Social Work," The YMCA Magazine, November 1956.

We have this HCF

Sincerely yours,

Don J. Hager
Research Director

December 14, 1956

Dr. Theodore Leskes
American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ted:

It surely was good to see you at the NAIRO Conference, and I believe that the report of the Commission on Civil Rights was the best of the lot.

Thank you for sending me the fifteen copies of Jules Cohn's paper on tax exemption and private group relations agencies. We will make very good use of it.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh,
Assistant Director

FBR:fc

December 27, 1956

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

My apologies for the fact that this letter will deal with several current matters.

First of all, James Rorty's article on John Kasper is extremely illuminating, and I would be grateful for whatever number of reprints you could let us have.

Secondly, I understand that various Agencies are interested in contributing to subscriptions to the Petal Paper. We can supply up to several thousand southern people who would doubtless welcome a gift subscription. I will look forward to hearing further about the development of this idea.

Finally, and least fruitfully, I have had little luck in finding an appropriate Southern social scientist who would be willing and able to undertake the article for the Scientific American. The ones I know off who are definitely qualified are too busy, and there are very few of those. That doesn't mean that there are no candidates--simply that I haven't been able to find them. However, let me advance the thought that it may not make much difference whether the author of this one is Southern or not. After all, it is a scientific question, and it is a fact that most of the work in this field has been done in the North. I wish I could be more helpful on this, for I would like to see the opportunity seized.

With all good wishes for 1957.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:fc

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

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December 19, 1956

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am sure you will be interested in the enclosed reprint of a piece that James Rorty wrote for Commentary on John Kasper.

Additional small quantities of the reprint may be available if you will let me know at once.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig
enc.

145-2-56

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

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December 18, 1956

CONFIDENTIAL

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Quite confidentially, we are trying to locate a reputable Southern social psychologist or sociologist who would be willing to undertake the preparation of a quasi popular article answering the McGurk thesis. This article would, hopefully, appear in the Scientific American, with whose editor I have discussed the matter preliminarily. It is our plan to stimulate wide reprinting of such an article preparatory to its distribution throughout the South.

Can you suggest the names of one or two people who would be willing to undertake, initially, the preparation of a two-page outline for the editor of Scientific American? We would appreciate it very much if you would privately inquire among the scholarly fraternity and stimulate the interest of one or two acceptable people.

Could you let me hear from you in the very near future, since time is of the essence.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

February 13, 1961

Mr. Robert J. Greene
Area Director
The American Jewish Committee
Room 805
Continental Building
1012 - 14th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

Dear Bob:

Many thanks for the copy of the report prepared by a committee of the NAIRO Washington Chapter. I will take care to treat it confidentially.

This is an impressive and useful survey. I'll be interested to learn, in due course, how it is used and with what results.

Our report is evidently getting a wide readership within the new administration -- to what effect remains to be seen.

My best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Central Seaboard Area

Robert J. Greene, Area Director • Room 805, Continental Building, 1012 14th Street, N.W. • Washington ~~24~~ 5 D.C. • DI 7-3204

February 6, 1961

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The memorandum to the new President from the Southern Regional Council got extensive treatment from the Washington press. Indeed, the "Post" of February 2, has an editorial (see attached) which leaves me a bit befuddled. But then, the "Post" can get a bit too cute for its own best interests on occasion.

I am rather anxious to read the report which arrived today. I am quite curious to know how it may dovetail with the enclosed report which a study group of NAIRO's Washington Chapter has just completed. I have been the editor of that report, pulling together information supplied by study group members and other sources. I am happily swapping ours for yours, feeling I will come away with far the better of the bargain.

For the present time may I ask this restraint: that the report not be shared with anyone else. It has an internal purpose which I might discuss with you if this were a face-to-face chat. Also, we are concerned that no personal mileage be gotten from our work by those unconnected with the project who might try to peddle it for their own purposes without having contributed to its preparation. I believe you know Washington well enough to appreciate that to which I have reference.

With best personal regards.

Sincerely,

Robert J. Greene,
Area Director

RJG:rb
encl.

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February 23, 1961

Mr. Robert J. Greene
The American Jewish Committee
Room 805, Continental Building
1012 - 14hh Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Bob:

I am more embarrassed and apologetic than I can say about the goof in our handling of your confidential report. This was entirely the result of my own carelessness. My chagrin is all the greater because this is the kind of mistake that we pride ourselves on not making. I hope that the consequences are as slight as you describe them, and that you can accept my red-faced apologies.

Of course, Les Dunbar will handle the matter as you suggest.

If there is anything else I can do to rectify this mistake, do let me know.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

LWD — Did I show you (or tell you of) Bob Greene's ltr of transmittal? If not, I'm at fault. It's attached. Please return HCF

MO

PR — please note

HF

Central Seaboard Area

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Robert J. Greene, Area Director • Room 805, Continental Building, 1012 14th Street, N.W. • Washington 5, D.C. • DI 7-3204

February 15, 1961

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 201, 5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I much regret having to take your time to report a somewhat distressing matter. John Yoshino, President's Committee on Government Contracts, called me today somewhat upset because he had received a letter from Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar of your staff requesting a copy of the study done by the survey group of the NAIRO Washington Chapter.

Since Yoshino currently is somewhat insecure at the Committee and since he has not seen a copy of the report as yet, this request left him quite puzzled as to why it came to him. Yoshino will probably tell Mr. Dunbar that he has not seen the report and suggest instead Joe Douglass's 1960 NAIRO conference paper on a somewhat related matter. I hope Dunbar will accept this response and let the matter drop.

This is a minor unfortunate development, and I hope that the two of us can work it out together.

Sincerely,

Bob

Robert J. Greene

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MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS
165 East 56th Street, New York 22, N. Y. • PLaza 1-4000

from the desk of ISAIAH TERMAN
Director of Communications and Servicing

RECEIVED
MAR 27 1961

IN RE: FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

LWD
TTR

The enclosed Statement was filed on March 22, 1961 by the American Jewish Committee with the appropriate subcommittees of both houses of Congress in connection with the current debate on Federal aid for elementary and secondary schools.

Isaiah Terman

March 22, 1961
1a-c2abc3a-d
Encl.

STATEMENT OF THE

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

ON FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

TO THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

OF THE

SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

87th CONGRESS - FIRST SESSION

March 22, 1961

STATEMENT OF THE

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

ON FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION

TO THE

SUBCOMMITTEE ON EDUCATION

OF THE

SENATE COMMITTEE ON LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE

87th CONGRESS - FIRST SESSION

The American Jewish Committee, a national organization with chapters and units in over 50 cities and with membership in over 600 additional communities in the United States, was organized in 1906 and incorporated by a Special Act of the Legislature of the State of New York in 1911. Its Charter states:

> The objects of this corporation shall be, to prevent the infraction of the civil and religious rights of Jews, in any part of the world; to render all lawful assistance and to take appropriate remedial action in the event of threatened or actual invasion or restriction of such rights, or of unfavorable discrimination with respect thereto.

For 54 years, it has been one of the fundamental tenets of the American Jewish Committee that the welfare and security of Jews depend upon the preservation of religious freedom for all Americans, and that discrimination against any religious group in the United States may eventually be a threat to Jews.

Perhaps the major contribution of American political thought to Western civilization has been the concept of the separation of church and state, which was intended to safeguard religious freedom. This political and social philosophy, adopted

by the Founding Fathers and written into the Constitution of the United States in the First Amendment is not based upon any hostility to religion, but upon the sound premise that both religion and government can work best to achieve their objectives if each is free from the other within its respective sphere. It has been this theory of relationship between religion and government, between church and state, that has nurtured the healthy development of over 250 different religious groups in the United States, each dependent solely upon the voluntary support of its adherents, and not upon winning political power or receiving contributions from the public treasury. As Mr. Justice Frankfurter said in his concurring opinion in McCollum v. Board of Education, 333 U.S. 203, 232:

> ...We have staked the very existence of our country on the faith that complete separation between the state and religion is best for the state and best for religion....

The American Jewish Committee believes that there is a crisis in education in the United States today and that such crisis will continue into the foreseeable future. The increasing demands of our highly industrialized and highly specialized society, combined with the spectacular increase in birth rate during and following World War II, have contributed to the creation of this crisis. More and better education than ever before are required so that our people may be competent in contemporary society to govern themselves, and also exercise the judgment necessary for their survival in an atomic age.

Because the Federal Government is receiving an ever larger bite of the tax dollar and because the various states have uneven rates of economic development, substantial federal support is, and will continue to be, necessary for all levels of education. The American Jewish Committee, however, believes with President Kennedy that this crisis in education can (and indeed must be) met within the framework of sound public policy adopted over 170 years ago, namely, that the institutions of church and state shall be kept forever separate and distinct in the United States. We, therefore, heartily endorse the Administration's proposal for a three-year program of federal financial assistance for public elementary and secondary schools, while urging that federal funds not be made available either as grants or loans for non-public institutions.

This is not to be interpreted as hostility to such schools. In 1925 the American Jewish Committee defended the right of parents to send their children to parochial schools to receive the type of education that such parents deemed best for their children The great constitutional lawyer, Louis Marshall, then President of the American Jewish Committee, filed an amicus curiae brief in the United States Supreme Court in Pierce v. Society of Sisters of the Holy Name of Jesus and Mary, 268 U.S. 510, defending the right of parents to send their children to private, religiously-oriented schools. That brief, written and filed on behalf of the American Jewish Committee over 35 years ago, reasoned then (as it would today, under like circumstances) that parents who elect to send their children to private schools, must "pay out of their own

pockets, and not out of the public treasury, the cost of education received by their children at such schools."

Notwithstanding the very rapid growth of all-day Jewish parochial schools -- there are about 45,000 children attending such schools in the United States -- the American Jewish Committee has steadfastly held to that same position: that public funds should be used for public education and must not be used, either directly or indirectly, to support non-public elementary or secondary schools. We do not believe that it is either discriminatory or unjust to ask parents who voluntarily elect to send thei children to private schools because they prefer the type of education given at such institutions over that offered in the public schools, to pay the entire cost of such private school education. Indeed, we would consider it unfair and discriminatory to ask the general tax-payer to foot the bill, in whole or in part, for such private school education.

Thus, while we believe that in the Everson, McCollum and Zorach cases, the United States Supreme Court has interpreted the establishment clause of the First Amendment as a bar to the use of public funds or credits to support religious schools, as well as other church-related functions, we predicate our opposition in the context of the current legislative proposal on grounds of public policy rather than constitutional law.

Religion has flourished in this country, although religious indoctrination has not been subsidized from the public treasury. And the public schools themselves have served as a great unifying force in American life -- welcoming young people of every creed,

emphasizing the common heritage of all and serving as training grounds for healthful community living. The public schools have performed an indispensable function, and any departure from experience and tradition which would use public funds to encourage the expansion of parochial school systems would tend to accelerate the public school crisis rather than solve it. Proliferation of parochial school systems by the various religious groups in the United States would result in a fragmentation of American life along religious lines.

Any proposal which would prevent the public schools from fulfilling their traditional role as a unifying force in American life must be weighed with the greatest caution.

Respectfully submitted,

Herbert B. Ehrmann
President

March 22, 1961

(To be routed in order numbered)
Date

PLEASE CHECK, DATE AND FORWARD

HCF
4 PA
MA
1 LWD ✓
MM
EW
SM
2 PR ✓
JC
LEC
3 MET ✓
BC
RHA
PP
WF
5 MF
FILE

Note letter is Confidential

HCF

March 27, 1961

TO: Naomi Levine

cc: Betty Alderson
Harold C. Fleming

FROM: Haskell L. Lazere, A.J. Congress

SUBJECT: NOW

I would like to report some developments on NOW so that you will have them for your records.

Nurses Training -- There is a nurses shortage down here and few of the hospitals so far as we have been able to ascertain employ Negro nurses. Nurses training is also not available to Negroes and so NOW has undertaken the project of training to establish some more adequate nurses training for Negro applicants and to persuade the hospitals in the area to employ those qualified Negro nurses available.

Earlington Heights -- The next major school desegregation in Dade County is scheduled to take place in Earlington Heights, which is a transitional neighborhood. NOW, in the persons of Bea Muskat and Pat Sonen, has met with Superintendent Joe Hall to discuss this development. Friday, March 24th, there was a discussion of the Earlington Heights situation and the decision was made that there be an intensive effort made by NOW in cooperation with the existing agencies to try to keep the Earlington Heights area from going all black. It became pretty obvious that this low income neighborhood has already lost many of the white people and others are departing in great numbers. The problem is really one of trying to convince those remaining that it is good to live in an integrated neighborhood. With a White Citizens Council headquarters nearby this will be no mean feat.

The most disturbing item I have to report is that despite the experience of other communities, which experience has proved it is essential to prepare a community, the Dade

Superintendent, Joe Hall, has indicated to Bea and Pat that the School Administration welcomes the help of NOW but does not feel it is the Administration's job to assist in this effort except by way of providing information.

I find the above extremely disturbing and it was compounded by the fact that the Superintendent withdrew participation of one of the Assistant Superintendents from the NOW meeting with Mrs. Tilly scheduled on February 24th because the newspaper had tagged the Tilly meeting as one being sponsored by an integrated unit. The Superintendent said that he had received many adverse telephone calls, that the meeting had been misrepresented to him, and that the School Board attorneys had advised him to have no official member of the School Board participate in the meeting less there be difficulty later. This is the kind of situation with which we have to contend at all political levels in this community. It is short-sighted and negative in its approach on the part of public officials which had compounded the difficulties of really doing something about preparing the community to meet its problems.

I am taking the liberty of sending a copy of this memo to Harold Fleming at the Southern Regional Council so that he will have this information about Miami but at the same time I am asking that he keep it confidential. There is much more to report but in the interim I think this will give you a partial picture. We still have the problem of raising $9,800.00 and this is going to be a very time consuming and back-breaking job.

HLL:fk

Harold —
This is for your information & the staff - if you wish —

November 17, 1961

Mr. Shad Polier
Polier, Midonick & Zinsser
60 East 42nd Street
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Polier:

This time we are enclosing the July-August New South and our Freedom Riders report of last May. I am enclosing also a special report we did in September in which we attempted to recapitulate the score on the sit-in movement; you may find this of value as reference. I am including also our September New South, feeling that you might enjoy Margaret Long's little essay on page two.

Many thanks for your warm letter of November 11. The dinner invitation from you and Judge Polier I fully intend to avail myself of. May I let you know when I shall again be in New York?

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD;mbb
Enc.-4-

POLIER, MIDONICK & ZINSSER
ATTORNEYS AND COUNSELLORS AT LAW
60 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

SHAD POLIER
MILLARD L. MIDONICK
BARBARA L. ZINSSER
STEPHEN WISE TULIN

MURRAY HILL 7-3577
CABLE: POLMIDARM NEW YORK

November 11, 1961

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

My apologies for this very belated acknowledgment of your letter of October 10. Somehow it was mislaid. Even more regrettably, the July-August issue of New South and the additional copy of your Special Report never reached me. I do hope that you can spare copies of both.

I am certain that you will understand that both the writing of my weekly newsletter and the reading of the material from which it is extracted are done under great pressure of time since they must be fitted into a rather heavy schedule of private practice and a great many outside interests. As a matter of fact, I count myself lucky when I have more than two hours in which to dictate the letter, edit it and send it by messenger to the American Jewish Congress for mimeographing.

It may well be that in my haste I misread your comments on the Freedom Riders as being critical of them because they were non-Southerners. On the other hand, if my memory serves me right, there was missing from your Special Report an affirmative recognition of the validity and importance of outsiders coming into the South to help break down barriers of segregation. Be that as it may, I am convinced that the Freedom Riders made a tremendous contribution and I doubt that the Federal Government would otherwise have intervened so promptly and forcefully.

I do hope that whenever your plans bring you to New York you will let me know in advance. While I would be delighted to have lunch with you, it would be an even greater pleasure if you would come to dinner with Judge Polier and myself.

With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

SP:TS

SHAD POLIER

October 10, 1961

Mr. Shad Polier, Chairman
American Jewish Congress
Commission on Law and Social Action
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Mr. Polier:

It has been some weeks since I read the July 7 newsletter of the American Jewish Congress, in which you commented on our Freedom Ride report. I should have responded before this.

We do have some difference of opinion, but not, I think, as great as you may believe. When we differentiated between the Ride and the earlier sit-ins in point of participation by non-Southerners we were, we thought, just reporting a fact, and not necessarily, as you infer, making a criticism.

I have had and do have some misgivings about the Freedom Ride. I believe, however, that our report of last May, read in its entirety, does give a balanced as well as a basically sympathetic interpretation. We returned again to the subject in our July-August New South, of which I am enclosing a copy, together with an additional copy of the Special Report.

I have no definite plans for being in New York, though I am sure that later this fall I shall be up. Sometime when I am in the city I hope that there may be an opportunity to meet you, perhaps for a lunch. And, of course, if you are ever in Atlanta we want you to visit us.

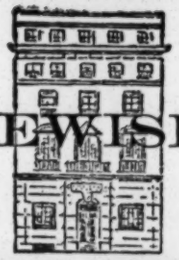
With best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb

From Mr. A. W.



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July 7, 1961

Dear Colleague:

Mississippi continues to be a focal point in the struggle for civil rights in the South. Consequently a large part of this letter will be devoted to recent developments in that State.

Freedom Riders. The Jackson, Mississippi Police Court continues to hand out sentences to whites and Negroes coming there to defy segregation in bus and railroad terminals. The arrests have now reached the figure of 177, of whom 170 have been convicted on breach-of-the-peace charges since late in May.

The continuation of this form of protest against clearly illegal segregation laws is understandable and, in my opinion, entirely commendable. Indeed, it was disappointing that the Southern Regional Council recently chose to issue a statement critical of the Freedom Riders on the ground that they were mostly "outsiders". The Council sought to differentiate on this ground between the Freedom Riders and Southern students who have provided the manpower for sit-in demonstrations at lunch counters.

To attempt to make such a distinction seems to me to be utterly unsound. The right which the Freedom Riders are seeking to vindicate is the right to travel in interstate commerce without discrimination or segregation. This right is one which belongs not only to those who live in Jackson, Mississippi or, indeed, in any of the Southern States, but also to every person in this country. If there were any logic in the criticism by the Council, one would suppose that the Council would refrain from accepting contributions from individuals and foundations located north of the Mason-Dixon Line, which provide a very substantial part of the funds necessary for the Council to carry on its work in the South.

It is also disappointing that none of the Freedom Riders appear to have appealed the convictions so as to secure

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a ruling by the United States Supreme Court. It would seem that at least some of those who have chosen to avoid prison by paying their fines would, instead, have posted bond and have taken such an appeal. It is understandable, therefore, that Thurgood Marshall, Chief NAACP Counsel, lamented in a recent address before the 18th Annual Race Relations Institute at Fisk University upon the lack of planning and coordination on the legal front in Jackson.

While no appeals appear to have been taken by the Freedom Riders, one of them did seek to obtain her release by way of a habeas corpus proceeding in the United States District Court. It was to be expected that United States District Judge Sidney Mize should dismiss the application. It is well settled that the validity of such a conviction cannot be tested in a collateral proceeding but must be attacked by direct appeal. Nevertheless, Judge Mize went out of his way in his decision on Monday to commend the use of the Mississippi breach of-the-peace statute as having prevented the occurrence of bloodshed. These observations on the part of Judge Mize were both unnecessary and unsound.

Parks Are For White People. The color line in Jackson is by no means limited to bus and railroad stations. On Wednesday four Negroes were arrested on charges of breach of the peace because they refused to obey police orders to move from a bench in the City park usually used by white persons. Those arrested were among a dozen Negroes who entered the area normally used by white persons as picnickers. Afterwards they strolled around the swimming pool area where they were turned away from the ticket booth. Apparently four of them went too far when they chose to sit down.

Negroes Cannot Vote. Yesterday the Department of Justice filed two suits in Mississippi charging that Negroes had been denied voting rights in two counties. In Forest County, a majority of the 22,000 eligible white persons are registered to vote but only 25 of the 7,495 Negroes. While a substantial majority of the 6,000 white persons of voting age in Clarke County are registered, not one of the Negro residents is registered. This situation, the Justice Department asserts, is a result of a "clear-cut pattern of discrimination", which takes the form of applying different and more stringent standards to Negro applicants, refusing to register Negroes with qualifications similar to those of registered whites and arbitrarily denying Negroes the chance to register.

Both suits were brought in the United States District Court for the Southern District of Mississippi and seek temporary and permanent injunctions against discrimination. August 7 has been set for a hearing. Gov. Ross Barnett, to the surprise of no one, immediately denounced the suits as "an invasion of local self-government". Similar suits, also brought under the Civil Rights Act of 1957 against voting registrars, are pending in Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana and Tennessee.

Welfare a la Newburgh. My last letter reported the promulgation of a plan by Newburgh, New York, to deny public assistance to needy children on the grounds of illegitimacy and/or because their homes are "unsuitable". It was noted that the majority of the children affected are Negro.

Yesterday a Subcommittee of the New York Social Welfare Board conducting a public hearing on the Newburgh Plan, found it to be violative

both of the State's Aid to Dependent Children Program and the Federal Social Security Act. Under the latter legislation, Federal funds cover 47.6% of the cost and the Federal contribution, in 1960, amounted to $65,569,000. There is no doubt that the full Board will uphold the findings of the Subcommittee.

Newburgh officials have, however, indicated that they will defy the Board's ruling. Three alternatives have been suggested for dealing with such defiance.

Under the first proposal, the State would withhold its contribution of 50% of the cost of the local welfare program. Such action would, in my opinion, create a situation where the remedy would be worse than the disease. It would mean even greater deprivation to the children in Newburgh who need public assistance.

The second proposal is for the Board to seek court action to enjoin the Newburgh Plan now scheduled to go into effect on July 15. Unless a preliminary injunction were granted immediately, this course might well involve delay of days and even weeks while needy children were denied assistance.

A third suggestion has been proposed by Louise Wise Services upon my recommendation as its Counsel. Louise Wise Services is a social agency which for the past 45 years has provided not only child adoption services but also shelter care for hundreds of unmarried mothers each year. It has urged that Gov. Nelson A. Rockefeller invoke his powers as the Chief Executive of the State and notify the public officials of Newburgh that their defiance of the decision of the Board will result in the removal of those officials from public office.

In its telegram to the Board and to the Governor, Louise Wise Services urged that the Newburgh Plan violates every precept of child welfare and denounced as utterly unsound the notion that the denial of aid to dependent children is a constructive way to deal with the social phenomenon of illegitimacy. This problem, Louise Wise Services pointed out, is by no means limited to any particular economic, social, religious or ethnic group in the population. That a very high proportion of those seeking public assistance in Newburgh are Negroes is, as noted in my last letter, a natural consequence of, among other things, the lower economic status of the Negro in the community.

Discrimination Against Muslims. Prisoners sentenced by the courts of the District of Columbia are sent to the United States Reformatory at Lorton, Virginia. Thirty-eight inmates are Negroes professing Islam and are known as Muslims. They brought suit in the United States District Court charging discriminations and deprivations because of their religion. They claimed, among other things, that they were deprived of institutional privileges, including medical attention, kept in isolation, required to sleep on concrete floors, provided with little to eat and "forbidden to wear medals symbolic of their faith, although that privilege is accorded to Catholics, Baptists, etc." In addition, their complaint charges that they were denied an opportunity to communicate with their religious advisers, recite their prayers, or receive desired publications without fear of being persecuted. Efforts to obtain redress from the Board of Commissioners of the District of Columbia, which has general supervision over the Superintendent of the Prison, were, they asserted, frustrated by the persistent refusal of the Superintendent and other prison officers to transmit any complaints.

The District Court granted the Government motion to dismiss the complaint on the ground that the judicial branch of the Government should not interfere with the executive function involved in the maintenance of discipline in the prison. Accordingly, the only question before the Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit, to which the case was appealed, was whether the complaint alleged facts which, if proved, required judicial intervention and whether, therefore, the complainants were entitled to a hearing. The Court of Appeals unanimously reversed in an opinion written by Chief Judge Simon Sobeloff. He pointed out that "It is beyond dispute that certain rights and privileges of citizenship are withdrawn from prisoners, but it has never been held that upon entering a prison one is entirely bereft of all of his civil rights and forfeits every protection of the law." In answer to the argument that if a hearing is ordered in this instance it will encourage a flood of such complaints, Judge Sobeloff said, "Our answer must be the same as that given by the Second Circuit: 'We must not play fast and loose with basic constitutional rights in the interest of administrative efficiency.'"

Movie Censorship in Chicago. Last January, the United States Supreme Court, in a 5-to-4 decision, upheld the constitutionality of the Chicago Censorship Ordinance, which makes it unlawful to show a movie without a permit from the Police Commissioner. In the Times Film case, the exhibitor paid a license fee but refused to submit the film "Don Juan" for examination. When the license was refused, the exhibitor sought an injunction on the ground that censorship constituted, in and of itself, an infringement of the freedom of expression protected by the Constitution.

Last month the United States Court of Appeals for the Seventh Circuit in the Zenith case had before it a situation in which the Police Commissioner and his Sergeant in charge of the Police Censor Board refused to license "The Lovers" unless the entire fifth reel was expunged. The exhibitor was simply told that this reel was immoral and obscene. As a matter of fact, the only group that saw the entire film was the Film Review Board, a group appointed by the Police Commissioner as his advisers.

The Court of Appeals reversed on the ground that the Times Film decision does not provide carte blanche authorization for unfair, arbitrary municipal licensing procedures. It ruled that, under the standards set down by the Supreme Court in the Roth case involving alleged pornographic literature, "It is as a whole that a work must be judged, not merely by plucking isolated scenes or passages from such work." The Court of Appeals also cited the Roth case as having "set the criterion for obscenity, not at an individual, subjective level, but at the benchmark of a general objective determination whether a work appeals to the pruriant interest of the community at large." Consequently, the Court ruled the action of the Police Commissioner was invalid because he, the only responsible official, had never seen the entire film and had not granted the exhibitor an opportunity at a formal hearing to offer evidence to show that the film did not offend against contemporary community standards.

It will be interesting to observe the results of the Zenith decision. Certainly it will be quite a novel experience to observe the Police Commissioner of the City of Chicago conducting his censorship activities in such a way to meet the requirements of due process of law. Nevertheless, it must be said that the entire notion that movies should be subject to censorship marks an irrational and indefensible exception to the freedoms granted by the First and Fourteenth Amendments.

Sincerely yours, Abe Fortas

January 5, 1962

Air Mail

Mr. John Slawson
The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Slawson:

Regrettably, because of developments here, it will be impossible for me to be in New York for the dinner meeting on Wednesday evening. I hasten to inform you of this and to assure you that we are wholeheartedly in support of the idea of an exhibit at the New York World's Fair. Please be assured of our endorsement and complete cooperation in this effort.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mbb
cc: Harry Fleischman

January 16, 1962

Mr. Harry Fleischman, Director
National Labor Service
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Fleischman:

Leslie Dunbar has asked me to inform you that he will be unable to attend the Conference on Preserving the Democratic Process.

The Council's Southern Leadership Project Director, Benjamin Muse, will attend instead.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

PA: mbb

Forwarded this same date to Benjam Muse:
Fleischman letter of 1/8/62
together with program and materials
relating to the Conference.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • PLaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

January 15, 1962

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

I am happy to learn from Harry Fleischman that you have expressed interest in meeting with a group of organization leaders to explore the unusual opportunity which the New York World's Fair may afford to those of us who are concerned with intergroup relations.

We are planning to meet here for dinner on Wednesday, February 7, at 6:30 p.m., and I look forward to the pleasure of seeing you.

Cordially yours,

John Slawson

John Slawson

Mr. Leslie Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

cc: Harry Fleischman

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IRVING SALOMON, San Diego Vice-President
GARDNER H. STERN, Chicago, Vice-President

National Labor Service

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000 Harry Fleischman, Director

December 29, 1961

Mr. Leslie Dunbar, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Enclosed is a copy of a "Proposal for a Hall of Human Relations in the 1964 World's Fair" in New York which the American Jewish Committee to Robert Moses who was very favorably impressed with it.

A dinner meeting will be held on Wednesday, February 7, 1962 at 6:30 P.M. at the Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56th Street, New York City, at which top representatives of a few key organizations will consider ways and means of revising and promoting such a project. Since the proposal deals heavily with human relations, we are very anxious to have you attend this dinner. Would it be at all possible for you to make it?

I will be calling you next week after you have had a chance to look over the proposal.

All the best.

Cordially yours,

Harry

Harry Fleischman

eak
encl.

PROPOSAL FOR
A HALL OF HUMAN RELATIONS
IN THE 1964 WORLD'S FAIR

Memorandum submitted to
The Honorable Robert Moses
by the
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York City

Amplification of Initial Presentation
June 1, 1960

PROPOSAL FOR
A HALL OF HUMAN RELATIONS
IN THE 1964 WORLD'S FAIR

The official keynote of the 1964 World's Fair is "Man's Achievements in an Expanding Universe." It may be safely assumed that many facets of this theme will be fully developed by American industry. Our achievements in breaking through the barriers that stand between man and his knowledge of the physical universe will doubtless be depicted; likewise the best that free enterprise has accomplished in enhancing standards of living.

Yet no less essential to man's well-being is the break-through to new understanding of his fellow man.

To accomplish this break-through is a goal that Americans in ever-increasing number are setting for themselves. Through their voluntary groups, they are working as never before to strengthen human relations and uphold human rights.

Undertakings to these ends range from social research to social action -- psychological exploration into the nature of group prejudice; human-relations education in the schools; measures extending equal opportunity on an unprecedented scale in housing, education, employment and other areas. Activity has been especially marked in interreligious relationships. The United States has become the bastion of the three

Western faiths -- Protestantism, Catholicism and Judaism -- and is today the most believing of all countries. Necessary bridges of understanding between these great religions are being built daily.

The proliferation of voluntary groups is a feature of American life frequently noted by visitors from abroad. Less often perceived is the manner in which these diverse groups are exercising freedom of initiative and association, utilizing the democratic processes of law and citizen action to advance man's understanding of his fellow man.

This accurate, affirmative image of America should be brought into full view. Too much of the negative side of our national life has been pictured.

The possibilities for dramatic visual treatment are vast. Thanks to the remarkable upsurge of concern with interreligious, intercultural and interracial relations on the part of the mass communications media -- radio, television, stage, screen, newspapers and magazines -- there is a reservoir of material at hand. The best motion pictures, plays and TV shows in which situations or characters involving intergroup relations are constructively treated could be shown. All types of special events, including original orchestral, operatic and theatrical performances with human-relations content, could be planned.

The indirect benefits should not be overlooked. The fact that an island of human study is found in a sea of physical accomplishment will elicit press and TV coverage. Visitors will be present from all parts of the world. America's international relations will be aided by an

exhibit which stresses personal and intergroup understanding rather than technological accomplishment -- which shows Americans applying themselves to man's inner need for dignity, recognition and fellowship.

Emphases

Suggestive of the concepts to be highlighted by exhibits and special events are the following:

(1) The people who compose our "one nation indivisible" stem from 60 national origins, adhere to more than 200 religious sects and contain all the races of mankind. With freedom to retain and strengthen the unique features of its own heritage, each group contributes to our rich and variegated culture.

Through their own exhibits, participating groups can demonstrate their individual cultural and artistic contributions; their individual approaches to religious faith -- which, despite their differences are grounded in a common ethic.

(2) America was fashioned by freedom-seekers, explorers, pioneers and adventurers who came here from every part of the world and built a nation.

Displays would depict the waves of immigration which made possible the great westward movement, the building of the railroads, expansion of our cities, development of our great universities and centers of scientific thought.

(3) America has always stood as a world-wide symbol of equal opportunity -- a land where each citizen is judged on his merits and may rise to the limit of his individual capacities.

Visual treatment would show our determined march toward equality of opportunity -- in employment, education, housing and other fields. Great human-rights milestones on this continent, dating back to the Mayflower Compact, would highlight our consistent belief in individual dignity as the essence of democracy. An exhibit tracing the religious roots of the Declaration of Independence could be based on interesting research material which the National Council of Churches has in hand.

(4) Our nation's schools strive to keep pace with an ever-changing, ever-shrinking world. Youngsters must understand and appreciate their democratic heritage. They must be prepared to discharge the responsibilities of citizenship and exercise its privileges. They must recognize the growing interdependence of people everywhere. To meet these new demands, our children must be equipped not only with the basic 3 R's but also with 3 new ones -- Rights, Responsibilities and human Relationships. (The U.S. Office of Education developed these thoughts in a challenging little picture book entitled "The Six R's.")

In line with this emphasis, parent groups, teacher organizations, adult education associations and the youth-serving agencies -- Scouts, "Y's," and scores of others -- would demonstrate their programs to further education for modern needs.

(5) Age-old superstitions and stereotypes have stood in the way of better understanding among peoples of different backgrounds. Today, these old myths are yielding to new knowledge and understanding.

The contributions of the mass media should be stressed here. Motion pictures, radio and television, magazines, newspapers and comic books have helped to eradicate stereotypes and build positive images of America and Americans.

(6) Explorations into the psychological roots of bigotry have opened up new approaches to mental health. The social sciences, by developing new insights into the factors that make for healthy personality development, are helping home, school and community to foster outgoing, well-adjusted youngsters, free of the inner conflicts, frustrations and self-deceptions upon which bigotry breeds.

Exhibits would translate recent scientific findings into practical guideposts for the parent, the teacher, the youth worker, the minister and others concerned with mental health and community betterment.

(7) One of the strongest defenses of the free world is public awareness that racial and religious prejudices are incited and manipulated by political power-seekers to undermine free institutions. "Divide and Conquer," typified in modern times by the power drives of nazism, fascism and communism, dates back to antiquity. Demagogues throughout history have played on popular superstitions and fears, deflecting the justifiable grievances of the people to convenient scapegoats.

Even in the United States, rabblerousers have tried to copy this technique from time to time. But their efforts have been rejected by the overwhelming majority of Americans.

A variety of dramatic exhibits, reaching back to the Greeks and down to the present, can illustrate the exploitation of bigotry as a divisive technique.

(8) If our Western culture is to survive in the nuclear age, the science of human relations must catch up quickly with the physical sciences.

Many organizations can demonstrate the various ways in which they are devoting themselves to this task -- through leadership-training workshops; projects to eradicate prejudicial references in religious textbooks; dissemination of information about the beliefs, traditions and practices of different religious and ethnic groups; social-action programs requiring cross-section citizen participation in community improvement and civic affairs.

Nature of Exhibits

It is believed that a properly constituted advisory committee of creative experts could devise a wealth of engrossing exhibits. The following examples are merely illustrative.

(1) The Ames Exhibit at Princeton is a fascinating display of optical illusions in which the visitor sees not what is present but what his past experience has led him to expect. One view produces the illusion and the next view displays the reality. Such an exhibit would demonstrate how people are influenced by their predispositions and result in a warning against the dangers of preconception.

(2) Dioramas could contrast the attitudes based on age-old superstitions and fears relating to race, religion and nationality with the more civilized viewpoints resulting from appreciation of scientific truth. These exhibits could also show what wholesome human relations mean in practical terms, in broadening horizons of individual and group achievement.

(3) A photographic exhibit room could illustrate the basic identity of people throughout the world in terms of their motives and aspirations, at the same time indicating how different peoples do things differently as the result of environmental factors (writing from left to right or from right to left), showing that the way we do things is not necessarily the only right way.

(4) Anthropologists have shown us how naked savage boys with bones through their nostrils have been converted into automobile mechanics. Photographic exhibits, perhaps with the actual presence of "live" examples, would indicate the danger of regarding races and peoples as basically inferior.

(5) Visitors could be supplied with simple questionnaires on personality factors and with sensitizing pencils for checking the answers. These questionnaires, when inserted in machines, produce instantaneous personality diagnoses adapted to the various combinations of answers. An effort would be made to couch the diagnoses in hopeful terms, stressing affirmative factors and areas of self-improvement.

(6) Lie detectors have been perfected to the point where a person is asked to mentally select a number between one and ten, and to answer "no" in sequence to the questions "Is it one, is it two, is it three?" and so on. Automatic machinery would indicate the number which had actually been selected, illustrating, among other things, the psychosomatic factors involved.

Setting

Thinking in terms of a suitable framework, something like a "Hall of Human Relations" comes to mind. The name, in any event, should be sufficiently definitive to exclude such tangential subject matter as employer-employee relations, safety drives, health campaigns and the whole gamut of community services that come under the heading of philanthropy -- all extremely important, to be sure, but not integral to the central theme as here envisioned: "Toward Man's Understanding of His Fellow Man."

Structure

In the event that the Federal Government should allocate a building at the Fair for this purpose, there is no doubt that the Institute of Human Relations and other national organizations representing the major religious, racial and ethnic groups in America, as well as leading agencies in education, social science, civil rights, civil liberties and mass communications, would gladly participate and assume responsibility for their own exhibits.

In order to coordinate these efforts, it would seem advisable to create a small Steering Committee broadly representative of all America through the major national organizations in the fields indicated above. A much larger Council of Participating Organizations should reflect the variegated spectrum of group life in America -- the many small religious groups, as well as the three major faiths; native-born Spanish-speaking minorities, as well as the myriad other nation-origin groups; the American Indians and other distinct racial groups, as well as the American Negroes; Hawaiians, Alaskans and other nationally and racially mixed strains in our country.

It would also be desirable to name an Advisory Board of experts in education, the social sciences and mass communications -- persons who are contributing to the development of new insights and their application in dealing with intergroup conflicts. This body might include, among others, representatives of organizations whose concerns cross racial, ethnic and religious lines -- the National Education Association the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues; the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry; the National Academy of Television Arts and Sciences; the American Society of Newspaper Editors; the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences; university human relations centers in various parts of the country; the National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials; education and anti-discrimination departments of the major labor unions.

All the exhibits and special events should be coordinated by a director and staff who would work with the participating organizations to insure that all are enabled to express their programs and philosophies in their own ways, yet cued to the overall purpose of depicting the many trails blazed by a democratic people in advancing man's understanding of his fellow man.

Revised, December 1961

March 5, 1962

Mr. Charles F. Wittenstein
American Jewish Committee
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Charles:

Enclosed is a list of persons who seem to me appropriate for the Levin affair. I have not included the obvious such as you and the ADL staff. Even so, including spouses, it adds up to something over 40.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Assistant

Enclosure

PA/mr

SRC: Leslie Dunbar
Paul Rilling
James Moss
Margaret Long
Ruth Alexander
Mrs. M. E. Tilly
Paul Anthony

Urban Leagues:

Clarence Coleman
Bob Thompson

NAACP: Ruby Hurley

NSA: Connie Curry

GCHR: Frances Pauley

ACHR: Eliza Pascall

Georgia Council of Churches: Ed Driscoll

SCLC: M. L. King, Jr.
Wyatt Walker

ESCRU: John Morris

Quaker House: John Yungblut

YWCA: Florence Harris
Rosetta Gardner

Others:

Grace Hamilton
Morris Abram
Joe Haas
Ed and Montez Albright (2130 Monterey Dr., N.W.)
Claude Sitton
B. R. Brazeal
Ed Brown
Carl Holeman
Josephine Wilkins (Biltmore Hotel)
Harbld Fleming (think he should be invited down)

June 7, 1962

Mr. Isaiah Terman
The American Jewish Committee — file
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Terman:

On May 31 we received from you a memorandum calling attention to an article reprinted from The Catholic News titled, "Thoughts on Extremism." You mentioned that the article was enclosed with several other pieces of material sent to us. However, the piece was inadvertently omitted. Would you therefore be good enough to send a copy for our files?

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Mildred M. Johnson
Secretary to the Director

MMJ

MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS
165 East 56th Street, New York 22, N.Y. • PLaza 1-4000

from the desk of ISAIAH TERMAN
Director of Communications and Servicing

RECEIVED MAY 31 1962

RECEIVED MAY 1

M ?

JM

"THOUGHTS ON EXTREMISM"

This reprint (enclosed) from The Catholic News, New York archdiocesan weekly, is a valuable addition to our educational materials on the radical right.

It cites conservative criticism of the extremists, refutes the alleged endorsement by Cardinal Cushing of the Birch Society and suggests guidelines for sound anti-Communist effort.

Inexpensive in cost (5¢ each, $1.50 per hundred), the reprint is suited for distribution in the many thousands to Catholics, in view of source and emphasis; to any other groups as well. Also recommended is distribution to editors of all types of bulletins, weeklies and dailies, who may be interested in applying for permission to reprint in their columns.

Isaiah Terman

May 21, 1962
le2cd3a-iL
Encl.

NEWS

This is the American Jewish Committee:

- Founded in 1906.
- Pioneer American organization combating bigotry, protecting the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advancing the cause of human rights everywhere.
- Chapters and units in more than 80 principal cities; members in more than 600 American communities.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS

165 East 56 Street • New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000

Washington Office: 1012 14th Street, N.W. • Wash. 5, D. C. • District 7-3204
European Headquarters: 30 Rue la Boetie • Paris 8, France
South American Headquarters: Libertad 773 • Buenos Aires, Argentina

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HAROLD STEINBERG
Director of Publicity

FOR RELEASE THURSDAY, SEPT. 27

New York, Sept. 26... The American Jewish Committee today urged its membership to aid in the program to rebuild churches burned in the South. The Agency also called for concrete and moral support for the voter registration campaign, an educational program aimed at inducing southerners -- both white and Negro -- to register and vote in elections.

Characterizing the church burnings as "a barbaric act that offends the civilized conscience," Committee President A.M. Sonnabend paid tribute to the "peaceful and non-violent" response of the Negro people in their struggle to attain "full participation in American democracy."

Founded in 1906, the American Jewish Committee is a pioneer human relations agency in this country, combating bigotry, protecting the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advancing the cause of human rights for all.

Mr. Sonnabend asserted that those "who have sought to terrorize our Negro fellow citizens into abandoning the path that leads to their full participation in American democracy, have achieved the very opposite effect." He added:

"They have stiffened the resolve of Negroes to attain their civil and political equality and they have strengthened the solidarity of all Americans in supporting every legal and moral step toward this objective."

The Committee President said that to combat "this form of desecration, which men of conscience everywhere must consider

- more -

blasphemy," representatives of national Catholic, Protestant and Jewish communities have consulted and decided to appeal to all Americans to participate in the rebuilding of the churches.

Thus, all Americans may have the opportunity, Mr. Sonnabend said, to support "the stalwart response of Negro leaders which has evoked widespread admiration." He said of the Negro leaders that "their resolve to overcome in peaceful and non-violent ways every obstacle that stands in the way of full emancipation is stamped with Biblical and Prophetic spirit and dignity." He added: "To many Jews, this struggle evokes ancient memories of the deliverance out of bondage, and strengthens our identification with this present struggle for human dignity."

Funds for the church rebuilding project may be sent to:

Fund for the Rebuilding of Burned Churches
National Council of the Churches of Christ
475 Riverside Drive
New York 27, N.Y.

Contributions to the voter registration campaign should be sent to:

Voter Education Project
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

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No. 89
A-38
NP-29
NPE-28
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9/26/62

Memorandum from . . . . AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
15 East 84th Street, New York 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

W TBr he received copy
file & research (2 copies)

October 2, 1962.

To: Community Relations Councils and
Group Relations Agencies

From: Joseph B. Robison

Subject: Summary and Analysis of Civil Rights and Civil Liberties Decisions of the 1961-62 Term of the Supreme Court

We enclose herewith the sixth in our annual series of Summaries and Analyses of the decisions of the Supreme Court handed down during the 1961-62 Term in the field of civil rights and civil liberties.

Despite a drop in the number of decisions in this area from the heavy load of the previous Term (28 as compared with 54), there was no striking change in the nature of the Court's activity. It is still true that, as noted last year, the Supreme Court of recent years has been the principal guardian of the liberties of the people, rather than, as it was during the first 150 years of its existence, the principal protector of property rights. It is also still true that the Court is sharply divided on many of the issues covered in this report. Previous years have seen a sharp division of the Court into a conservative bloc of five and a liberal bloc of four. This division was slightly blurred during the past year by the retirement of Justice Whittaker and the illness during most of the Term of Justice Frankfurter. Nevertheless, the Justices participating in the various cases adhered to their previous voting patterns. It is, of course, too early to determine how the replacement of Justices Whittaker and Frankfurter by Justices White and Goldberg will affect the close balance within the Court.

We trust you will find this Summary and Analysis interesting and useful.

Encl.

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October 9, 1962

Mr. Harry Fleischman
American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Mr. Fleischman:

Mr. Dunbar asked me to mail you the enclosed prospectus of the film, "Encounter".

Sincerely,

Montez Albright (Mrs.)
Secretary to Mr. Dunbar

Enclosure

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • PLaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

November 5, 1962

To: Members of the Program Committee, National Conference on Religion and Race

From: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Chairman

The next meeting of our Program Committee will be held on Thursday, November 15, 1962, 10:00 A.M. in Room 406, at the office of the American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56 Street, New York, New York.

This meeting will be devoted to the selection of personnel for the workgroup chairmen, resource people, and recorders for the Conference.

Since time is running short, it is essential that we try to complete this process if possible at this meeting. Please let my office know as soon as you receive this memorandum whether or not it will be possible for you to attend.

Warm regards.

MHT:fb

A. M. SONNABEND, President
MORRIS B. ABRAM, Chm., Executive Board
RALPH FRIEDMAN, Chm., Administrative Board
WILLIAM ROSENWALD, Chm., Nat'l Advisory Council
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November 16, 1962

To: Members of the Program Committee, National Conference on Religion and Race

From: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Chairman

The next meeting of the Program Committee of the National Conference on Religion and Race will take place on Friday morning, November 23rd, 9:30 A.M. in Room 406, at the office of the American Jewish Committee, 165 East 56 Street, New York, New York.

Under separate cover, a list of names will be sent you that we agreed upon for workgroup discussion leaders and resource people. This is a confidential list and is not to be shared outside of our Program Committee.

Our next meeting will make decisions regarding the recorders. We will also seek to define the objectives of the workgroups, the techniques for arriving at recommendations, etc.

Please let my secretary, Miss Frances Baron, know by telephone whether or not you will be able to attend.

MHT:fb

A. M. SONNABEND, President
MORRIS B. ABRAM, Chm., Executive Board
RALPH FRIEDMAN, Chm., Administrative Board
WILLIAM ROSENWALD, Chm., Nat'l Advisory Council
MAURICE GLINERT, Treasurer
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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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file

November 26, 1962

To: Members of the Program Committee, National Conference on Religion and Race

From: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Chairman

The next meeting of the Program Committee of the National Conference on Religion and Race will take place on Tuesday afternoon, December 4th, 3:00 to 4:30 P.M. at the office of the American Jewish Committee building, 165 East 56 Street, New York, New York.

Enclosed is the list of names that we agreed upon for workgroup discussion leaders, resource people, and recorders. This is a confidential list and is not to be shared outside of our Program Committee.

At our next meeting we will seek to define the objectives of the workgroups, the techniques for arriving at recommendations, etc.

Please let my secretary, Miss Frances Baron, know by telephone whether or not you will be able to attend.

MHT:fb
Encl.

A. M. SONNABEND, President
MORRIS B. ABRAM, Chm., Executive Board
RALPH FRIEDMAN, Chm., Administrative Board
WILLIAM ROSENWALD, Chm., Nat'l Advisory Council
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The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York, New York -
PLaza 1-4000

Date Nov 26, 1962

FROM: RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM
TO: MR. LESLIE W. DUNBAR

_____ Please circulate to:

_____

_____

_____ For Approval

XXX For your information

_____ Please handle

_____ Please talk to me

_____ Read and return

_____ Returned as requested _____ Per your request

_____ Telephone me

_____ Your comments, please

REMARKS:

_____

PROPOSED WORKGROUP LEADERS FOR NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON RELIGION AND RACE

Workgroup Coordinators

Forum I: Frank Loescher
Forum II: Galen Weaver
Forum III: Dennis Clark or (Don Farrell)
Forum IV: Arnold Aronson

Workgroup Chairmen - Discussion Leaders:

Forum I

Workgroup 1.

Dr. Lawrence Halverson (Lutheran)
Miss Theresa Hoover (Methodist Women)
Father Albert Foley (Catholic, Alabama) (1st choice)
Father Rollins Lambert (Negro) (Alternate)
R. Jacob Rothschild (Alternate)

Workgroup 2.

Dr. Gary Oniki (United Church of Christ)
Miss Betty Miller (American Baptists)
Rabbi Sol Bernards (Anti Defamation League of B'nai B'rith)
Father Eugene McManus (Charleston, S. C.)

Workgroup 3.

Rev. John Marion (United Presbyterian, Nashville)
Canon Almon Pepper (Episcopalian)
Father Edward Duff (Boston College)
Rabbi Eugene Lipman (Washington, D. C.)

Forum II

Workgroup 4.

Rev. Frederick James (AME, Sumter, S.C.)
Philip Bernstein (Council Jewish Federations & Welfare Funds)
Dr. Harold Haas (Lutheran Church)
Msgr. George Higgins (Washington, D. C., NCWC, 1st choice)
Margaret Mealey (NCCW, Washington, D. C., Alternate)

Workgroup 5.

Dr. Chester Marcus (United Church of Christ)
Dr. Myron Schoen (UAHC)
Dr. Fay Valentine (Southern Baptists)
Msgr. Raymond Gallagher (NCC Charities, Washington, D.C.)

Workgroup 6.

Dr. Al Roberts (NCC Christian Education)
Dean Martin Harvey (Southern Univ. AME Zion)
Judith Hershcopf (Alternate, American Jewish Committee)
Abbott Rosen (ADL - 1st choice)
Msgr. Fred. Hochwalt (NCEA, 1st choice)
Msgr. Neil d'Amour (NCEA, Alternate)

Forum III

Workgroup 7.

Dr. Charles Lawrence (Episcopal, Brooklyn College)
Rabbi Seymour Cohen (Synagogue Council of America, Chicago)
Rev. Arthur Hargrave (AME)
Edward Marciniak (Catholic - Chicago - 1st choice)
Walter Zand (American Jewish Committee, Chicago)
Gerald Sherry (Alternate)

Workgroup 8.

William McConaghy (Presbyterian, Syracuse)
John Wagner
Rabbi Irwin Blank (SCA, Englewood, N.J. - 1st choice)
Father Andrew Greeley (1st choice)
Vincent Geise (Alternate)
Charles Posner (Cincinnati - JCRC - Alternate)

Workgroup 9.

William Koch - NCC - Community Dev. Migrants
Cornelius Tarplee
Rabbi Charles Martinband (Huttiesburg, Miss.)
Father Edward O'Rourke (C)

Forum IV

Workgroup 10.

Miss O'Dile Sweeney - YWCA
Miss Carrie Mears - Y.C.W.
Rabbi Roland Gittelsohn (CCAR, Boston)
Father Raymond Bosler (Indianapolis - 1st choice)
Don Farrell (Alternate)

Workgroup 11.

Harold Hunton (C)
Rabbi Jacob Rothschild (Atlanta, CCAR)
Rabbi Arthur Gilbert (Alternate - NCCJ)
Miss Eleanor French (United Church Women)
Dr. C. Arild Olson (NCC)

Workgroup 12.

Rev. James Hamilton (NCC - Washington, D. C.)
Rev. Ben Sissel (Presbyterian - Washington, D. C.)
Mr. Morris Lamb, USA - Alternate
Rabbi Richard Hirsch (1st choice)
George Reed
Francis Hurley (NCWC 1st choice)
Mr. William Considine (NCWC - Alternate)

Workgroup Resource People:

Forum I:

Workgroup 1.

Dr. Al Kramer (NCC)
Rev. Jimmy Allen (Southern Baptist)
Henry Cabirac (Natl. Catholic Conf. Interracial Justice)
Dr. Lewis Deer (Social Action, Disciples of Christ)

Workgroup 2.

Rev. Andrew Schulze,(Lutheran Human Relations Assoc.)
Rabbi Balfour Brickner (UAHC)
Rev. Dudley Ward (Methodist Church)
Mrs. Margaret Kuhn (Presbyterian)

Workgroup 3.

Rev. Rollins Lambert (Chicago, Catholic)
Rev. Rufus Cornelson (Lutheran, Social Action)

Forum II:

Workgroup 4.

Mr. Emanuel Muravchick (Jewish Labor Committee)
Harry Flannery - AFL-CIO
John Park Lee (Presbyterian)

Workgroup 5.

Msgr. Clement Kern (Catholic, Detroit)
Father John Morris (ESCRU) or Father Daisuke Katagawa (Episc.)
William Avrunin (JCRC)

Workgroup 6.

Father Eugene McManus (Catholic, Charleston) - Alternate: Mother Mary Clark, Manhattanville College
Dr. Morton Sobel (ADL) - Alternate: Max Birnbaum (AJC)
Rev. Malcom Calhoun (Presbyterian USA) - Alternate: Ben Sissell (United Presbyterian)

Forum III

Workgroup 7.

Floyd H. Agostinelli (Washington, D. C.)
Rabbi Jacob Weinstein
David Barry (N.Y.C. Mission Society) United Presbyterian
Donald Benedict (East Harlem Prot. Parish)
Father Howes - Worcester, Mass. (City Planning)

Workgroup 8.

Jane Weston (American Friends Service Committee, Chicago)
Ralph Fenton (Boston)
Roy McCorkel
Mrs. Carrie Meares

Workgroup 9.

Ralph Smeltzer (Church Brethren)
Father James Vizzard
Mr. Wyatt Walker (SCLC) Southern Christian Leadership Conf.) or Rev. Andrew Young
Rev. Sh. Greene (United Christian Rural L. Sect. (St. Louis)

Forum IV

Workgroup 10.

Mr. Wittenstein (American Jewish Committee, Atlanta)
Dr. Edgar Chandler (or someone from the Chicago Church Federation; or Chicago religious leaders going to Albany)
Julian Keiser, L.A., (United Christian Social Action & Inner City

Workgroup 11.

Virgil Border (NCCJ, St. Louis)
George Hunton
Isaac Frank - Washington, D. C.
Thelma Stevens
Margaret Hoffer - Pittsburgh

Workgroup 12.

William Ball (Pennsylvania Bishops Conference)
Herman Edelsberg (ADL)
Ben Sissell

Herman Long
Lewis Maddox
James Hamilton
Mrs. Eleanor Peterson - Penna. Council of Churches

TOTAL NUMBER APPROX. 113

*NOTE: OUR NOVEMBER 23, 1962 MEETING 9:30 A.M. FOR THE PROGRAM COMMITTEE, WILL DESIGNATE THE RECORDERS.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • PLaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

file

December 5, 1962

To: Members of the Program Committee, National Conference on Religion and Race

From: Rabbi Marc H. Tanenbaum, Chairman

The next meeting of the Program Committee of the National Conference on Religion and Race will take place on Monday afternoon, December 17th, 3:00 to 4:30 P.M., Room 800 B at the office of the American Jewish Committee building, 165 East 56 Street, New York, New York.

Please let my secretary, Miss Frances Baron, know by telephone whether or not you will be able to attend.

MHT:fb

A. M. SONNABEND, President
MORRIS B. ABRAM, Chm., Executive Board
RALPH FRIEDMAN, Chm., Administrative Board
WILLIAM ROSENWALD, Chm., Nat'l Advisory Council
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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

ATLANTA AREA OFFICE
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
ROOM 703 41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S.E., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

PA ✓
MLV
SBV ✓

To: Les Dunbar

I would welcome your reaction.

Charles

Charles F. Wittenstein
Area Director
ROOM 703.
41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E.,
ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

JAckson 3-8451

Les,

Wittenstein called and says that the following is a gist of what he has. If you want more information, call him or if you want copies of these things, he'll furnish you with them:

Wittenstein has a memorandum from Harry Fleischman which says that the UAW has not yet made a final decision to go ahead with the film project. The film is to be a documentary on the defeat of Georgia Congressman James C. Davis. The film would illustrate the close cooperation between Negroes in the labor movement in this election to bring about a victory.

Wittenstein has copy of a letter written by Joel O'Brien Productions, Inc. of New York to Carroll Hutton, Director of Education, UAW, Detroit. This letter states "the VEP has fallen quite a bit short of the goals set for it." It also makes the point that the Atlanta Story (the film) would be a perfect vehicle to drive home the reasons for Negroes to vote and the importance of one (1) vote. "UAW, Local #34 was involved in this fight (meaning the Weltner-Davis fight). The vote of the Negro precincts in Atlanta was enough to provide the vote for Weltner."

The budget for such a film should be in the neighborhood of $30,000. It would be filmed on location (Atlanta).

The film has been discussed with Lloyd Garrison and with Julius Thomas (recently retired Industrial Relations Secretary of the NUL). Garrison feels that if UAW could come up with half of the budget, he could raise the other half from such sources as Taconic,

James Farmer of CORE said that he "would put such a film to good use as could the Urban League, the NAACP, the SRC, and the VEP, which do not have enough money for important visual aids of this kind.

SPEECH AT ANNUAL DINNER MEETING, ATLANTA CHAPTER, AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, FEBRUARY 17, 1963, BY CHARLES F. WITTENSTEIN
SOUTHEAST AREA DIRECTOR

There was a time when we in Atlanta could talk of little but race relations. That time has passed, but for the region as a whole, race re[illegible] the central issue. But the way in which that issue is formulated has chang[illegible] no longer wonder "whether or not", but we ask "how" and "when". I w[illegible] to [illegible]ss myself briefly tonight to the question of "how" -- the question of [illegible] -- because the way in which change is brought about profoundly affect[illegible] nature of change itself.

The growing importance of tactics is hi[illegible]ted by the controversy which has grown among predominately Negro civil [illegible]ups. Several years ago it was inconceivable to us that [illegible]der attack as being insufficiently [illegible] [illegible]en [illegible] defensive in the Negro community in a major dispute centering almost exclusively on tactics.

The three most important tactical approaches which have been and will continue to be used in the South are direct action, litigation and negotiation.

By direct action I mean the use of boycott, picketing, public prayer meetings and other forms of mass demonstrations. It has achieved greatest success primarily in lunch counter desegregation. Its secondary value lies in exposing the continuing existence of segregation, e.g., as the freedom rides spotlighted segregation in interstate bus travel and prompted a new ruling by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Litigation has been most notably successful in desegregating educational institutions and other publicly owned facilities such as parks, or businesses holding franchises from the public such as buses. It has been of little or no use in desegregating facilities operated by private companies where the barriers are not the result of state action.

Negotiation on the other hand has been effective primarily in desegregating privately owned and operated facilities, opening new job opportunities for Negroes,

or getting additional Negroes appointed to public boards and agencies. It is available as a tactic only where the atmosphere is relatively calm, where lines of communication between the races are open, and positions have not hardened to the point where give and take is not possible on both sides. Negotiation requires responsible Negro and White leadership (which is not universally available), also careful preparation. Neither negotiation or picketing would have ever gotten James Meredith in Ole Miss. Sometimes negotiation has been effective only when combined with direct action or litigation, or when there is the threat that such other tactics may be used.

If lunch counter desegregation represents the high water mark of direct action by the use of picketing and boycotting, [illegible] Albany, Ga., represents its low water mark -- indeed, its most dismal failure. We have seen an enormous amount of time, suffering, money and sacrifice expended in an effort which has, to this day, failed to desegregate anything whatsoever. All it has succeeded in doing is to create bitterness locally and embarrassment for the United States internationally. The explanation for the failure is the lack of clear thinking about tactics.

I would liken the city fathers of Albany to the Pharaoh in Egypt. Their hearts were hardened and no demonstration could persuade them to modify their policy of massive resistance. This situation was ideally suited for neither direct action or negotiation but for litigation. Finally, a suit was filed by the NAACP -- and it will be this suit (or one like it) that will eventually bring desegregation to Albany, not Martin Luther King, not the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, and not the courageous but futile demonstrations by Negroes of the Albany movement, or their visiting northern supporters. I say this notwithstanding the recent decision by Federal District Judge Elliott.

While litigation is in certain cases more effective than mass demonstrations, and certainly involves less danger of creating chaos in the process of effecting social change, the best hope of lasting progress lies in calm negotiation. For this

proposition, I would cite the remarkable achievements of Macon and Brunswick, Ga., and the very quiet but effective work done in both cities by the Georgia Council on Human Relations, whose Executive Director, Mrs. William Pauley is here tonight.

One of the most striking contrasts between Albany, Ga., and Oxford, Miss., is the massive federal intervention in the one situation and the almost total absence of federal support in the other. The explanation for this is clear. In Oxford the Administration had a handle -- the court order directing the admission of James Meredith to Ole Miss. In Albany, rightly or wrongly, the Administration never found a handle for intervention, despite its embarrassment.

Albany is also noteable for its ultimate refinement of the Jackson, Miss., approach -- put anyone in jail who publicly demonstrates against jim crow. Police pursuing this approach can certainly never be accused of a morbid pre-occupation with the First Amendment. While many civil rights issues have already been resolved, one which will be subject to further and protracted argument is the right or duty of the Federal Government to actively protect its citizens in the exercise of freedom of speech and assembly against police infringement.

My purpose in all of this is to indicate the variety of tactics available to effect social change and the absolute necessity of choosing the one that is most effective under the surrounding circumstances. In matters of principle we may and sometimes should be dogmatic. In matters of tactics we must always be flexible, and we must always be guided by the test of effectiveness. If the regional operation of the American Jewish Committee has achieved a degree of support among thoughtful Jewish leadership in the South, I am inclined to attribute it to the kind of tactical sensitivity which I have described.

In the process of discussing tactics, I have at the same time reviewed some of the major Southern developments in the field of inter-group relations during the recent past. I want to touch briefly on one other less sensational but quite important turn of events.

Our sister State Alabama is as much if not more committed to massive resistance today as it was a year ago. But while the official policy remains one of defiance, an undercurrent of sentiment for compliance has appeared, especially in Birmingham and Mobile. It may be too little and too late, but it is encouraging. I am particularly pleased with the increasing willingness of our constituency to involve themselves constructively in the process.

As I look toward the year ahead, and focus now on Atlanta, it seems to me that one of our major tasks should be directed to translating the Chicago Conference on Religion and Race into meaningful terms on the local level. Our distinguished guest of this evening (His Excellency, Paul J. Hallinan, Archbishop of Atlanta) played a leading role in this first tri-faith conference which mobilized the moral forces of Catholicism, Protestantism and Judaism on a national level. At a meeting I attended last week he pledged his full support to a counterpart effort in Atlanta. It is my sincere hope that this Chapter of the American Jewish Committee will participate with our Catholic and Protestant friends in a cooperative effort to apply our common moral heritage to the pressing problems of human relations in our time and in this place.

-END-

Mr. Elliot L. Haas, Chairman
Annual Dinner Meeting

Please make _____reservation (s) for the Atlanta Chapter, American Jewish Committee Annual Dinner Meeting in the Standard Town and Country Club, Sunday evening, February 17, 1963, 6:30 P.M., at $5.00 per plate.

Enclosed is my check for $_____
(Make check to American Jewish Committee)

Name: _____

Address: _____

Mr. Elliot L. Haas,
Annual Dinner Meeting Chairman
Atlanta Chapter AJC
41 Exchange Pl., S.E., Room 703
Atlanta 3, Ga.

You are cordially invited to attend the

Annual Dinner Meeting

of

The Atlanta Chapter
American Jewish Committee

Sunday, February 17, 1963
Standard Town and Country Club
6:30 P. M.

Guest Speaker

Most Reverend

Paul J. Hallinan
Archbishop of Atlanta

"The Vatican Council and
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4. Wylie Branton, *Director, Voters Education Project*
5. George Culberson, *Intergroup Relations Director, U. S. Air Force*
6. David Danzig, *Associate Director, American Jewish Committee*
7. Leslie Dunbar, *Executive Director, Southern Regional Council*
8. Herman Edelsberg, *Washington Representative, Anti-Defamation League*
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13. Hon. Hubert Humphrey, *Senator from Minnesota*

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18. Joseph Monserrat, *Director, Puerto Rican Migration Service*
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26. George Schermer, *Consultant on Intergroup Relations*
27. Julius Schreiber, M.D.

*28. R. Sargent Shriver, *Director, Peace Corps.*

29. H. B. Sissel, *Secretary for National Affairs, United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A.*
30. Don Slaiman, *Director, Civil Rights Department, AFL-CIO*
31. Sterling Tucker, *Executive Director, Washington Urban League*
32. Margery Ware, *Executive Director, Neighbors, Inc.*
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FEB.	20 Thurs.	21 Fri.	22 Sat.	23 Sun.	24 Mon.	25 Tues.	26 Wed.	27 Thurs.	28 Fri.	29 Sat.	30 Sun.
9:00 to 10:30	Registration	Seminar	Group Discussion	FREE	Group Discussion	Group Discussion	Group Discussion	Seminar	Group Discussion	Group Discussion	FREE
10:45 to 12:00		Group Discussion	Seminar	FREE	Seminar	Seminar	Seminar	Seminar	Practicum	Practicum	11:00 Evaluation
LUNCH	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	FINAL LUNCH
1:30 to 3:00		Seminar	Seminar	Group Discussion	Seminar	Seminar	Seminar	Case Study	Seminar	Seminar	
3:30 to 5:00	Reception	Group Discussion	Group Discussion	Seminar	Group Discussion	Case Study	Case Study	Group Discussion	Group Discussion	Group Discussion	
DINNER	Buffet	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
7:30 to 9:30	Orientation	Evening Session	Evening Session	Evening Session	Evening Session	Evening Session	Evening Session	Evening Session	Evening Session	Evening Session	

cc: Chas. Wittenstein

February 26, 1963

Mr. Harold Murray
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York

Dear Harold:

Charles Wittenstein said that you would like to have a copy of Governor Collins' speech; enclosed.

I enjoyed meeting you, finally, and hope that we shall see more of each other.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.

March 5, 1963

Dear Charles,

I read your speech this morning. Can we have lunch some day, and talk about it? I would really like to. Next week?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

Mr. Charles Wittenstein
American Jewish Committee
41 Exchange Place, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

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March 12, 1963

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Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Les:

Thanks for the copy of Governor Collins' speech.

I certainly appreciate the time we spent together and only wish we could have more time. It was very useful.

When you next come up here, I would appreciate your dropping by our office. There are a number of important matters I would like to discuss with you.

Sincerely,

Harold (S)

A. Harold Murray

AHM/bf

56th Annual Meeting · May 16-19, 1963 · Hotel Commodore, New York City

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September 16, 1963

LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

Dear Friend:

This issue marks the beginning of the sixth year of publication of my newsletter reporting and analyzing developments in civil rights and civil liberties in the United States. It is being written today because the offices of AJCongress will be closed the latter part of the week for the Jewish New Year. I take this opportunity of expressing to my readers best wishes for the coming year.

The Southern Scene. Yesterday a dynamite bomb thrown into a Negro church in Birmingham took the lives of four children and wounded 20 others. It marked the 21st time in the last eight years that Negroes in that city have been the victims of such an attack. Although until yesterday no lives had been taken by any of the previous bombings, this was a matter of sheer chance. During that period the arrests have been few and the only persons charged with acts of terrorism were a group of white men captured a few years ago by Negro guards. They testified that the men had been seized after throwing a bomb at the church of which Rev. Fred L. Shuttleworth -- a leading figure in the struggle against segregation-- was the minister. They were acquitted.

Terror in Birmingham is therefore nothing new. It is as old as the declarations of defiance uttered by political leaders in opposition to the decisions of the United States Supreme Court declaring that segregation by force of law violates the Fourteenth Amendment. Physical violence has been the fruit of the tree planted and nurtured by the words of politicians.

What happened yesterday was certainly encouraged by the conduct of Gov. George C. Wallace last week in seeking to bar the desegregation of schools in four Alabama cities in compliance with orders of the Federal District Court. True, the Governor at the last moment stepped aside rather than risk contempt proceedings. But by his acts Gov. Wallace had once more set an example for lawless conduct. The death of four children must therefore be placed upon his conscience.

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The Negro community of Birmingham will not be terrorized. Let us hope that it will not be provoked into massive counter-violence by this latest and most outrageous crime and thereby play into the hands of the terrorists. Let us hope, too, that the decent white people of Alabama will realize that they have a responsibility to disavow the lawlessness engendered by their political leaders. A beginning of such a manifestation occurred last week when the communities in Alabama where school desegregation had been ordered indicated their entire willingness to obey the orders of the Federal District Court. For a brief time Gov. Wallace stood disavowed even in the Alabama press. Today there is need for even greater repudiation.

Yesterday's event underlines the critical condition of civil rights in Alabama, a condition matched only in Mississippi. In the latter State, as pointed out in a report issued by the Federal Civil Rights Commission last week, terrorism is commonplace. Beatings and economic pressure are both freely engaged in to crush efforts of Negroes to exercise their civil rights, whether to register to vote or even to be served in a bus terminal restaurant. Actually, Mississippi goes far beyond Alabama, with public officers carrying out the acts of violence.

Every thoughtful person, including the President himself, must feel deep concern about the problem presented by these two Southern States which have placed themselves outside of the law. It is difficult to conceive of a plan of action which can deal effectively with such tactics. We shall, of course, continue to witness the determined march of the Negro in the South toward freedom and equality, even if it be again and again marked by the falling by the way of victims of murder and violence. For it is certain that the march will go on and that nothing can turn it back.

On the Northern Scene. Two cases now pending before the New York courts raise squarely the question whether school authorities can rearrange pupil assignments in order to diminish public school segregation.

In one of the cases now pending in the Appellate Division of the Supreme Court in Brooklyn, the New York City Board of Education redrew school lines so as to include Negro children in what would otherwise have been a largely white school. This action was challenged as illegal by white parents whose children were assigned as the result of the redistricting to a predominantly Negro school. A Supreme Court Justice upheld the contention of the white parents. His ruling will be reviewed later this month.

In the other case involving a public school at Malverne, Long Island, the State Commissioner of Education intervened and directed a modified "Princeton Plan." This meant that instead of attending their "neighborhood schools," children in certain grades were sent to one school and children in other grades were sent to another. The result was a mixing of children in the grades covered by the order of the Commissioner. Here again, white parents went to court. Since the Commissioner's office is located in the State Capital, suit was instituted and is pending in Albany.

These cases are typical of many which have arisen in Northern communities. They present for determination the extent to which and the manner in which the law may be affirmatively used to deal with the pattern of public school segregation resulting from housing segregation. The resolution of this issue will be no less important to the

. . .

Negro in the North than was the 1954 Supreme Court decision holding unconstitutional the Southern pattern of school segregation enforced by law. In the North the Negro has the power, both by virtue of his right to vote and by means of demonstration, to compel action by public school authorities which will at least ameliorate school segregation. What remains to be seen is what limits if any the Fourteenth Amendment places upon the power of school authorities to deal with the problem.

The Civil Rights Commission. For the past four years the Federal Civil Rights Commission has been a beacon throwing a revealing light into dark corners in all parts of the country. The resultant exposure has done much to inform the American people of the tremendous gap between the promises of equality embodied in the Constitution and the practices which actually exist.

The Commission thus far has lived on short leases of life. It is scheduled to go out of business at the end of this month unless its tenure is again extended. Already members of the extremely able staff of the Commission have begun to seek employment elsewhere.

The Administration's Civil Rights Bill proposes that the Commission be continued for another four years and that its powers be broadened. The House Judiciary Committee has voted to make it permanent. The Senate has taken no action. Decisive and immediate action by the President is, therefore, essential.

Called for is a rider to some bill scheduled for early enactment so as to assure that the Commission will go on with its work until finally, albeit with less than "all deliberate speed," Congress enacts some civil rights legislation including provision for the Commission. At the moment it would appear unlikely that such over-all legislation will come to a vote much before the end of the year and then probably only after an extended filibuster by the Southern contingent in the Senate.

Malapportionment and the Constitution. On March 26, 1962 the United States Supreme Court, in Baker v. Carr, held that the Federal courts must consider on the merits suits challenging State electoral systems alleged to violate the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment because of malapportionment of legislative representation. Shortly afterwards the Supreme Court extended its ruling so as to place the same obligation upon State courts where they were chosen as the forum.

In its 1962 decisions the Supreme Court refrained from laying down any guide lines for determination of what facts constituted such discrimination as to fall afoul of the Constitution. At the Term which begins next month the Court will be called upon to lay down such standards. There are pending before it six cases involving charges of discrimination against urban voters in Alabama, Maryland, New York and Virginia. All of them are instances in which voters in rural communities have been given a disproportionate power by the creation of rural electoral districts having far smaller population than those in urban centers.

In recent decades the problem of malapportionment has become increasingly serious as a result of the continuing shift of population from country to city and from city to suburb. However, until Baker v. Carr malapportionment remained a problem without a solution since the legislative balance of power rested with persons chosen by rural electors. Understandably, therefore, Baker v. Carr opened the floodgates of litigation throughout the nation.

Last week AJCongress together with the American Civil Liberties Union and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund submitted a brief amicus curiae to the Supreme Court with respect to the six cases scheduled for hearing. The brief was prepared by Associate Dean Robert B. McKay of New York University Law School. It urges the Supreme Court to state unequivocally that the Equal Protection Clause requires that legislative apportionment follow the equal population principle. In the New York and Maryland cases consent was given by all the parties. Consent was withheld, however, in the other four cases and an application has been made to have the brief considered in those cases as well.

While these cases directly involve only the apportionment of seats in the State legislatures, the impact of the decision of the Supreme Court will have even more far-reaching consequences. State legislatures fix the boundaries of Congressional districts and in doing so favor rural areas. As a result, representation in Congress suffers from the same kind of distortion as exists in State legislatures.

One effect of such discrimination is that large cities and their suburbs fare poorly in the allocation of State and Federal funds. Another is that State legislatures refuse to provide certain areas with the authority and freedom which they need to deal with their complex problems.

Prayer and Bible Reading in the Public School. The Hawthorne, New Jersey Board of Education has taken a leaf out of the Southern notebook in defying the United States Supreme Court. The issue involved, however, is not school segregation; it is Bible reading and recital of the Lord's Prayer. The excuse given by the Board is that the Supreme Court has never specifically ruled on the New Jersey statutes. Actually, they are obviously indistinguishable from the Pennsylvania law stricken down last June.

The State of New Jersey moved promptly to quell the Hawthorne Rebellion. An application for an injunction will be heard in the State Superior Court on September 23. Commenting upon the situation, Gov. Richard J. Hughes said "We're a little unhappy philosophically the way this turned out in the Supreme Court. But prayer or no prayer, Bible or no Bible, it is not too good to be telling growing children 'We think the Supreme Court is wrong and we're not going to pay any attention to it.'"

Public Funds for Church-Related Colleges. Last week suit was instituted in the Maryland courts challenging the appropriations of State funds for buildings at four church-related colleges in that State. Three of the institutions are under Catholic auspices and the other is under Methodist control.

The standing of the plaintiffs to bring such a suit will no doubt be challenged. Moreover, if the Maryland courts reach the merits and hold the appropriations violate the State Constitution, the matter will end there. Only if the State courts uphold the plaintiffs solely on the issue of the First and Fourteenth Amendments, will there be any prospect for review by the United States Supreme Court. In that event, however, a ruling would have national implications since it would also be controlling on the right to spend Federal funds for such purposes. The case is of special importance because a suit can not be brought challenging such Federal appropriations.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Shad Polier

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LEO PFEFFER, Director
JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

September 26, 1963

Dear Friend:

Congressional Malapportionment. At the Term which begins next month the United States Supreme Court will decide whether malapportionment of Congressional Districts may be challenged under the Fifth Amendment. At least two cases are on the docket involving instances in which rural-dominated legislatures have fixed boundaries of Congressional districts so as to favor non-urban areas.

In the case arising in Georgia the smallest Congressional district is made up of rural counties having a population of 272,154 according to the 1960 Census, while the largest district, which includes Atlanta, has a population of 823,680. In the case coming up from Washington the variation between Congressional districts ranges from a low of 342,540 to a high of 510,512.

In both instances constitutional challenges were rejected by a three-Judge Federal District Court. In the Washington case the ruling was made on the merits. In the Georgia case the District Court declined to reach the merits on the ground that the situation might be remedied by a legislature elected in compliance with an earlier ruling requiring that the members of at least one branch be chosen on the basis of population. Incidentally, the ruling involving the reapportionment of the Georgia State Legislature is itself pending before the Supreme Court.

On Monday the Department of Justice filed a brief amicus curiae in the Georgia case urging the Supreme Court to hold that Congressional malapportionment is subject to challenge under the Fifth Amendment and suggesting that the case be returned to the District Court for a trial. In view of the fact that there appear to be no factual issues, it would seem that the case is actually ripe for decision not only as to whether the Fifth Amendment applies but also as to whether, upon the facts, the existing malapportionment violates the Amendment. Happily, therefore, the Department of Justice expressed its view upon the merits and took the position that no factors except popu-

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lation equality may be considered in drawing Congressional lines. Obviously that position will also be taken by the Department in the Washington case.

These two cases illustrate the fact that bias against urban areas is not a phenomenon limited to any particular part of the country. As a matter of fact Georgia falls far short of being the most extreme example. Thus, the Congressman from industrial Detroit and its suburbs represents a constituency of 802,994 people whereas a Congressman is chosen by the 177,431 inhabitants of the western half of Michigan's upper peninsula. Indeed, the estimate has been made that if representation were distributed according to population urban and suburban voters would gain up to 40 Congressmen. This would mean a shift of nearly 10% in the voting power in the 435-member House of Representatives.

In the landmark case of Baker v. Carr decided on March 26, 1962, the Supreme Court, as noted in my letter last week, held that the Federal Courts must consider on the merits suits challenging the apportionment of seats in the State legislatures alleged to violate the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. This clause provides that no State shall deprive any person "of equal protection of the laws." The Fifth Amendment contains no such language, but does prohibit the Federal Government from depriving any person of "liberty," without due process of law. The Supreme Court will, therefore, be called upon to decide whether the Fifth Amendment lays down a less stringent test of constitutionality in respect to the apportionment of Congressional districts.

In Bolling v. Sharpe, decided on May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court condemned public school segregation in the District of Columbia under the Amendment at the same time that it struck down similar segregation laws in Delaware, Kansas, South Carolina and Virginia under the Equal Protection Clause. The Court said, "It would be unthinkable that the same Constitution would impose a lesser duty on the Federal Government." The Court, however, carefully reserved for future consideration whether, in a case not involving racial discrimination, the "due process of law" safeguard would always reach discrimination that would be struck down under the "equal protection of the law" prohibition.

It will be interesting to see whether the House of Representatives will ask leave to file a brief amicus curiae opposing the position taken by the Department of Justice. There is precedent for such action. If such a brief is filed, it may well urge that the correction of any evils of Congressional malapportionment should be left for remedy by Congress itself. One argument would be that the traditional doctrine of separation of powers within the branches of the Federal Government, i.e., the President, Congress and the courts, should lead the Court to rule in favor of judicial abstinence. Another argument that would probably be advanced would be that the Constitution contemplated that such matters should be left to the House and the Senate in view of the provisions expressly authorizing them to determine the qualifications of their members. It does not seem to me that either of these arguments is persuasive. It is, of course, almost as unlikely to expect self-reform from Congress as to expect it from State Legislatures.

It may well be that the Supreme Court will feel even freer to sanction judicial reform of Congressional malapportionment. In that situation, there is less of a problem of "State's Rights," Moreover, the remedy is far easier than in the case of directing the reapportionment of seats in the State legislature. The Federal Court would simply direct the election of Congressmen-at-large in the State until proper district lines had been established.

Some commentators have observed that it is impossible to determine whether Democrats or Republicans would be the beneficiaries on an overall basis of a ruling requiring Congressional Districts to be fixed on the basis of population. It is certain, however, that minority groups and particularly Negroes and, in certain parts of the country, Spanish-Americans, would gain in political power. This is true because of their concentration in the cities of the North and the West. It is true also in the South where there has been a tremendous movement of Negroes to the cities from rural areas as the result of their displacement in agriculture because of automation. Moreover, in the South a far higher proportion of Negroes have been able to register as voters in the cities and, in all likelihood, for a considerable time to come this will continue to be the case.

In my judgment, the fixing of Congressional districts on the basis of population is likely to add to the voting strength of the proponents of civil rights legislation. True, this may not, for a considerable time, be the case as far as Congressmen from the South are concerned. On the other hand, even Southern Congressmen chosen under an electoral system which would more truly reflect population distribution are likely to strengthen the vote for economic legislation of which the Negro is particularly in need. For example, as is well known, in the most recent revision of the Federal Wage and Hour Law, Southern Congressmen played a leading role in restricting its coverage so as to exclude areas of employment in which Negroes provided the major labor force. Any one with an awareness of the special aids that will have to be provided by the Federal Government to assist the Negro to gain the skills of which he has been deprived under the Southern System of separate and unequal education in the public schools knows that there will be many situations in the future in which the addition of even a few more liberal Congressmen and the elimination of a few of their conservative opposite numbers could be of tremendous importance.

Thus, again, one of the principal political and social issues of our times appears on the docket of the Supreme Court. Once again, it is to be hoped that the Court will provide fresh hope to those who believe that Government, whether at the State or the National level, can be made into an effective instrumentality for securing a full life for all Americans.

Quotas - Benign and Otherwise. Yesterday the New Jersey Advisory Committee, in a report to the Federal Civil Rights Commission, urged the use of quotas for non-whites in public and private housing, employment and trade union apprenticeship programs, as "a short range solution" to racial discrimination in these areas. No one should quarrel with the Committee's statement that New Jersey presents a "dismal picture of opportunities for Negroes." Unhappily, the picture is hardly different in other Northern States. Nevertheless, in my personal judgment the Committee's proposal is no remedy for the disease.

Insofar as State action is concerned, the imposition of a quota simply cannot be squared with the requirement of equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment. The Constitution cannot mean one thing in the North and another in the South and it is obvious that quotas which may be benign in the North will be restrictive in the South. There is an even more fundamental objection. The very notion of quotas violates the Constitutional principle that every person is entitled to be treated as an individual.

Those who advocate quotas as "a short range solution" are, it seems to me, actually suggesting that the Constitution be temporarily suspended. History should remind us that a Constitution which can be laid aside to meet the exigencies of the moment is a slim reed upon which to rest the

liberties of minorities. It is not so long ago that the same line of reasoning was used to justify the physical removal of Japanese-Americans from the West coast during World War II and placing them in what amounted to concentration camps.

The fatuousness of the quota principle seems to me to be most evident in the proposal that it be applied to limit Negro occupancy of public housing on the ground that otherwise whites will choose to live elsewhere. There are other and better answers to the problem. One is more housing. Another is the more effective enforcement of laws against discrimination in the general housing market.

In the field of employment, vigorous enforcement of anti-discrimination laws is overdue. The time is long past when the system of dealing with the problem on the basis of individual complaints should have been scrapped in favor of authorizing commissions to take the initiative. The time has also gone by when commissions should proceed on the basis of a philosophy that their task is to judge whether discrimination exists rather than to search out and to extirpate it. In short, commissions in these areas are expected to act, and have acted, as bureaucrats rather than as crusaders.

There are, as I see it, no short cuts having any significant potential. On the contrary, the lifting up of a submerged one-tenth of our population will only be achieved when the entire community devotes both energy and funds to the solution of the problem. The sooner this fact is faced, the more surely will panaceas be rejected and the more certainly will the real work be commenced.

Sunday in New York. Last week the New York City Council unanimously approved a fair Sabbath Law permitting small, family-operated businesses to remain open on Sunday if the proprietor and the members of his family observed another Sabbath. It is estimated that the bill which will shortly be signed by Mayor Robert F. Wagner will affect approximately 2,000 stores operated by Orthodox Jews and a few other Sabbatarian groups.

Passage of the measure was authorized by a law enacted by the State Legislature granting such local option only to New York City and requiring its passage before December 31. A proposal to make this option state-wide failed in the Legislature because of the opposition of the Senate Majority Leader, Senator Walter F. Mahoney of Buffalo. Until this year any legislative relaxation was openly opposed by the Catholic Church. That opposition was withdrawn at the recent session of the Legislature, except to the extent that it may have been reflected in the position taken by Senator Mahoney. The Jewish groups, including AJCongress as well as many of the Jewish religious bodies, were supported by the State Council of Churches in their efforts to secure an even broader bill.

In the City Council an amendment was proposed requiring those who wished to take advantage of the local law to register with the Police Department. The proponent of the amendment announced that he was acting upon the suggestion of the American Jewish Committee. His statement has not been disavowed by the Committee. His amendment, however, was disavowed by the Council by a vote of 17-to-6. It should be pointed out that such a registration provision is included in the British law permitting exemption for Sabbatarians. Fortunately, however, what British Jews are willing to tolerate is not acceptable to the overwhelming majority of American Jews, and their fellow Americans understand and respect their sensibilities.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

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JOSEPH B. ROBISON, Assistant Director

October 24, 1963

Dear Friend:

filed w/sh 11/18/63

We enclose herewith the seventh in our annual series of Summaries and Analyses of the decisions of the Supreme Court in the field of civil rights and civil liberties.

The report reveals that the Supreme Court continues to be a steadfast guardian of the liberties of the people as guaranteed in the broad provisions of the Bill of Rights. While the Court is sometimes sharply divided, its major decisions of the past Term, notably in the areas of civil rights and religious liberty, were unanimous or nearly so. Thus, there was no more than one dissenting vote in any of the leading cases of the past Term, the Schempp Bible reading case, the Peterson decision dealing with sit-in demonstrations, the Gray case condemning the "county unit" system in primary elections for statewide office and the Gideon case holding that states must provide indigent defendants with legal counsel for their defense in all criminal cases.

Previous years have seen a division of the Court into a conservative bloc of five and a liberal bloc of four. Changes in the personnel of the Court have given the liberal bloc the same narrow margin. However, it should be noted that, at least during the 1962-63 Term, this division manifested itself principally in cases dealing with procedural points rather than the establishment of fundamental principles.

We trust you will find this Summary and Analysis interesting and useful.

Cordially yours,

Leo Pfeffer

Leo Pfeffer

Encl.

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Just in case you haven't seen this. M. A. W.

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November 15, 1963

Dear Colleague:

Prosecution or Persecution in Albany, Georgia? Just a year ago the Southern Regional Council published "Albany--A study in National Responsibility." The pamphlet was prepared by Dr. Howard Zinn, Professor of history and social science at Spellman College in Atlanta. It painted a picture of the situation in Albany, Georgia as one of a police state representing the interests of the white 60% of the population and determined to deny to the Negro 40% their basic constitutional rights of freedom of expression, assembly and petition, as well as their fundamental constitutional right to the use of public facilities, such as parks and libraries, on a non-segregated basis. It also pictured an "efficient" police state in which, by and large, the police department acted without brutality, although, as was pointed out, there had been some instances of shocking brutality by police as well as by the notorious county sheriff.

Dr. Zinn was highly critical of the Department of Justice for failing to institute criminal proceedings against local enforcement officials guilty of brutality. My newsletter of December 6, 1962, commenting upon Dr. Zinn's study, urged that the inaction of the Justice Department could not be excused on the ground that a grand jury would not indict. It pointed out that only misdemeanors were involved and that, therefore, prosecution could be initiated on the basis of an information (affidavit) sworn to by the United States Attorney. My letter recognized that it was doubtful that a local Federal jury would convict. On the other hand, it observed that such trials would afford an opportunity to put all the facts on record and thus focus state-wide, nationwide and world-wide opinion upon these outrages and upon a community which tolerated them.

My newsletter took the position that Dr. Zinn was unfair in criticizing the Department of Justice for failure to institute injunction actions to enforce the constitutional rights of the Negro community. It called attention to the fact that Congress had repeatedly refused to grant such power to the Justice Department. Under these circumstances, it con-

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cluded that the Department of Justice deserved credit for championing, as amicus curiae, the position of the Negro community in the suits then pending in the Federal District Court.

There were three such suits in 1962. One involved an attempt by the city officials to enjoin Negro demonstrations. The other two were brought by the Negro community to enjoin segregation and exclusion in public and private facilities and to restrain arrests of persons protesting against such practices.

Ultimately, the suit brought by the City was defeated in the Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit which set aside a restraining order granted without a hearing by United States District Judge Robert Elliott. He showed no such speed in disposing of the suits brought to defend civil rights. Almost a year passed before he handed down a decision dismissing the suit to end segregation in public facilities, a ruling which was reversed by the Court of Appeals. The more basic suit to restrain illegal arrests still remains undecided by Judge Elliott.

Judge Elliott has recently been involved in another series of Albany, Georgia cases. They grew out of a suit for damages brought by a Negro who had been shot by the sheriff. The action was predicated upon a post-Civil War statute which authorizes the bringing of a suit for damages in the Federal courts by a person alleging an invasion of his civil rights by a State law enforcement officer.

Shortly after the jury brought in a verdict for the sheriff last April, Dr. William G. Anderson, a Negro physician who was then the leader of the Albany Movement, made a speech in which he urged Negroes not to patronize the supermarket operated by one of the jurors, Carl Smith, in the Negro neighborhood in Albany. At the time that Dr. Anderson made his speech, it was common talk that Smith had publicly declared that the sheriff's only wrongdoing was in failing to kill the Negro who had brought suit against him.

On April 20 Smith's supermarket was twice picketed by Negroes. On the first occasion the pickets were dispersed by the police. The second time they were arrested. Although the picketing was stopped, the Negro community withheld its patronage, with the result that Smith sold his business.

On August 8, Dr. Anderson and two other Negroes were indicted by the Federal grand jury on the charge of conspiring to obstruct the administration of justice by encouraging the picketing and boycotting of Smith's supermarket. On the same date perjury indictments were returned against five Negroes for obstructing the investigation of the charges against Dr. Anderson. In substance, the charge was that they had falsely denied conferring together at an attorney's office after receiving grand jury subpoenas, and prior to testifying before the grand jury.

Also indicted for perjury was Joni Rabinowitz, a 22-year old New Yorker. As part of her work program at Antioch College, she was working in the Albany area as a field representative of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in its efforts to combat racial segregation and to encourage Negro voter registration. She was charged with falsely testifying before the grand jury that she had not witnessed the picketing on April 20.

All of the defendants challenged the indictments on the ground that Negroes had been systematically excluded from the grand jury. They also moved for a change of the place of trial on the ground that local

prejudice was such that a fair trial could not be obtained in the Federal District where Albany is located. These objections were peremptorily denied by Judge Elliott and Dr. Anderson was forced to immediate trial before Judge Elliott.

The outcome of the trial of Dr. Anderson proved to be a surprise. The jury failed to reach a verdict, three of the jurors holding out for acquittal. They were obviously unpersuaded that Dr. Anderson had done anything beyond making the speech denouncing Smith or that he had organized the picketing and boycott. Anyone familiar with the temper of the white community can only marvel that there were three jurors of such fortitude to hold out for an acquittal. Nevertheless, the Justice Department insists that Dr. Anderson be tried again. His retrial has been set for next April.

Miss Rabinowitz was convicted today despite the fact that there was overwhelming evidence that she was not present at the scene of the picketing. Her conviction rested upon the testimony of Smith, his son-in-law and a white employee. The jury chose to disregard the testimony of the pickets and of Miss Rabinowitz, that she was not there, the testimony of another white student who had been upon the scene, and the testimony of many distinguished persons who had come to Albany for the purpose of testifying to Miss Rabinowitz' reputation for veracity.

The appeal in Miss Rabinowitz' case will raise the issues presented in Dr. Anderson's as to the illegal composition of the jury and the impossibility of obtaining a fair trial in the Albany District. The prejudice which Miss Rabinowitz faced was, of course, even greater than that which confronted Dr. Anderson, for to Albany, Georgia she was an "outside agitator," was "agitating" in the most sensitive area by seeking to secure the right of the Negro to vote, and was white and a woman. Realizing the odds against securing an unprejudiced jury, her counsel asked that she be tried by District Judge William A. Bootle without a jury. The application had to be denied because the United States Attorney refused to waive a jury trial.

Although Miss Rabinowitz is white, it seems to me that she has standing to challenge the indictment on the ground that the grand jury had been selected so as to exclude Negroes. The issue involved was completely enmeshed with the struggle of Negroes for civil rights. Consequently, the exclusion of Negroes was surely no less prejudicial than if she had been a Negro.

That the challenge to the grand jury was well taken is indicated by the fact that the jury box (from which grand jurors are selected) contained 1985 names of which only 117 (5.89% of the total) were the names of Negroes. In the 18 counties which comprise the Division in which Albany is located, 78,017 of the 211,306 persons over 21 years of age (i. e., 34.55% of the total) were Negro. This disparity would seem to be accounted for by several factors. For one thing, names of prospective jurors are taken from State tax lists which are kept separate on the basis of race. Furthermore, those making the selection consulted their friends and these were almost exclusively white persons. In addition, it was shown that while inquiries were made of white fraternal church and civic organizations, no similar inquiry was directed to their Negro counterparts.

In sum, the proof as to systematic exclusion of Negroes appears to be stronger in these cases than in many instances in which State court convictions have been set aside as violating the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. It would seem likely that an even stricter standard of fairness in jury selection will be imposed by the Supreme Court in the exercise of its supervisory powers over the lower Federal courts.

The indictment in Miss Rabinowitz' case was challenged on still another ground. When she was called as a witness before the grand jury, the United States Attorney asked about her activities relating to voter registration and her social relations with Negroes and her background. These inquiries no doubt inflamed the grand jury and, it seems to me, made her indictment certain.

Obviously, there was no need to call Miss Rabinowitz as a witness before the grand jury. She was not charged with being a picket and thereby participating in the alleged retaliation against Smith for his vote as a juror. Moreover her testimony was not necessary in order to determine who had engaged in the picketing. The identity of the pickets was known to the police and indeed the pickets had been arrested by the police. It seems to me a fair conclusion, therefore, that the United States Attorney used the power of his office to subject Miss Rabinowitz to prosecution because she was engaged in activities which are deeply disapproved of by the white community. It is not strange that a United States Attorney, who owes his office to the endorsement of Georgia Senators, should use his office for such purpose. It is, however, outrageous that the Attorney General of the United States should have permitted such conduct.

In my judgment, it also appears that the indictment of Dr. Anderson was in reality an attempt to punish him for his denunciation of Smith. That denunciation was protected against prosecution because of the First Amendment's guarantee of freedom of speech. The Constitution is, of course, no bar to prosecution for conspiracy. But as the hung jury testifies, the conspiracy charge verged upon the incredible.

It is no explanation of these indictments to say that the Albany prosecutions simply represent the determination of the Government to bring to justice whoever interferes with the administration of the law, whether he be white or Negro. Of course, Negroes and whites alike must be punished if they obstruct justice. This, however, seems to me to be too glib an explanation for what has happened in the Albany cases.

The suspicion will not down that the Justice Department has become a party to injustice in an effort to persuade the South that it is acting even-handedly. In the end, I believe, all the convictions will be set aside. There will, however, remain the stain of what, in my judgment, has been a misuse of the power of the Federal Government to pander to local prejudice.

Footnotes to the Above. At the Rabinowitz trial there were only 3 Negroes among the 93 jurors summoned. None of the Negroes was drawn for her trial. In Dr. Anderson's case, one was drawn and was promptly removed by the Government's peremptory challenge.

A few days after the Anderson trial Judge Elliott again demonstrated his completely segregationist views. On November 1 he was the dissenter in a ruling by a 3-Judge District Court holding unconstitutional Georgia's insurrection statute under which four civil rights workers were held without bail on the ground that the law provided for the death penalty. Unfortunately, Judge Elliott is all too typical in his views of a number of other appointments made by the present Administration.

In seeking to waive a jury trial, Miss Rabinowitz' counsel was, of course, aware of the fact that Judge Bootle represents a different judicial tradition. This is not to say that all Eisenhower appointees are vigorous champions of civil rights, although on the average their performance has probably been more than a cut above President Kennedy's. In Judge Bootle's case, however, his attitude had been indicated by his ruling two years ago in directing the University of Georgia to admit Negroes as students.

Sincerely yours,

Lloyd Potter

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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December 4, 1963

Dear Friend:

Enclosed for your information (but not for publication) is a Statement on Quotas and Race Relations adopted by the Executive Board of the American Jewish Committee in Chicago on November 2, 1963.

We should appreciate your reactions to this statement.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman
Race Relations Coordinator

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encl.
MMCCD, CCD

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EXECUTIVE BOARD MEETING

November 1-3, 1963

Statement on QUOTAS AND RACE RELATIONS

The American Jewish Committee strongly supports the constitutional principle that civil rights are individual, not group rights. Law protects individuals against discrimination based on race, color or creed; it does not protect or prefer groups or entire categories such as minorities. The legal recognition of groups even for benign reasons would give rise to a new political principle, one that would perforce make of the group the source of individual rights -- a principle repugnant to democracy. We therefore oppose any attempt to create a system of quotas as such for Negroes or anyone else in housing, employment, education and other areas.

However, we must recognize that Negroes, as a group, have been discriminated against systematically and deprived of the normal benefits and opportunities of society. Consequently, only large-scale measures deliberately designed to establish a new place in society for Negroes will be effective. Since Negroes have suffered discrimination in jobs, housing and schools for generations, it is incumbent upon the nation to provide measures to help close the wide and growing gap which separates the overwhelming masses of Negroes from other Americans. To be meaningful, equality of treatment in all walks of life must be the foundation upon which is constructed a new social framework of supportive devices enabling the individual Negro to overcome a heritage of social deprivation.

America has historically rendered special assistance to special categories of people upon whom society has enforced extra

burdens and who have had special needs that could not otherwise be met. These have included, among others, veterans, workers, farmers, migrants and the aged. We think, therefore, that agreement should be sought on a crash program that would help Negroes and members of other minority groups to overcome their disadvantaged positions. Such a program should include the following elements:

Education Provision for first-class schools for culturally deprived children, with the most modern facilities and the best teachers; intensified remedial instruction in the lower grades for such children; intensified efforts by schools and colleges to seek out qualified Negro and other disadvantaged youths; after-school tutoring programs; expanded adult education programs geared to the needs of citizens lacking basic literary and technical skills; and assumption of responsibility by school officials and boards of education for achieving school integration wherever educationally feasible through such devices as site selection, the redrawing of district lines and rezoning where practicable.

Employment The enactment of federal and state fair employment practices legislation to ban discrimination in public and private employment; intensification and expansion of apprenticeship and training programs -- both by management and unions -- in order to increase the reservoir of trained Negro and white manpower; assumption by employers and unions of greater responsibility for making all categories and levels of employment available to qualified Negroes and other minority workers without discrimination.

Housing The extension of the President's Executive Order on discrimination in housing to cover all existing public and publicly assisted housing, and housing covered by mortgages of lending

institutions supervised or chartered by the Federal Government; the adoption of fair housing laws and ordinances by states and cities; and the assumption by builders, developers and real estate operators of responsibility for building and operating open occupancy developments and promoting racial diversity in communities throughout the country.

We urge the development of intergroup relations training programs in schools, in housing projects, in industry and unions, and elsewhere.

We also urge all our members, and indeed all American citizens, to express their personal commitment to these objectives and to extend their direct support for the achievement of these goals.

The cause of integration will be better served if less energy and attention are devoted to controversy over a "quota" system, and more to the broader scene. Only imaginative, vastly-conceived programs can cope with this situation. Our energies should be devoted toward that end.

Adopted November 2, 1963
Edgewater Beach Hotel
Chicago, Ill.

LWDV
PA
MJ

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • PLaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

December 5, 1963

Mr. Vernon E. Jordon
Assistant to Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Jordon:

Thanks for your letter of November 21st with the copies of the materials for Dr. Newman. Enclosed is a copy of the letter I sent to him about them.

With all best wishes.

Cordially yours,

Harry Fleischman

Harry Fleischman
Race Relations Coordinator

eak
encl.

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December 5, 1963

Dr. Samuel Newman
770 Main Street
Danville, Virginia

Dear Dr. Newman:

Enclosed is a copy of the statement made by Mr. Ivan Allen, Mayor of Atlanta, Georgia; before the Senate Commerce Committee last summer. It strikes me that this is the closest thing to the kind of article you wanted. In addition to that, enclosed is a list of articles, editorials and press stories dealing with that legislation. The Southern Regional Council sent us this. I hope it meets with your needs.

With all best wishes.

Sincerely yours,

Harry Fleischman
Race Relations Coordinator

eak
encl.
bc: Vernon E. Jordon

via air mail

December 16, 1963

Mr. Harry Fleischman
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Harry:

We'll take 10,000 stuffers imprinted "Distributed by the Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia."

Best wishes for the Season.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

State council could effectively use 500 posters (about 10 each)

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • PLaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

PA
PWK OK
VJ
I agree with PA advice please quickly

December 5, 1963

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Enclosed are stats of a poster and an envelope-stuffer which we are about to print. Both the poster (14x17 inches) and the stuffer (about 3x6 inches) will be in color.

We would be happy to include your "distributed by" imprint on both the poster and the stuffer if you want to order copies immediately. The price, of course, depends upon the quantity printed, but I am sending these to you in advance of getting the price so that you can consider how you can best use these. It strikes me that the widest possible prompt promotion of these would be very helpful in creating a better climate in our nation.

I will be in touch with you next week concerning prices.

Cordially yours,

Harry

Harry Fleischman

eak
encl.

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INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS, DIVISION OF COMMUNITY SERVICES, 165 E 56 ST NEW YORK, N.Y. 10

FINISHED VERSION OF THIS POSTER WILL BE ENLARGED TO 14" X 17" AND PRINTED IN COLOR.

"THE TIME HAS COME FOR AMERICANS OF ALL RACES AND CREEDS AND POLITICAL BELIEFS TO UNDERSTAND AND TO RESPECT ONE ANOTHER. SO, LET US PUT AN END TO THE TEACHING AND PREACHING OF HATE AND EVIL AND VIOLENCE. LET US TURN AWAY FROM THE FANATICS, FROM THE FAR LEFT AND THE FAR RIGHT, FROM THE APOSTLES OF BITTERNESS AND BIGOTRY, FROM THOSE DEFIANT OF LAW, AND THOSE WHO POUR VENOM INTO OUR NATION'S BLOODSTREAM."

Lyndon B. Johnson

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

SEAL OF THE PRESIDENT

PRODUCED AS A PUBLIC SERVICE BY
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MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS
165 East 56th Street, New York 22, N. Y. • PLaza 1-4000

from the desk of ISAIAH TERMAN
Director of Communications and Servicing

URGENT, PLEASE

"LET US PUT AN END TO THE TEACHING AND PREACHING OF HATE AND EVIL AND VIOLENCE"

Do you agree that the concluding remarks of President Johnson's first address to the Congress of the United States should be etched into the consciousness of all Americans?

Our nation has undergone a tragic and horrifying experience. Can we learn and benefit from it. or shall we allow the expression of extremist excess and violence to become the norm for the conduct of national affairs?

Much of the answer lies with the human relations, educational and civic agencies-government and voluntary-and the key individuals to whom we are addressing this communication.

Will you pool your effort with ours toward the establishment of a national climate wherein "the apostles of bitterness and bigotry...and those who pour venom into our nation's bloodstream" will find no sustenance?

Will you help us to spread President Johnson's words throughout the land?

We need your immediate reply.*

Isaiah Terman

December 6, 1963
labcef2a-d3a-hjkL
Encl.
*to meet printing deadline

"LET US PUT AN END.."

Information About Production, Purchasing, and Distribution

The Poster

Format: Enclosed is a "rough." The final product will show refinements in design (possibly smaller drawing, larger type); size will be 14" x 18"; either two or three colors.

Cost: Single copy, 10¢; 100 through 900, $7.50 per hundred (i.e., 7½¢ each); 1000 and over, $65 per thousand (i.e., 6½¢ each), plus shipping.

Imprint: Extra charge for 3-line "distributed by" imprint with your organization's name and address on bottom of poster, below the Institute of Human Relations imprint.

Under 100 - not available
$4 per hundred posters
$12.50 per 500 posters
$15.00 per 1000 posters

Suggested Uses: Stores (large and small), factories, restaurants, offices, public meeting halls, schools (but please consult Superintendents).

Envelope "Stuffer"

Format: "Rough" enclosed. These will be smaller, to fit all envelope sizes, with some design change. Size 3" x 6"; two colors.

Cost: $2 per hundred; $15 per thousand, plus shipping.

Imprint: As above, but--

Under 1000 - not available
Over 1000, in multiples of 100 only. $5 regardless of quantity

Suggested Uses: Business and industry pay envelopes, bills and invoices, organizational and personal correspondence. (Please contact by phone; many will agree to cover the cost.)

DEADLINE

Only a huge initial printing will make this price schedule possible. We need to receive your order NOT LATER than FRIDAY, DECEMBER 13. Order form enclosed.

ORDER FORM

"LET US PUT AN END..."

Community Relations Service
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York 10022

Posters: Please send _____ posters and bill us.
Imprint, at additional charge, as follows:

_____

_____

_____

Stuffers: Please send _____ stuffers and bill us.
Imprint, at additional charge, as follows:

_____

_____

_____

NAME _____

ORGANIZATION _____

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____

DATE _____

memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

date December 11, 1963

to Leslie W. Dunbar

from Harry Fleischman

subject Johnson Posters and Stuffers

Here are the prices for both the poster and the stuffer which I wrote to you about on December 5th:

Posters - 14x18 inches, 2 colors -- single copy 10¢;
$7.50 per 100; $65.00 per 1000.
Three-line "Distributed By" imprint at additional charge of $4.00 per 100;
$12.50 per 500; $15.00 per 1000.

Stuffers - 3x6 inches, 2 colors -- $2.00 per 100;
$15.00 per 1000.
Three-line "Distributed By" imprint on orders of 1000 or more in multiples of 1000 - $5.00 additional per imprint.

All the best.

Harry

File
Amer. Jewish
Committee

JOSEPH ROSS

Prominent Detroit retailer and national vice-president of the American Jewish Committee.

Former member of the Atlanta Chapter and former president of the Dallas chapter.

Member of the Businessmen's Committee, National Planning Association and treasurer of the American Council to Improve Our Neighborhoods.

Mr. Ross' Detroit activities include Chairman of the Mayor's Committee for a National Cultural Center, Trustee of the Detroit Opra Assn., and of the United Foundation of Detroit, and a member of the Mayor's Committee on Equal Opportunity.

Mr. Ross will speak on " Atlanta Revisited".

The Atlanta Chapter of the

American Jewish Committee

cordially invites you to its

Annual Dinner Meeting

Guest Speaker - **JOSEPH ROSS**, National Vice-President, A.J.C.

Presentation - **Human Relations Award to**
CLAUDE SITTON, Southern Correspondent
The New York Times

SUNDAY, APRIL 26, 1964 — at 6:30 P. M.

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file American Jewish Cong. reg - SNCC folder

May 14, 1964

Mr. Harry Fleischman
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Harry:

Would the AJC or any of your other connections be able to help with the enclosed?

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosure - 1.
Copy of ltr. from Julian Bond (SNCC) re: financial support for the STUDENT VOICE and otherprinting costs.

File
Amer Jewish Cttee

June 10, 1964

Mr. David Danzig
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York

Dear David:

I am sending you enclosed three (3) copies each of the Charlotte and Louisville reports as you requested.

As I said yesterday, we have no objection to your condensing these, or otherwise using the reports in the best interests of the Seminar. If you do go ahead with the condensations, we would appreciate an opportunity to scan your manuscript.

I hope you were able to reach John Feild about the Memphis report. We shall send that off to be multilithed early next week. On it, and the remaining three studies, we do not intend to do a press release. The Brunswick report has been written by Pat Watters, and has laid on my desk for over a week still unread. I shall get to it quickly.

As you know the fifth city we have planned to do is Baton Rouge. We have not yet gone over there.

With best wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj
Enclosures - 7 (3 each, Charlotte & Louisville reports
1 News release)
cc: Mr. John Feild

Attach Green copy & circulate to:

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • PLaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

ES
BP
MA
LD

June 19, 1964

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Leslie:

Enclosed is a mimeographed copy of "Crime and Race: Conceptions and Misconceptions," by Marvin E. Wolfgang, scheduled for publication by the Institute of Human Relations Press of the American Jewish Committee immediately after Labor Day.

In view of the importance of its subject matter, we are bringing this to your attention to permit you to decide if you would like to order a large quantity. In quantity, copies will cost about 50¢ -- less if a large enough pre-printing order permits an increased run. In order to have some idea of the size of the printing run, it is important for us to have reactions by Monday, July 6th.

Many thanks for your prompt consideration of this matter.

Cordially yours,

Harry

Harry Fleischman
Race Relations Coordinator

eak
encl.

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~~Crime & Delinquency~~

Note: We have this in pamphlet form

CRIME AND RACE:

Conceptions and Misconceptions

by

Marvin E. Wolfgang

INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS PRESS
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street, New York, N. Y. 10022

(To be run in
prominent position)

THE COOPERATION OF
THE PHILADELPHIA FELLOWSHIP COMMISSION
IN THE INITIATION AND PLANNING OF THIS STUDY
IS WARMLY ACKNOWLEDGED

ABOUT THE AUTHOR ...

Dr. Marvin E. Wolfgang, Professor of Sociology at the Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania, also serves his native state as President of the Pennsylvania Prison Society and Chairman of the Committee on Penal Affairs, Advisory Council of the Pennsylvania Joint State Government Commission. He has directed numerous scientific studies, including the Ford Foundation Research on the Measurement of Delinquency, 1960-1963, and presently is Co-Director of Socio-Psychological Research on Violence at the Social Science Research Center, University of Puerto Rico. His varied experience in criminology includes three years as Participant Observer in the Homicide Squad of the Philadelphia Police Department.

Among many other distinctions, Professor Wolfgang has held grants from the Social Science Research Council and the Fulbright Program, and a fellowship from the Guggenheim Foundation.

Professor Wolfgang was Official Delegate of the American Sociological Association to the Sixth International Conference of Social Defense of the United Nations (1961) and is presently the U. S. Representative to the Scientific Committee of the International Society of Criminology.

A prolific writer and frequent contributor to professional journals, Professor Wolfgang also is Acting Associate Editor of the Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, and Criminology Editor of the Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science.

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INTRODUCTION

Even though Americans are accustomed to forming opinions on a multitude of complex issues, most of us recognize that certain questions, especially those in the realm of scientific research, cannot be weighed without highly specialized knowledge. Thus, few persons outside of professional circles feel equipped by training or experience to discuss nuclear physics.

Another and no less difficult topic is human behavior. Whether in individual or group form, it is one of the most complex objects of study; yet, because we are all involved in social life in ways that require some understanding of how to relate ourselves to others, most of us do not hesitate to voice opinions about the major facets of human behavior.

Nor is it surprising that the opinions of the general public are frequently less cautious than those expressed by social scientists. Although scientific research has discovered much about man and his interrelationships, scholars with free and open minds are trained to refrain from making definitive statements where evidence is lacking or research has not adequately probed.

This attitude of scientists, combined with the public's proximity to social issues and its selective experience, render many highly sensitive topics of social concern vulnerable to misconceptions.

Race is one of the most widely discussed and important social issues in America today, commanding far more attention than crime. This is not to say that the American people are disinterested in crime; it is plainly recognized in the press and on the screen as a theme of compelling attraction. And as the public is informed through repeated announcements that rates of crime and delinquency are rising, communities are asking more questions about the causes, and seeking solutions.

An independent concern with each of these ~~two~~ topics, race and crime, invariably results in an interest about how the two are related. It is important to the successful solution of problems that the blending of these interests be accomplished through unhurried, unbiased appraisals, not through efforts to "prove" preconceived conclusions. It is the purpose of this booklet to discuss the best available evidence on the combined topics of race and crime, to examine the causes and extent of their relationship, if any, and to dispel misconceived notions about them.

There are enormous problems in understanding the meaning of each of these terms, race and crime, let alone their interaction. Many scholars have devoted their lives to research on each; fewer have examined the two together. Most of what research on each topic has discovered fits together into compelling theories, but not inevitable laws, of human conduct. Per-

haps, however, some of the most important things we have learned are negative, telling us that certain conclusions are not true.

It is obvious even to the most casual observer that some minority groups, particularly Negroes, experience a more narrow range of life's alternatives, or choices, and encounter more restrictions than do whites. It is also well known that society's reaction to the criminal is still partly that of retribution, or an eye-for-an-eye, however much the ideas of reformation have grown in this century. Even with a sometimes expiatory philosophy suggesting that an offender must pay his debt to society, that same society rarely wipes the slate clean and encourages his smooth return from prison to the community. Instead, the label of having been arrested, even if not convicted -- or worse, of having been convicted and imprisoned -- is sewn to one's personal history with the threads of suspicion, fear and unforgiveness.

Despite the handicaps faced by most criminal offenders upon their release, it is not farfetched to suggest that the law-abiding Negro non-offender suffers more from prejudice, discrimination and segregation than the returning white criminal suffers from a community's rejection. There are probably more restrictions placed on the man with color than on the man with crime.

When crime and color converge, the person is in double jeopardy. To the visible badge of color is added the label of criminal, not affixed to his skin but to the file of records that destroy his anonymity and promote antipathy. Attitudes of prejudice and acts of discrimination are compounded. The likelihood that any inmate's return to the community will be successful and free from violation of the law is less than 50-50 When the handicaps of belonging to a minority group further reduce the chances of finding acceptance and a job, it is not surprising that crimes are often repeated.

What is most regrettable is that many people -- partly from exaggeration of a few facts, partly from a readiness to believe -- strongly associate the two factors of color and crime. In so doing, they not only make more difficult the plight of the colored offender; they also begin to see color as sufficient reason for suspecting crime. The effects of this mental association go far beyond a seize-and-search police policy. The private citizen clinging to a false premise is soon beset by false fears and driven to hasty reprisals that damage efforts to integrate community life.

If information is an aid to understanding, and if correct information leads to better understanding, then there is merit in sifting facts from flaws in the ideas associated with race and crime. To do so, we must examine the meaning of race,

the meaning of crime and criminal statistics, the ways in which race and crime converge, the interpretations of that convergence, the most plausible explanations of criminal conduct among minority groups, and the efforts needed to effect change.

THE MEANING OF RACE

The Genetic View

In 1855, J. C. Prichard of England stated a position which has been supported by a century of scientific study. "The different races of man," he said, "are not distinguished from each other by strongly marked, uniform and permanent distinctions, as are the species belonging to any given tribe of animals. All the diversities which exist are variable, and pass into each other by insensible gradations."(1)

In 1950, an international panel of physical anthropologists and geneticists, having met under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization to arrive at a consensus about the definition of race, published a statement that was a century-old echo of Prichard. The term race, they said, designates "a group or population characterized by some concentrations, relative as to frequency and distribution, of hereditary particles (genes) or physical characteristics, which appear, fluctuate, and often disappear in the course of time by reason of geographic and/or cultural isolation."(2) All men are derived from the same source and belong to the same species. The differences among them, the report asserted, are due to evolutionary factors, such as isolation, mixing and natural selection.

The study of genetics refers to that branch of biology concerned with reproduction, heredity, development and evolution. This science has found that all races share the same genes, so there are not certain genes exclusive to one racial group. Different races, therefore, are due to the relative frequency and concentration of particular genes.

Over the centuries, man has classified himself by using skin color, eye color and form, hair color and form, stature, shape of the nose, blood type, cephalic index (head shape) and many other criteria. It is true, of course, that different races have different concentrations of these items. The Chinese, for example, have relatively more persons with Blood Type A_1 and relatively fewer with A_2; but the blood of an Oriental with Type A_1 is indistinguishable from Type A_1 in a Negro or white and can be exchanged in transfusion.(3)

The cephalic index is probably the most commonly used measurement in physical anthropology for classificatory purposes, perhaps because it is easy to use. This index refers to the ratio of the maximum breadth to the maximum length of the head, and groupings have included long or narrow headed, middle or medium headed, and short or broad headed. But as Ruth Benedict pointed out, "Narrow heads are found among uncivilized primitives and among powerful and cultivated Western Europeans; broad heads are too. Neither the narrow heads of the whole

world nor the broad heads stack up to show any obvious monopoly of glorious destiny or any corner on ability or virtue.... The cephalic index does not serve to distinguish the white race from the Mongoloid nor from the Negro...."[4]

Anatomical specialization is certainly recognized among groups classified as Mongoloid, Negroid and Caucasoid, but many individuals cannot be assigned to one or another group on the basis of even a few of the criteria mentioned above. Advances in medicine, nutrition and sanitation so affect the structure of peoples that none of the races can be reliably distinguished by size, weight, or length of life.

Some tribes of Negro pygmies average under four feet tall; among other Negro tribes, like the Watusi (or, more correctly, the Batutsi) an adult under six feet is considered short. Whites generally have a longer life expectancy than other racial groups, but the American Negro born today has a life expectancy far greater than the American white born as late as the turn of the century. Obviously the change is due to modern advances in medicine.

Finally, as Franz Boas pointed out a generation ago, "The study of averages and variabilities has proved that human populations inhabiting adjoining territories overlap in regard to most features, so that it is not possible to assign with certainty any one individual to a definite group.... There are no races

of man in which no overlapping occurs in regard to all the traits examined. Negroes and Europeans may be tall or short, round headed or long headed, large or small brained. The averages and variabilities of these traits may differ, but the distributions are such that many if not most values are common to both races."(5)

No reproduction is possible across different species; they are genetically closed systems. But man represents only one species, and the races of man are genetically open systems. All members of the human species can mate and produce offspring of various blendings. Race is a matter of degree, and technically, as R. R. Korn and L. W. McCorkle suggest, one should not say "Negro," "Chinese" or "white," but how much Negro, how much Chinese, how much white.(6)

Using a sample of over 5,000 Negroes from all over the United States between 1915 and 1926, M. J. Herskovits estimated that no more than 22 per cent of all persons designated as Negro were of unmixed ancestry. Of the rest, nearly 15 per cent were more white than Negro, about one-fourth were equally white and Negro, approximately 32 per cent were more Negro than white, and about 6 per cent were Negro mixed with Indian.(7)

There is no reason to suppose that these proportions are any different among Negro offenders. In 1939, E. A. Hooton divided over 4,000 Negro prisoners, mostly from Southern states, into subgroupings and discovered from anthropometric examinations

that over 80 per cent were a mixture of Negro with some other race, while less than 20 per cent were unmixed Negroes.[8] As Julian Huxley remarked, "Man is unique among species of animals in the degree to which crossing between already differentiated groups and types has taken place. Accordingly, multiple ancestry is at least as important as common ancestry in considering the nature and origins of any group."[9]

One final word needs be said in view of the recent publication of C. S. Coon's The Origin of Races, in which the author suggests that the races evolved into their present biological stage at different points in time; more particularly, that the Negro race trailed behind the white race.[10] In reviewing this book, William Howells, Chairman of the Department of Anthropology at Harvard University, commented that whatever may be one's theory concerning the origin of races, it cannot be relevant to measuring differences between races today.[11] The famous geneticist, Theodosius Dobzhansky, agrees with the generally held contention which Coon supports, namely, that the present species known as Homo sapiens is descended from Homo erectus of the mid-Pleistocene period. But Coon's belief that Homo erectus evolved into Homo sapiens in five different stages and much earlier in some places than others is clearly not shared by Dobzhansky. "This belief," he says "is neither supported by conclusive evidence nor plausible on theoretical grounds. More-

over ...repeated origins of the same species are so improbable that this conjecture is not worthy of serious consideration; and given a gene flow, it becomes fallacious to say that a species has originated repeatedly, and even more fallacious to contend that it has originated five times, or any other number above one."[12]

The Legal and Social View

Unfortunately, men are not commonly rational about race. Besides its definition from the viewpoint of geneticists and physical anthropologists, race has a legal and a social meaning. In those states, for example, where miscegenation (interracial marriage) is prohibited, the term "Negro" is defined legally, with variations, as anyone with one-fourth, one-eighth or one-sixteenth Negro ancestry. In Georgia and North Carolina, any "ascertainable" trace of Negro ancestry classifies one as a Negro.

The important point to remember is that the historical condition of Negroes as the only ethnic group in America ever subjected to slavery has caused them to be given a particular legal and social status.

Even without a legally established status, race is defined by social usage. When people are crudely classified by appearance, and when statistics are recorded on that basis, genetic validity is sacrificed to social custom.[13] Despite the fact that

Negroes are not biologically unique, they are socially treated as a distinct, relatively isolated group. In this sense, so are Puerto Ricans, Mexican-Americans and some other minority groups. In New York and Los Angeles, a Spanish name or appearance, the circumstance of being a migrant or child of a migrant from Puerto Rico or Mexico are among the accepted criteria of ethnic grouping. Mexican-Americans in Los Angeles County are viewed as a group distinct from Anglo-whites.(14)

The racial classifications used by the Bureau of the Census are based mostly upon enumerators' observations, although in the 1960 census it was possible for members of a household to classify themselves. As the Bureau reports, its concept of race "is derived from that which is commonly accepted by the general public. It does not reflect clear-cut definitions of biological stock, and several categories obviously refer to national origin."(15)

As long as segregation and discrimination persist, and the struggle for more participation in society continues, there may be some utility in the statistical designation of race, simply to keep an accounting of social problems and to measure the progress of change in the economic and political status of minority groups.(16)

Those who still act as if the social definition of race were genetically valid are especially interested in the many

reports on intelligence testing, because Negro average scores are usually presented as lower than white average scores. It was shocking news to many persons when they first read in Ruth Benedict's classic pamphlet, The Races of Mankind (1943) that Army intelligence tests during World War I showed Northern Negroes from New York, Illinois and Ohio with higher median scores than Southern whites from Mississippi, Kentucky and Arkansas. That such findings were not due to the selective migration of intelligent Negroes from the South to the North, but rather to better educational opportunities in the North, was the general conclusion of O. Klineberg's important study, that of E. Lee and others.[17-18]

As long ago as 1848, John Stuart Mill was cognizant of the influence of cultural environment on behavior: "Of all vulgar modes of escaping from the considerations of the effect of social and moral influence on the human mind, the most vulgar is that of attributing the diversities of conduct and character to inherent natural differences."[19]

This is not the place to discuss the numerous studies of intelligence scores, but we should note the statements by leading authorities, reported in Race and Intelligence (edited by Melvin Tumin), which were, in effect, rebuttals to Audrey Shuey's The Testing of Negro Intelligence.[20-21] Especially cogent was the response of Sherwood Washburn: "...when two groups of whites

differ in their IQ's, the explanation of the difference is immediately sought in schooling, environment, economic position of parents, and so on, but...when Negroes and whites differ in precisely the same way the difference is said to be genetic."[22] Substituting "crimes" for "IQ's," precisely the same statement would hold true. When the homicide rate for whites is found to be four times higher in Georgia than in Massachusetts, the difference is explained in terms of the surrounding cultural and socio-economic conditions. But when the crime rate of Negroes is found to be generally four times higher than the rate for whites, some racist-minded persons are quick to invent a genetic interpretation of the difference.

Resort to racism, or a "genetic" explanation of differences in mental abilities, personality or conduct, is universally discredited by scholars in genetics who perceive racial differences principally in terms of the history of man's physical movements and cultural change. In fact, under the leadership of Franz Boas, the scientific attack on racism in America was firmly established as far back as the 1920's. By then, says Thomas Gossett, "racism had developed into such a contradictory mass of the unprovable and the emotional that the serious students eventually recognized that as a source of explanation it was worthless."[23] As we shall see, it is equally worthless as an explanation for criminal conduct.

THE MEANING OF CRIME

The history of man is a story of social organization and disorganization. Wherever there is human conduct there is human misconduct, and every society establishes rules to govern the relationships among its members. In primitive cultures without written codes of behavior, informal modes of control are sufficient to maintain social harmony, but as a society becomes complicated by urbanization, rapid change and heterogeneity of population, the rights and rules of life are formalized into statutes that define more precisely what is expected of us. But the definition of acts that are viewed as harmful is always culturally subjective; one of the clichés of social analysis is that crime varies from place to place and from time to time. Even acts like murder, rape and theft, which appear to be nearly universally condemned, must be considered in terms of who perform them and who are victimized.

Legal and Sociological Definitions

From a legal perspective, crime is an act that violates the social norms, and its prohibition is buttressed by a punishment, administered by the state through a proceeding in its own name.[24] From a broader sociological view, J. L. Gillin has defined crime as "an act that is socially harmful, or that is believed to be socially harmful by a group that has the power

to enforce its beliefs and that places such act under the ban of positive penalties."[25] It is obvious, from this approach, that the definition of crime is relative, for whether an act is socially harmful depends on the interpretation of some group -- that group, as Gillin says, which has sufficient power to make its beliefs an effective and functioning part of the social order.

In primitive society, the group with such dominance may be a council of elders or the young warriors who usurp power from their elders. In the Middle Ages, the group that defined crime was the Church, and heresy was the most heinous of acts. The military clique in prewar Japan, Mussolini and his cohorts in Italy, Hitler and the Nazi party in Germany -- all had their moments and enforced their beliefs upon the national states they controlled.

Totalitarianism concentrates dominance, democracy diffuses it. But even in a democratic society there are groups, like the majority of voters, who hold the power to enforce their beliefs of right and wrong. In early America, persons without property were not voters; and not until the 20th century did women in the United States gain the right to exercise power at the polls. Until only recently, Negroes in this country had virtually no chance to participate as citizens expressing their beliefs, no voice in the definition of acts declared offensive to the social order.

"Love thy neighbor as thyself" may be a useful rule, but in the absence of a penal sanction, failure to abide by it is no crime. To be a crime, an act must be punished. To some extent, the degree of harm which an act involves is partially reflected in the severity of the punishment. From death to reprimand, society expresses its collective concern for the harm. But as the times change, so do the people's concerns. What was defined as a crime years ago is no longer such; what was not criminal before may be deemed so now. Our national experiment in the prohibition of alcohol dramatized this lesson of change.

Moreover, each state jurisdiction in the United States has its own penal code, and what is criminal in one state may not be outlawed in another. Thus, in Oregon, fornication is punished with up to five years' imprisonment; but in New York, California and 11 other states, it is not a crime. In Colorado, Georgia, and Nevada, sodomy can bring life imprisonment, but in New Hampshire and Vermont it is not a crime. In all states, forcible rape is a crime, but the maximum penalty varies from death in 19 states to five years' imprisonment in Rhode Island.

If a sexual relationship occurs between a girl under a certain age and a boy over a certain age, with mutual participation and consent, it is considered statutory rape. The age division is usually 16 or 18 years, so that a 16-year-old boy

having consensual relations with a 15-year-old girl in Pennsylvania is guilty of rape and subject to a maximum of 15 years in prison. In Texas the maximum penalty is death when the "victim" is under 18; but in Delaware it is not a crime if the victim is over seven years old.

Similarly inconsistent is the division of offenses into misdemeanors and felonies. What is a misdemeanor, or presumably petty offense, in one state may be a felony, or presumably serious crime, in another. It has been estimated that as many as one-third of the acts today declared criminal were not defined as crimes at the turn of the century. Such then, are the variations over time and place.

At different times throughout the world the ruling regimes have created legal rationales for subjecting minority groups to differential treatment. To have had the status of a Jew in Hitler Germany was tantamount to being a criminal. Even in American law, there have been offenses that applied only to Negroes. In the early 18th century in Connecticut, Massachusetts and New Jersey, it was no crime for a white man to strike a Negro, but a Negro who struck a white man was to be flogged. In six Northern states (Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, New Jersey, New York, Ohio), a Negro could not testify against a white, and the statements of any two whites superseded those of any number of Negroes. This kind of situation no longer exists in the law. But, as we shall see, the status of being

Negro still carries a vulnerability to being labeled criminal which does not equally apply to the status of being white.

The Measurement of Crime - Unrecorded Offenses

One may well ask how we measure crime and obtain reliable and valid data about offenders. The answer, of course, is that we can only make estimates based upon the best scientific procedures available. Attempts to measure crime have a long history; yet in the United States, our present system goes back only as far as 1930, when the U.S. Department of Justice started a publication known as Uniform Crime Reports. This compilation of national crime statistics is based on reports turned in voluntarily by police units throughout the country. They are called "uniform" because, as the result of diligent efforts in the late 1920's, a system was devised by which the varied definitions of crime in the various states could be catalogued and classified for tabular purposes. Thus, quasi-legal categories were used for a set of offenses sufficiently broadly defined so that all jurisdictions could render an accounting of substantially the same crimes, regardless of the penalties attached to them.

Thanks to the diligent efforts of the Federal Bureau of Investigation in checking on the recording procedures of local communities, over 90 per cent of the country is now covered by this national uniform procedure. Cities from time to time have been dropped and added, due to changes in the efficiency or

reliability of their records.

From these efforts to gather information there has emerged a category consisting of seven crimes generally known as the "crime index." Modified slightly in 1958, these index offenses are: criminal homicide (murder and nonnegligent manslaughter), forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, larceny ($50 and over) and auto theft.

The meaning of "index" should be borne in mind. Just as a cost of living index does not include all consumer items, a crime index does not include all criminal acts. It contains a purposively selected number of items and is designed to reflect accurately the total from which they are drawn. On the assumption that offenses in a crime index should be relatively serious and likely to be regularly reported to the police -- not acts (like gambling and prostitution), whose fluctuations in volume reflect the degree of police activity, ranging from raids to quiet tolerance, nor acts (like fornication) concealed from the police by mutual consent of those involved -- the seven offenses listed above were chosen by a national panel as the best guages for determining the amount of crime in a community, a state or the nation.

It is generally agreed that the most valid criminal statistics for index purposes are those which, procedurally, are closest to the commission of crime. This is why offenses known

to the police are better than court statistics on convictions or prison statistics on commitments. However, it is important to recognize that there are many differences between "offenses known to the police" and "offenders taken into custody." Furthermore, even the earliest stage of crime recording, at the police level, does not yield a total picture of the amount of crime and delinquency in a community. Police statistics are the best we have, but it is obvious that many more crimes occur than are ever reported. In criminological literature these unrecorded offenses are often referred to as "hidden delinquency" or "the dark numbers" of crime.

There are a dozen or so studies made by criminologists throughout the world suggesting what most of us suspect -- that all of us have at one time or another committed violations of the law beyond simple traffic offenses. J. S. Wallerstein and C. J. Wyle some years ago devised a questionnaire which they submitted to a cross section of the New York population.[26] Although this study was not based on a rigorous research design and therefore has limitations, its findings have been confirmed by other, more thoroughgoing investigations. Wallerstein and Wyle listed 49 offenses with brief descriptions, to determine how many persons had committed them and how often. On the list were 14 felonies carrying a penalty of at least two years in a state penitentiary. It is clear that these 49 offenses consti-

tuted only a fraction of the hundreds of acts specifically prohibited in the criminal law of New York. Murder was not included, but there were other unsavory offenses, among them assault, robbery, burglary, larceny, perjury, extortion, gambling, bribery, tax evasion.

Of the 1,698 responses, admittedly biased toward the upper socio-economic class, 99 per cent said they had committed one or more of the criminal offenses as juveniles under 16 or as adults over that age, without ever having been arrested. The average number committed by the 1,020 men was 18, with a mean number of 8.2 for clergymen and 20.2 for laborers. Women laborers admitted 9.8 offenses after reaching 16 years of age, but women in military and government jobs admitted 14.4. The mean number for all women was 11. Both sexes said their breaches occurred more frequently after 16 years of age, the men averaging only 3.2 juvenile offenses and the women 1.6. Both reported that their offenses increased progressively from age 21 to 40 and then declined. Nearly two-thirds of the men and about three out of every 10 women said they were guilty of one or more of the 14 serious felonies. The per cent of men and women reporting their criminal conduct by type of offense was as follows:

Offense	Per Cent Men	Per Cent Women
Larceny	89	83
Disorderly Conduct	85	76
Malicious Mischief	84	81
Indecency	77	74

Gambling	74	54
Auto Misdemeanors	61	39
Tax Evasion	57	40
Assault	49	5
Falsification and Fraud	46	34
Criminal Libel	36	29
Concealed Weapons	35	3
Auto Theft	26	8
Conspiracy	23	7
Perjury	23	17
Burglary	17	4
Coercion	16	6
Grand Larceny	13	11
Robbery	11	1

In another study, Professor Austin Porterfield compared the frequency of criminal and delinquent offenses of 337 college students (200 men and 137 women) with the number of offenses committed by over 2,000 boys whose cases were brought to the juvenile court at Fort Worth.[27] The court cases involved 55 specific offenses ranging from "shooting spit wads at a wrestling match" to murder. What is striking in this study is that 100 per cent of both male and female students admitted they had committed offenses. One of the theological students said he had committed 27 of the 55 offenses. There was one case of murder admitted and one case of negligent homicide; in both instances

no charges were ever made.

While there may be some skepticism about these admissions, repeated studies confirm that offenses committed by normally law-abiding citizens are far in excess of the number known to the police or committed by persons actually taken into custody. Porterfield compared the frequency with which the same offenses were committed on the average by 100 college men and by boys in court, showing that the college men committed far more offenses than the juvenile-court boys were charged with. Of the college men, about 5 per cent admitted attempted rape in precollege days, and 25 per cent admitted indecent exposure. The average number of offenses in precollege days was 17.5.

In Washington, D. C., Edward Schwartz conducted a study on the amount of delinquency coming to the attention of the juvenile court, compared to the amount coming to the attention of other public agencies which share responsibility for dealing with delinquent children.[28] For a year, careful records were kept of all cases of delinquency known to the police, the schools and welfare agencies. These cases were then checked against the court records in order to determine the proportion that actually came to the attention of the court. In sum, only 43 per cent of the cases known to these other agencies were handled by the court. It was not known how many other cases were handled by private agencies, families, churches and other community

resources. Although this was a localized study in Washington, there is no reason to believe that the situation would be very different elsewhere.

A research on the hidden delinquency of 61 boys who never had been brought to court and 40 who had been court cases was reported in 1946.[29] These boys (in the communities of Cambridge and Somerville, near Boston, Massachusetts) admitted a total of 6,416 offenses, of which only 95, or 1½ per cent, had ever given rise to a court hearing. About 1,400 were infractions of city ordinances, none of which even resulted in a complaint. There were 4,400 minor offenses, of which only 27, or six-tenths of 1 per cent, were prosecuted. And only 11 per cent (or 68) of the 616 serious offenses resulted in punishment. These were admitted to social workers who knew the delinquents well and had obtained their confidence.

Students of the problem, including F. I. Nye and others, have examined the relationship between hidden, unofficial, unrecorded delinquency and social class. The thesis is generally maintained, through self-reporting studies of junior and senior high-school students, that middle and high-status juveniles have much higher rates than appear in official statistics of delinquency, while lower-status children, particularly if living in high delinquency areas, have a much higher probability of being discovered and adjudicated as delinquents.[30]

As some authors have suggested, the fact that so much crime occurs without ever becoming known to the authorities is partially a result of something less than 100 per cent efficiency in law enforcement. This is understandable, for only in a completely totalitarian society could law enforcement be completely efficient. No such society has ever existed, nor would we want it. Further, as Wallerstein and Wyle suggest, these studies, partial and limited as they may be, show that people can commit delinquencies and adult crime, and still be respectable businessmen, clergymen, teachers, housewives and parents. If it is true that so many of us have at one time or another committed some criminal offense, then a retributive and negative attitude towards those who have been caught is not only illogical, it is hypocritical as well.

These studies also indicate that a community's definitions of crime and delinquency are indeed nebulous. The decision that someone has committed a crime may depend less on the individual's behavior than on police policy, referral practices and treatment resources in a community. Enforcement procedures vary greatly by circumstance, social class, time and place. We do well to remember that the person who escapes detection, arrest, conviction and penal sentence escapes much more. He is saved from a social stigma that is not readily overcome. All too often, the sting of that stigma so affects a juvenile soon to become a man that he fulfills the prophecy of the delinquent label because he cannot wash it off.

The Measurement of Crime: Recorded Offenses

If a tree falls and no one hears it, the tree has nonetheless fallen. Similarly, we recognize that many crimes occur but are not recorded, and even of those recorded, our knowledge is incomplete.

As we have said, police records published in Uniform Crime Reports are the best source for measuring the amount of crime. But here we must emphasize that the data contained in these Reports are under two headings which reflect two levels of public knowledge -- first, "offenses known to the police," and second, "offenses cleared by arrest." Between these two categories there exists a vast gap. For as is well known, merely because someone complains to the police that an offense has occurred does not guarantee discovery of the offender. Only when offenders are taken into custody, are we able to say anything in a statistically analytic way about the attributes of offenders in general.

In other words, in setting out to analyze juvenile delinquency, we must use the group of offenses that have resulted in the arrest of juveniles; we can only speculate about the offenses committed by juveniles not arrested. The same must be said about our analyses of the sex and race of offenders.

In Uniform Crime Reports, "Cleared by arrest" does not mean that the offender is cleared, or exonerated. It means that a

reported offense is "cleared" from the police record, the police having taken into custody at least one suspect who is available for prosecution. Satisfied that the person taken into custody is a good suspect, the police can clear their record of concern for that offense.

The proportion of offenses cleared by arrest has been fairly constant over many years, as has been the percentage cleared by type of offense. These figures are important for an understanding of some complexities relating to the race, age or sex of offenders, and it is for this reason that we draw attention to them now.

In the United States in 1960, a typical year, we are told that 26 per cent of all offenses known to the police were cleared by arrest.[31] Variations (rounded) among the index offenses are striking: murder and non-negligent manslaughter had a clearance rate of 92, forcible rape 73, robbery 39, aggravated assault 75, burglary 29, larceny 20, and auto theft 26. The offenses with the lowest clearance rates are the ones most frequently committed. Consequently, the average clearance rate for these seven offenses is only between 25 and 30 per cent. Figures for other offenses are not given; but for these important crimes, used to measure the volume of crime in general, we have but a small sample from which to make judgments about persons arrested. That is, about 70-75 per cent of offenses are not

cleared, leaving us with no knowledge of the offenders. Whether we can safely project from the one-fourth sample to the total group is only conjecture.

The problem of projection is further complicated by the uneven rate of clearance among the seven offenses from which the 30 per cent sample comes. Acts commonly designated as "offenses against the person" -- murder, rape, aggravated assault -- have relatively high rates of clearance, while "offenses against property" -- burglary, larceny, auto theft -- have relatively low rates. The variance is understandable: when the act requires contact with the victim, there is a greater likelihood of identifying the criminal than when property is stolen without the victim's presence.

Moreover, the ratio of police investigatory teams to cases involving the person, particularly criminal homicide, is much greater than the ratio of staff to complaints regarding property. Finally, in many cases of bodily injury, if not most, the victim and offender were known to one another. Homicide, for example, is one of the most personalized of crimes, usually involving a relative, mate, close friend or at least acquaintance. The domain of probable suspects is therefore much more limited than in purely property crimes where offender and victim are commonly strangers.

Robbery, we may note, has a clearance rate about half way between the two major groups of offenses and statistically re-

flects the anomalous character of the crime, which is mainly acquisitive but does involve at least a personal confrontation and intimidation, if not always a personal injury.

In general, then, we see that in cases known to the police, arrests result from about three-fourths of offenses against the person and from only about one-fourth of offenses against property.

Quite the contrary percentages occur when we examine the proportion found guilty among the persons charged. The shift of base from "offenses" to "offenders" is significant. An offense may be "cleared by arrest" when one or more suspects are taken into custody; and one suspect may clear up one or more offenses. More specifically, one burglary may bring the arrest of three suspects; contrariwise, one arrested suspect may be responsible for three burglaries.

Thus, the relationship between number of persons and number of offenses, is never entirely clear. We do know that in 1960, of every 100 index offenses known to the police, 26 were cleared by arrest and 20 persons were charged. Of every 100 persons charged, or held for prosecution, 76 were found guilty. The following table summarizes these data from Uniform Crime Reports for 1960.

	Per Cent of Offenses Known to Police		Per Cent of Persons Charged **
Offenses Against the Person	Offenses Cleared by Arrest*	Persons Charged*	Found Guilty
Murder and Non-negligent Manslaughter	92.3	96.8	59.8
Forcible Rape	72.5	74.2	50.8
Aggravated Assault	75.8	63.3	43.3
Offenses Against Property			
Robbery	38.5	42.8	58.7
Burglary	29.5	19.3	67.4
Larceny	20.1	14.8	72.0
Auto Theft	25.7	21.4	64.0
Total	26.1	19.8	76.3

*UCR, 1960, p. 83. Data are for 2,351 cities with a total population of 83,428,926.

**UCR, 1960, p. 86. Data are for 279 cities over 25,000 population, with a total population of 39,025,550.

As we have observed, the rates of clearance by arrest are higher for offenses against the person than for offenses against property. But when we examine the proportion of persons found guilty, the opposite is true -- that is, the probability of being arrested for a property offense is low, but if arrested, the probability of being convicted is relatively high. And while

the probability of being arrested for an offense against the person is high, the probability of being convicted after arrest is relatively low. It is of special interest that offenses against the person comprise a very small percentage of all seven offenses. If robbery is considered a property offense, only 8. per cent are against the person. The following table shows these distributions.

Offenses Known to Police, 1960

Offenses Against the Person	Number	Per Cent of Total
Murder and Non-negligent Manslaughter	9,140	0.49
Forcible Rape	15,560	0.84
Aggravated Assault	130,230	7.00
Total	154,930	8.33
Offenses Against Property		
Robbery	88,970	4.78
Burglary	821,100	44.11
Larceny	474,900	25.51
Auto Theft	321,400	17.27
Total	1,706,370	91.67
Grand Total	1,861,300	100.00

Various deficiencies and limitations of these data have been discussed elsewhere in detail.[32] We are not here concerned with such matters as the classification system, the mean-

ing of physical harm, attempted crimes, the lack of weighting for seriousness. What does concern us is the meaning of these data in examining the relationship between race and crime. An understanding of the foregoing material is critical to that meaning.

THE CONVERGENCE OF RACE AND CRIME -- THE STATISTICS AND THEIR MEANING

We are at that point in our analysis where we must determine the extent of overlap between two poorly conceived terms -- namely, "race" and "crime."

Man, as we have seen, is genetically blended and, from a racial standpoint, largely a product of cultural environment. So it is virtually impossible to determine the extent of genetic variations or, more particularly, the extent to which genetic variations operate to produce certain conduct. Genetic validity, as we also have noted, is sacrificed to social utility when we lump individuals together according to observed color for classification by race.

Crime, too, is a word charged with uncertain meaning, ranging from murder to disturbing the peace. Thus, when we use terms like Negro, white, or Puerto Rican as if they were racially clearcut, and when we also speak of crime as if that term were understood by everyone in the same sense, we are compounding confusion by faulty assumptions. Added to these distortions of reality is the suspicion that the variables of white or colored may not be crucial to our understanding of why people deviate from a set of legal norms.

Statistical Gaps

Studies of self-reporting of crime by persons who were never arrested have shown a more even distribution by social class than do official crime statistics. Mabel Elliott, in referring to a study of college students, suggests an explanation: "The major distinction between the delinquent behavior of college students and the cases brought into court seemed to lie in the relative immunity accorded the students because they belonged to a more favored group. College students represented a higher economic and social level, their family backgrounds were more stable, and their post-delinquent behavior was not followed by social ostracism which seems to incline the institutionalized offender to further delinquencies and misconduct."(33) That proportionately fewer Negroes than whites are college students or come from stable family backgrounds is obvious to any observer. The fact that social-class differences begin to disappear in studies of committed but nonrecorded offenses, raises serious questions about interpreting the racial distribution of offenders arrested by the police.

Moreover, official data in Uniform Crime Reports do not include federal offenses nor, more importantly for our purposes, what Edwin Sutherland called "white collar crime" -- mainly offenses committed by businessmen in the pursuit of their occupations. Long before the famous "electrical conspiracy" of 1961,(34)

Sutherland analyzed a number of corporations and said that all our statistics on crime were incomplete and misleading because they almost completely ignored the high rate of lawbreaking among the leading business and professional groups.(35) He argued that arrests, convictions and punishments had been reserved principally for the lower economic and social classes.

Sutherland examined 70 of the 200 largest manufacturing, mining and mercantile corporations in America, and 15 power and light corporations. The findings revealed an amazing picture of lawlessness in big business, such as restraint of trade and misrepresentation in advertising, infringement of patents, trademarks and copyrights, unfair labor practice, financial fraud and violation of trust. The 70 corporations had received 980 decisions against them for illegal activities, with the number of violations ranging from one to 50. The average for all corporations was 14. Most (84 per cent) were not brought to the criminal courts, but Sutherland maintained that all of the cases tried by the civil courts or other agencies were truly criminal.

We cannot recount here the character of all these criminal violations. Suffice to say that the social harm to the community, the amount of corporate theft and loss to the consumers, the actual damage to life and health through violations of food and drug laws, the volume of financial fraud suffered by society, all amounted to many times the loss incurred by common law

offenses such as burglary, robbery or larceny. Yet these white collar crimes are not recorded in the national crime index.

These facts have led some writers to suggest that the man who steals a wallet lands in jail; but if he steals a railroad, he may become not only wealthy but respected for his business acumen, and politically powerful enough to retain his immunity. That the victims of most white collar crime, as compared to common law offenses, are impersonal and diffused, and that we have a social system in which corporate crime can function, partially explain the absence of such crime from official statistics.

Neither Sutherland nor other criminologists are indicting our whole economic structure, nor do they ignore the concerted efforts of business to regulate itself and of government to enforce restrictions. The point is, however, that most corporate crime reflects not only the color of the collar but of the skin as well, and neither becomes part of the arrest statistics available for analysis by race.

Crime Rate of Negroes

In Uniform Crime Reports there is no definition of race. Breakdowns are presented under the headings of white, Negro, Indian, Chinese, Japanese, all others (including unknown). Our presumption is that the designation of race is similar to that used by the Bureau of the Census mentioned previously. Now, if

a careful, detached scholar knew nothing about crime rates but was aware of the social, economic and political disparities between whites and Negroes in the United States, and if this diligent researcher had prior knowledge of the historical status of the American Negro, what would be the most plausible hypothesis our scholar could make about the crime rate of Negroes? Even this small amount of relevant knowledge would justify the expectation that Negroes would be found to have a higher crime rate than whites. And the data at hand readily confirm this hypothesis.

The Uniform Crime Reports statistics reveal that, generally and proportionately, Negroes are arrested between three and four times more frequently than are whites. In 1960, for example, the rate for all offenses per 100,000 of the population was 2,101 for whites and 7,712 for Negroes (computed from UCR 1960, p. 95, using city population arrest figures). Using the 1950 Uniform Crime Reports, H. E. Barnes and N. K. Teeters recently computed the arrest ratios for Negroes and whites, which have probably remained substantially the same in more recent years. The table below groups the disparity of rates between whites and Negroes into "High Ratio Offenses," where the disparity is especially noticeable, "Medium Ratio Offenses," with the disparity somewhat less, and "Low Ratio Offenses," with the disparity still less but present.[36]

ARREST RATIOS OF THE NEGRO AND WHITE POPULATIONS
OF THE UNITED STATES, 1950

	NEGROES		WHITES		NEGRO/WHITE RATIOS
	Arrests	Rate	Arrests	Rate	(White = 1)
Category A:					
High-Ratio offenses					
Narcotics	4,262	41.57	3,939	3.99	10.42:1
Carrying Weapons	5,198	50.69	5,082	5.14	9.86:1
Gambling	7,462	72.77	7,584	7.67	9.49:1
Liquor Laws	5,306	51.75	5,841	5.91	8.76:1
Assault	27,619	269.35	31,277	31.65	8.51:1
Homicide	2,889	28.18	3,372	3.41	8.26:1
Prostitution	3,260	31.79	5,190	5.25	6.06:1
Robbery	7,060	68.85	12,517	12.66	5.44:1
Category B:					
Medium-Ratio offenses					
Receiving	1,050	10.24	2,209	2.24	4.57:1
Larceny	20,672	201.60	44,776	45.30	4.45:1
Disorderly Conduct	13,610	132.73	31,217	31.58	4.20:1
Rape	2,717	26.50	6,473	6.55	4.05:1
Suspicion	13,054	127.31	32,751	33.14	3.84:1
Burglary	11,534	112.49	31,776	32.15	3.50:1
Sundry Traffic	7,191	70.13	20,419	20.66	3.39:1
All Other	9,454	95.20	28,346	28.68	3.15:1
Category C:					
Low-Ratio offenses					
Arson	241	2.35	806	.82	2.87:1
Offenses Against Family	3,415	33.30	11,708	11.85	2.81:1
Vagrancy	10,657	103.93	37,157	37.59	2.76:1
Not Stated	1,555	15.17	6,179	6.25	2.43:1
Auto Theft	3,500	34.13	14,695	14.87	2.30:1
Other Sex Offenses	3,473	33.87	16,057	16.25	2.08:1
Drunkenness	30,040	292.97	143,867	145.56	2.01:1
Forgery, Counterfeiting	1,689	16.47	9,927	10.04	1.64:1
Embezzlement, Fraud	2,962	28.89	18,346	18.56	1.56:1
Driving While Intoxicated	5,706	55.65	44,911	45.44	1.22:1

Note: Arrest data from *Uniform Crime Reports*, Vol. 21, No. 2 (January, 1951), Table 44, p. 112; arrest rates are based on 100,000 adult population. Populations from 1950 census, 15 years of age or older: Negroes, 10,253,780; Whites, 98,836,950.

Reproduced from Harry E. Barnes and Negley K. Teeters, New Horizons in Criminology, 3rd Edition, N.Y: Prentice-Hall, 1959, p. 173.

These types of data are reproducible in most local, state and national arrest statistics, from the old study of the Chicago Commission on Race Relations in 1919[37] up to the 1960's. An examination of many studies in cities throughout the country, over time spans and by specific offenses, by age, sex and race, shows consistently that Negro adult crime and juvenile delinquency rates, measured by arrests, are higher than the white rates.[38]

The same conclusion may be drawn from judicial and prisoner statistics, which show Negroes with much higher rates of conviction and imprisonment than whites. We have had no satisfactory national judicial statistics in the United States, but according to individual studies, mostly localized, convictions of Negroes come to three to four times their proportion in the population. From reports in National Prison Statistics, Negroes comprise about one-third of all prisoners, although they form only one-tenth of the U.S. population.[39] With monotonous regularity in methodologically well-designed studies of delinquency, from Shaw and McKay in Chicago to Lander in Baltimore, (40-41) and in many less capably performed analyses, the disparity between white and Negro rates of juvenile delinquency have been duly spread before the community of scholars and of citizens.

Crime Rates of Other Groups

Much is said, but very little research has been written about Mexican-Americans in Southern California and Puerto Ricans, especially in New York City. Lemert and Rosberg found among

convictions that the felony rates per 100,000 male Mexicans (356) in Los Angeles County were somewhat higher than the white rate (248) but lower than the Negro rate (835). But when corrections were made for age and sex, the Mexican rate was proportionately lowered (843 per 100,000 males aged 18-39 years), so that it approximated the white rate (716). Indians (2,540) had a rate three times that of Negroes (when computed per 100,000 male population); Japanese consistently had the lowest rates among all the ethnic groups.[42]

In a more recent study of 8,615 juveniles referred to the Los Angeles County Probation Department for delinquent acts in 1956, Eaton and Polk reported that the rate for Mexican-American boys (2,941) was only slightly higher than that for Negro boys (2,594) and over three times that for Anglo-white boys (851). In many respects, including socio-economic status, the Mexican-Americans were similar to Negroes. But those Mexican-American juveniles were over-represented in drug violations compared to both Negroes and whites; nearly 50 per cent of Mexican-American offenses were petty violations.[43] Using probation and conviction rates as a measure of criminal deviation is, however, invalid procedure. These rates are, more accurately, a measure of how often members of ethnic groups become involved in the law enforcement machinery.

Reports on delinquency among Puerto Rican juveniles in New York City do not confirm a widespread assumption of high

rates. Clarence Senior, a leading authority on the Puerto Rican population on the mainland and in Puerto Rico, has reported that "Puerto Ricans form 8 per cent of the population and their share of the crime rate is only slightly more than 8 per cent."[44] Moreover, in a comparison between the proportion of the Manhattan juvenile population which was Puerto Rican (25 per cent) and the proportion given in the 20th Annual Report of the Children's Court of New York City (27 per cent), it appeared that the Puerto Rican juvenile was not over-represented.[45] Puerto Rican delinquency was described as "of a milder type," such as ungovernability or truancy, while burglary and gang activities involving felonious assault and homicide were much less frequent than among non-Puerto Ricans.

Finally, a study in New York City Schools found that in two Manhattan school districts, the court appearances for Puerto Rican children was 12 per 1,000 pupils, compared with 14 per 1,000 for non-Puerto Ricans. "Like other children," the report concluded, "Puerto Rican children tend to become about as good or about as bad as the children or youth with whom they associate."[46]

Beneath the Findings

Our task for the moment is neither to recount or review, nor even to appraise these reports. We are interested in analyzing what may be some of the factors which underlie the uniform findings, what the statistics may tell us beyond the fact of the

differential rates.

What can be said beyond the oft-repeated assertion that white bias by the community, the police, prosecutors, judges and juries accounts for most of the higher rate of Negroes in criminal statistics? The assertion may very well be true, but despite the many documented individual cases of such discrimination, there is practically no verified, methodologically adequate scientific research to prove that this kind of bias actually causes the disparity in rates, or that elimination of administrative or judicial bias would eliminate the disparity. Research on the topic, while admittedly difficult to perform, is sorely needed. Meanwhile, the unbroken sequence of untoward experiences in the life history of American Negroes, Puerto Ricans and Mexicans supports the assumption that bias affects disparity.

In their provocative discussion of race and crime, Korn and McCorkle refer, as we have noted earlier, to the estimates of Herskovits about the frequency distribution of mixed and pure Negroes in the United States. On the basis of these estimates and the fact that race is quantitative and relative rather than qualitative and absolute, they make a suggestion that is theoretically compelling in theory but impossible in practice because the data are unattainable. Racially mixed persons in the United States, they remind us, include some who are almost totally white (seven-eighths white ancestry), some predominantly

white, and some one-half white. These authors contend that "any valid racial study of criminality should apportion the criminality of these groups under both white and Negro categories. Thus, in figuring the totals of white and Negro offenders, unmixed whites and unmixed Negroes would count as one (1.0) for each racial category; every person seven-eighths white would add 0.875 to the white and 0.125 to the Negro categories; each person three-quarters white would add 0.75 to the white and 0.25 to the Negro categories; the equally mixed, 0.5 to each category, etc."[47]

Recalling that according to Herskovits, about 40 per cent of persons classified as Negroes are more white than Negro or at least half white, and claiming there is no evidence that Negro criminals are more or less mixed than Negroes in the general population,[48] Korn and McCorkle suggest that almost 40 per cent of the offenders contributing to the total of "Negro" crime are either half or more than half white. "Any correction," they conclude, "of the totals of Negro offenders toward greater conformity with this genetic distribution would have the effect of redistributing a very considerable number of criminals from the Negro to the white side of the ledger. The percentage 'transferred' by this procedure would be large enough to reduce the presently 'unfavorable' picture of Negro crime drastically."[49]

Such a procedure would be genetically more valid than the present system of attributing white and Negro racial factors to criminal behavior. But we are still faced with the social

definition, which classifies anyone with any known Negro ancestry or apparent Negro characteristics as a Negro. To paraphrase W. I. Thomas, if a social group is defined as Negro, it is Negro in its consequences.

One of the consequences, as we have noted, is the greater probability of being arrested. No one really knows whether Negroes, as socially defined, commit more crime than whites, but we do know that, according to official police statistics, more persons with the designated status of Negro than with the status of white are arrested. The validity of the data is open to question on grounds we have mentioned, but if arrest statistics are poor indicators of the amount or kinds of crime generally, they are probably even more unreliable for determining the amount of Negro crime.

One of the reasons is that arrest statistics understate crime rates of both whites and Negroes, but most probably more for whites. To understand why, recall that in 1960, 92 per cent of the crime index offenses in Uniform Crime Reports were property offenses, and only 8 per cent were offenses against the person. These distributions are consistent over time. Yet, as we have seen, only 26 per cent were cleared by arrest, so that about three-fourths of these crimes never resulted in identification of the offender's race. Offenses against the person have relatively high clearance rates of around 75 per cent,

in contrast to around 25 per cent for property crimes. Because the Negro arrest rate is much higher for crimes against the person, the likelihood that the offender's race will be known is higher among those very offenses which Negroes are more likely to commit.[50]

In the case of criminal homicide, about nine out of every 10 offenses are cleared by arrest and we can feel secure about our knowledge of the race distribution; but in cases of burglary, larceny, and auto theft, less than three out of 10 yield information about the offender's race. For these latter crimes our sample is more highly select and smaller, and it is very doubtful that we can assume the same race distribution. It is among the much larger number of uncleared property offenses that an hypothesis suggesting a higher proportion and rate of white than of Negro offenders would be most plausible.

Criminal Homicide, Rape and Riots

We have thus far raised questions about systematic errors in the information available on crimes known and persons arrested. We have refrained from drawing the common inference that the police practice discrimination in making arrests, mainly because of the lack of adequate research indicating to what extent the crime rates of Negroes would be diminished if there were no differential treatment at the police level.

However, one question on which research does cast some light is whether the fear oft-expressed among whites of being victimized by non-white criminals is justifiable. In most cases, the race of the victim compared to the race of the offender is not known. Even among the relatively small sample of property offenses which result in arrest, no criminal statistics are published about this kind of victim-offender relationship. However, for two particular types of assaultive crimes, homicide and rape, there are some useful and consistent data. It is unfortunate that we do not have more information about offenses like robbery, which would be of larger numerical concern. But surely from the viewpoint of gravity, death and rape are more disastrous and of more social consequence.

National and official crime statistics do not provide data, but enough research has been conducted to permit the definite statement that criminal homicide, like most other assaultive offenses, is predominantly an intragroup, intraracial act. In a detailed five-year study of homicides in Philadelphia (1948-1952), it was noted that in 516, or 94 per cent, of the 550 identified relationships, the victim and offender were members of the same race.[51] Hence, in only 34, or 6 per cent, of these homicides did an offender cross the race line: 14 were Negro victims slain by whites, and 20 were whites slain by Negroes. The ratio of same-race (intraracial) to different-race (interracial) homicide was as high as 15 to 1. In terms of rates per

100,000 population it is interesting to note that while Negro offenders (1.0) crossed the race line more often than did whites (.2), Negroes were victims (.7) of white offenders approximately three times more frequently than were whites (.2) of Negro offenders. These are criminal homicides as recorded in police reports. If justifiable homicides (14 during the five years in Philadelphia) were included, the total of interracial homicides would be somewhat larger, for 12 persons slain by white police officers were Negroes while two were whites.

Summarizing other research, Sutherland noted that "in crimes of personal violence the victims and the offender are generally of the same racial group, and have residence not far apart. Negroes murder Negroes, Italians murder Italians, and Chinese murder Chinese."(52) The amount of interracial homicide and the relative frequency of whites and Negroes in crossing the race line vary slightly in different parts of the country, but usually indicate that more whites slay Negroes than vice versa. Speaking primarily about the South, Porterfield says that "whites kill many more non-white men than vice versa, probably five times as many. A Negro does not dare to kill a white man as a rule. The consequences are too painful; but probably four-fifths of Negro homicide victims are struck down by members of their own race."(53)

H. C. Brearley refers to the fact that mortality data from the Office of Vital Statistics on causes of death give no information regarding interracial slayings: "If, obviously, the Negro is more often slain by whites than he, himself, slays a white victim, his homicide death rate is not an accurate index of his tendency to commit deeds of violence. Little evidence upon this point is available, for the death certificates upon which all homicide rates are based give information concerning the slain only."[54] He points out that in New York City during 1925, 68 Negroes were feloniously killed, of whom 20 were not slain by Negroes; and in South Carolina, of a total of 89 interracial homicides, 32 whites were killed by Negroes, and 57 Negroes by whites.[55]

A few earlier studies report on the race of victims and offenders. In Memphis, Tennessee, during 1923, F. L. Hoffman found seven Negroes killed by whites, and only two whites by Negroes.[56] A.A. Bruce and P.S. Fitzgerald, referring to the same city between 1920 and 1925, during which time there were 379 known cases, said that 3 per cent were whites slain by Negroes, in contrast to 13 per cent Negroes killed by whites.[57] In Chicago, a survey for 1926-1927 showed that white males killed 14 per cent of all colored male victims, and colored males were responsible for 12 per cent of all white male victims.[58]

Harold Garfinkel, who studied 821 cases of homicide which occurred in 10 North Carolina counties from 1930 to 1940, found

that 9 per cent of the homicides were interracial, of which the victims were 6 per cent Negro and 3 per cent white.[59] In a report by A. C. Meyers on 212 criminal homicides in St. Louis from 1949 to 1951, only six cases, or less than 3 per cent were interracial.[60] And in an unusual sociological study of aggravated assaults, D. J. Pittman and William Handy found that of the 238 cases which represented a one-quarter sample in St. Louis in 1961, only 10 cases, or 4 per cent were interracial.[61]

Howard Harlan found that of the 500 consecutive criminal homicides committed in Birmingham, Alabama, during the period from January 1937 to December 1944, less than 3 per cent crossed race lines.[62] This is considerably less than the 6 per cent in the Philadelphia study. But in Birmingham as in Philadelphia, female offenders never crossed race lines when killing females. Furthermore in Birmingham, all interracial offenses were among males, but in Philadelphia, females were involved both as victims and as offenders.

From these studies it should be clear that if whites are afraid that Negroes are likely to attack and slay them, the fear is not supported by what we know about interracial crime. Most of the evidence suggests the contrary, that Negroes are more likely to be killed by whites. And certainly any fear among white women of being slain by Negro men should be dispelled by examining the real world. Not only does the evidence we have

show an equal number of Negro women slain by white men, but of the three white victims, two were prostitutes and had long criminal records, while of the three Negro victims, none had a criminal record. Moreover, only three cases of each type occurred in a community of two million population over a five-year period. It also may be of interest that all three of the Negro offenders were convicted of first degree murder, one being sentenced to death and the others to life imprisonment. Of the three white offenders, one was sent to a mental hospital and had no trial, one was still awaiting trial at the time of the study, and the third received a two-year county prison sentence for voluntary manslaughter.(63)

It is clear from many reports and research over the years that the non-white population has a rate of committing homicide that sometimes and in some places exceeds the white rate by three, four and even 10 times.(64) What is often overlooked by the non-research community is that these crime rates vary considerably within each racial group by community and region. Referring to general homicide death rates, Sutherland pointed out that "the high crime rates in the Southern states are generally interpreted as due to the large number of Negroes, but it is evident that homicides, at least, cannot be explained so simply, for the death rate by homicide for white persons in the South is approximately five times as high as in New England."(65)

This same generalization seems to be borne out when the Philadelphia data are compared with material collected by Harlan[66] in Birmingham, where the white offender rate (5.8) was over three times higher than the white offender rate in Philadelphia (1.8).

In a concise analysis of homicide death rates by racial and regional groups, George Vold[67] said that the homicide rates for the New England States are generally low partly because the colored population there is very small. But Vold also cautioned:

> Lest anyone conclude...that regional differences in homicide are equivalent to, or due only to, differences in the proportions of the total population classed as other than white, attention is invited to the similar consistent and large differences in the rates as between regions for the white group alone.
>
> When comparisons are made between the state of Massachusetts and Georgia, the following will be found to obtain: The homicide rate of the white group in Georgia (5.6) is almost exactly four times as high as that of the white group in Massachusetts (1.4); the Georgia 'other than white rate' (47.1) is likewise almost exactly four times the 'other than white' rate (11.8) for Massachusetts. This basic regional or

sectional difference must be recognized and taken account of, independent of, and in spite of, the obviously important differences between the several major racial groups.[68]

Although no exhaustive attempt has been made in this present analysis to examine regional differences in the racial complexion of homicide, a few additional comments may be pertinent.

Returning to Birmingham and Philadelphia as examples of segregated and relatively unsegregated communities, Harlan found that 85 per cent of the 492 offenders were Negro, and that this race comprised 40 per cent of the Birmingham population.[69] In sum, the proportion of Negro offenders in criminal homicide was twice the proportion of Negroes in the general population. But in Philadelphia, 75 per cent of the offenders were Negro, although this race made up only 18 per cent of the population. Thus, in Philadelphia, Negroes contributed four times their expected "share" of offenders. In this type of comparative analysis, which describes Negro killings within the context of a Northern city on the one hand, and a Southern city on the other, it appears at first that Negroes in their total settings are twice as homicidal in the North as in the South.

But when rates per 100,000 population are used in the comparison, both Negroes and whites in Birmingham appear to have

committed criminal homicide more often than the respective races in Philadelphia. The general criminal homicide rate in Birmingham (23.4) was over four times higher than that for Philadelphia (5.7). In the Southern city the Negro victim rate (49.0) and the offender rate (48.0) were approximately twice as high as the rates for Philadelphia Negroes (22.5; 25.6). In Birmingham, white victim and offender rates (5.8) were three times greater than those for Philadelphia whites (1.8; 1.9).[70] Hence, in order to determine propensity to commit criminal homicide, the rate per population unit is necessary.

Rape is one other type of offense in which the relationship between victims and offenders is an important aspect, but unfortunately little research has ever been done on it. Like homicide and other assaults, rape is overwhelmingly intraracial and intragroup. Generally, the non-white arrest rate is three to four times higher than the white arrest rate.[71] D. R. Taft noticed this for 1927, as have many other writers up to T. Sellin in 1962.[72-78] J. T. McKeown, who related rates of rape with the proportion of Negroes in a community, contended that there was so much variation from year to year and from city to city that no conclusion could be justified regarding the association.[79]

It was at first suggested that Negro rape rates were high only in the South. E. B. Reuter showed that, for the first decade of the present century, Negroes accounted for 66 per cent

of rapes in that region, but only 13 per cent in the North, a proportion about the same as the Negro population in the North. But more recently, other references -- for Philadelphia, Washington, California, Ohio and Michigan -- show more non-whites committing rape than they represent in these respective populations.(80-85)

Some reports suggest that Negroes commit rape less frequently than whites.(86-95) Most of the latter studies, however, have used prison statistics or selected groups seen in clinics to which courts have made referrals. Perhaps Taft's conclusion comes closest to what most studies indicate -- that although the Negro is punished for rape far more than the white, his relative arrest rates for this crime are not excessive when compared with other offenses. The reason, he suggested, is that Negroes are often charged with rape if the victim is also a Negro.

In M. Amir's study of rape in Philadelphia for a two-year period, 1958 and 1960, the race of victim and of offender in each situation was noted, an aspect of research design rarely considered.(96) Of 616 cases of known relationships, 497, or 77 per cent, were Negro-Negro; 105, or 16 per cent, were white-white. Among the 44 cases in which the offender was of one race and the victim of another, 23, or 3.6 per cent, contained a white male offender and a Negro victim, and 21, or 3.3 per cent, had a Negro offender and a white victim. Once again, the amount of

race crossing is small, and the danger to white women is as minimal as to Negro women -- probably much less if we stretch beyond officially recorded statistics and refer to the history of race relations from the days of slavery to recent times.

White males have long had a nearly institutionalized access to Negro women without much fear of reprisal or retribution. In the social tradition of the South, the reverse has always been considered anathema. In North and South alike (as well as East and West), there is probably greater white male accessibility to Negro girls through subterranean associations such as houses of prostitution, street walkers and call girls. Even with, or perhaps because of, these options of opportunity, there are numerically as many rapes of Negro women by white men as occur in the reverse relationship. One would expect in a society where the law, the police, and the courts are dominated by whites, that if immunity exists, if justice is not always equal, white rapists will be less frequently arrested and convicted. Aside from this reasonable assumption, the total amount of interracial rape recorded is quite small.

We have been discussing crime committed under conditions that exist in the normal functioning of society, for this is what most people have in mind when they raise questions about race and crime. But at least a parenthetical note should be added about the death and destruction that occur during riots in which

Negroes are involved. Most of the early labor riots, in which private industrial, mining and railroad police took the law into their own hands, involved whites on both sides. Lynchings of yesteryear are too well documented to mention here. Yet the three major interracial disorders deserve recall.(97)

The first was in East St. Louis in 1919. A church bell's ringing brought Negroes together in defense against an anticipated major attack from whites, who had been inflamed by the heavy influx of "cheap Negro labor" into the area. In the end, an investigating committee found nine whites and 25 Negroes known dead but noted that other Negroes had probably been consumed in flames. The estimates of damage ran to over $3 million.

Next, a month later, a Negro boy slipped across an unseen Chicago line separating the races on the bathing beach at 29th Street and Lake Michigan. After he climbed onto a raft in the white section, rocks were thrown and the Negro boy was drowned. The sequence of recriminations is a bloody tale of riot ending with the death of 15 whites and 23 Negroes.

The third disaster occurred in Tulsa, Oklahoma, in 1921. A white mob, apparently enraged by the determination of some Negroes to protest a threatened lynching, engaged in a mass assault upon the Negro section, most of which was burned during the course of extended rioting. It is not clear exactly how many persons were killed, but some reports listed 25 whites

and 60 Negroes. Property damage was enormous, a square-mile area of Negro concentration being almost completely destroyed.

Embroiled in such conflicts, Negroes have not been entirely peaceable, but down to, and including, the riots of our own day, the injuries inflicted on them by illegal acts of whites have surely exceeded the harm caused by Negro resort to violence.

From Police to Prison

In the annals of the administration of justice are many cases of improper treatment of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Spanish-Americans and other minority groups. There is widespread belief that Negroes, particularly, are most frequently subjected to illegal arrest, arrest on weak suspicion, illegal detention and corporal handling by the police. They are jailed more than bailed. Beyond white proportions, they are convicted with little evidence and sentenced to more severe punishments of long duration.

Individuals and organizations concerned with these problems can readily cite illustrative cases testifying to the presence of these deficiencies in our democracy. Yet, keenly sensitive to criticism, and unreceptive to analysis by persons outside their cohesive ingroup, the police and the judiciary have rarely been methodically examined by social scientists armed with hypotheses of discrimination. Moreover, there are presently no national judicial statistics available as basic documents for

research on regional and other variations in conviction and sentencing practices. The data at hand come mostly from selective experience and local studies, some of which are especially useful for specific details or statistical analyses. (98-110)

Many cities throughout the country have produced reports concerned with the differential administration of justice, from the police to the prisons. The objective observer can only conclude that a legal system theoretically designed to provide uniform or equal treatment of suspects and defendants has faltered. Although scientific analysis of race bias and discrimination in the differential handling of whites and Negroes is badly needed, we do not require a statistical treatment to reveal departures from what is conceived as correct legal procedure. Instances of violence by police and the arrest of Negroes with less evidence than is required to arrest whites have been sufficiently numerous to cause alarm among private agencies and government bodies whose functions are to keep watch over the rights of our citizens.

That brutality and illegal arrests are not the pattern but only the exception; that some whites have grievances similar to those of Negroes; that the poor of any ethnic group suffer disadvantage, having less ability to engage counsel, provide bail or pay fines, do not mitigate the situation. On the contrary; for the number of the poor and the uneducated within the white

majority is tripled within the colored minority. Thus, even if there were no race bias in the administration of justice, the social and economic class system would itself carry a burden of blame for the lack of equal protection and uniformity of treatment. Fortunately the Supreme Court of the United States in the Gideon case has recognized one kind of disparity and is seeking to initiate corrective measures by requiring that defendants who cannot afford lawyers will nonetheless be represented by counsel.

Only a few references are cited here by way of illustration. Some are old, some new; but the story has remained essentially unchanged since Myrdal's classic study. He reported that, for the period 1920-1932, out of 479 Negroes killed by white persons in the South, 54 per cent were slain by white police officers.(111) The figures reach proportions that justify suspicion of unnecessary and unwarranted use of violence by white police officers.

H. Garfinkel, who examined 821 homicides in 10 counties of North Carolina between 1930 and 1940, concluded that proportionately fewest indictments were made when whites killed Negroes; most were made (94 per cent) when Negroes killed whites.(112) Of those charged with first degree murder, 28 per cent of the whites who killed Negroes, but only 15 per cent of the Negroes who killed whites, were acquitted. Of those convicted, none of the whites who killed Negroes received life imprisonment, but

10 per cent of the Negroes who killed whites did; and none of the whites who killed a Negro was sentenced to death, contrasted with 37 per cent of the Negroes who killed whites. The general attitude of the courts was that the slaying of a white by a Negro was almost prima facie evidence of guilt; of a white by a white required objective administration of justice; of a Negro by a Negro was just a routine affair deserving only moderate attention, and of a Negro by a white probably involved some mitigating circumstances like provocation.

In an equally useful research, G. B. Johnson studied 220 homicide cases in Richmond, Virginia, from 1930 to 1939, and 330 homicides in five counties of North Carolina from 1930 to 1940. There were five cases of whites killing Negroes, but not a single conviction, and 24 cases of Negroes killing whites, of which 22 resulted in conviction. Johnson also noted that of the 141 Negro-Negro homicides, not one resulted in the death penalty and only eight in life imprisonment; but of the 22 cases with Negro offenders and white victims, six concluded with a death sentence and seven with life imprisonment.(113)

The Civil Rights Act of 1875 clearly specified that no state could exclude anyone from jury service because of race, color or previous condition of servitude. Since then, there have been many court decisions affirming the illegality of anti-Negro discrimination in the make-up of grand and trial juries.

Although adequate protection exists in the law, there are many communities like Harris County, Texas, where, as W. S. Robinson pointed out, Negroes made up 20 per cent of the population and 10 per cent of those paying poll tax; yet, from 1931 to 1938, only 18 Negroes were summoned for grand jury duty, and only five Negroes were among the 384 persons who served.(114) There are places where no Negroes were ever called to jury duty. Doubtless a rare exception, even in the North, is Philadelphia, where the representation of Negroes on juries is about double their proportion of the population -- a situation most likely due to their readiness, in contrast to the reluctance of whites, to accept jury service. In Los Angeles County, where many Mexicans and Mexican-Americans are processed through the courts, the situation may today be improved; but up to 1945, E. M. Lemert reported that according to available data there had never been a Mexican member of the grand jury.(115)

If Negroes are more likely to be convicted, especially when involved in interracial offenses, are they also likely to receive more severe and longer sentences? Not all studies agree, for there is evidence that in some communities the sentences given to whites and to minority groups do not differ significantly; and there is other evidence that Negroes sometimes receive shorter sentences.

According to the previously cited work of Johnson and of Garfinkel, Negroes are more likely than whites to receive life

imprisonment or death sentences in homicide cases. In a study of persons convicted of burglary and auto theft in Los Angeles County, most being first offenders and unskilled laborers, E. M. Lemert and J. Rosberg found more whites than Negroes given short sentences, and more Negroes than whites long sentences. The sentences and percentages were: four months' imprisonment or less, or probation -- 45 per cent of the whites, 27 per cent of the Negroes; four to nine months -- 42 per cent of the whites, 47 per cent of the Negroes; 10 to 12 months -- 13 per cent of the whites, 27 per cent of the Negroes.[116]

On the other hand, a study of over 1,400 cases handled without jury in the Philadelphia Court of Quarter-Sessions from 1956 to 1957, involving 21 different judges, revealed no racial differences in sentencing practices. In this analysis by Edward Green, Negroes numbered 1,092 and whites 333.[117] By using the minimum period served, he noted that about one-fourth of each race was sent to prison for 12 months or more; slightly more Negroes (34 per cent) than whites (28 per cent) received sentences of three to 11½ months; and equal proportions of each race (21 per cent) were sentenced to less than three months. Slightly more whites (20 per cent) than Negroes (13 per cent) received probation, more Negroes (5 per cent) than whites (2 per cent) were fined (mostly for gambling and liquor violations), and an equal per cent (3 per cent) had suspended sentences. When the sentences were compared by type of offense, age of offender, and previous criminal record, no significant race differences were

noted. Some of the cases involved personal contact with the victim, but the victim-offender relationship was not examined in this study.

A review of national prisoner statistics shows that in most states Negroes are committed to prison longer than whites for the same types of offenses. However, the reverse is sometimes true. Sellin's review of these statistics for 1931-1932 showed that Negroes received a lower average sentence in "definite sentence" states, mostly Southern, for homicide, robbery, assault, forgery, larceny and liquor violations, but higher for rape, other sex offenses and burglary. In states with the indeterminate sentence, Negroes had longer sentences than whites for all major offenses.[118] Negroes also had more commitments to prison and served more actual time before release from state penal institutions. The average (median) number of months served before release among all states in 1951 was 25 for Negroes and 20 for whites. The disparity was greater in the Northeast (Negroes 30 months; whites 24 months) and in the West (Negroes 30; whites 19) than in the Northcentral states (Negroes 26; whites 21) or in the South (Negroes 21; whites 17).[119]

Combined with those facts is the knowledge that proportionately about 10 to 14 per cent more whites than Negroes are annually "released conditionally," that is, granted some form of parole, thus always leaving behind a greater number of Negroes

among prisoners eligible for release. The increasing number of Negroes in our prisons partly stems from this differential pattern of release. Clearly we cannot use the racial composition of a prison population as an index to the amount of crime committed by different racial or ethnic groups.

Finally, when persons are sentenced to death, some have their sentences commuted to life imprisonment by a board of pardons or some similar agency. A fundamental question is whether these sentences of execution are carried out equally for whites and Negroes. Research gives a negative answer, indicating that over time and in different states, between 10 and 20 per cent more Negroes than whites are executed.(120) That whites have greater access to private legal counsel may partially contribute to their chances of having a death sentence reduced to life imprisonment.

It should be noted that there are occasions when members of minority groups who commit crimes are either ignored or treated very leniently by the police and courts. In some communities, the citizens as well as the police and judges have an attitude of "live and let live" as long as "they keep it among themselves." This attitude, when expressed by the assignment of fewer police officers to highly populated Negro neighborhoods, may mean that considerably less crime by Negroes is being recorded by the police than actually occurs. Whether such under-

reporting adds up to more or less than the under-reporting of white crimes is not known. Another result of this attitude is that Negro victims often are not receiving equal protection under the law, either by police surveillance or by conviction of the guilty. When white officers ignore or bypass Negro violations of sex, drinking and gambling laws, or dismiss intra-racial assaults as "typically Negro," they are probably contributing much to negative attitudes toward the law, to the reluctance of victims to make official complaints, and consequently to the crime rate of Negroes.

Some comment should be made about the police handling of juvenile cases that may partly explain what at first appears to be discriminatory treatment. In most large cities, juvenile-aid division officers are empowered to decide upon taking a juvenile into custody, whether to release him to his own parents as an "unofficial," "remedial" disposition of the case, or to turn him over to the juvenile court under an "official" or "arrest" disposition. Some studies have shown that juveniles from minority groups are more often arrested than given remedial action.(121) ¶ The contention by police and some social agencies is that the home of the juvenile is often an undesirable environment; by means of an official arrest, they can put him in the hands of persons who will interview, diagnose and help treat his problems. This rationale may be logical within a limited setting

and policy of social action. But we cannot overlook what the official label of delinquency may do to a boy's image of himself and to his image in the eyes of the community. Nor can we overlook the underlying fact of the minority boy's less desirable home and neighborhood environment, and the social and cultural deprivations that caused them to be so.

Summary of the Statistics

This dissection of some criminal statistics has been necessary in order to consider them critically, to recognize their limitations and deficiencies. We do not know with certainty the actual amount of crime among whites, Negroes, Puerto Ricans or any other group. We do know that persons of all groups commit many offenses that are unrecorded. We cannot be sure of the degrees of seriousness of even the recorded crime without further study.[122] Only from arrests do we know the race of offenders, yet arrests in any year represent only about 30 per cent of the index crimes recorded. Among offenses for which non-whites as well as whites are arrested, crimes of homicide, rape and other assaultive acts represent a small proportion compared to drunkenness, gambling, disorderly conduct and other relatively minor offenses against the public order. Interracial assaults are rare and no more threatening to whites than to non-whites. In striking ways, the administration of justice appears to fail in affording equality of treatment, so fundamental to a democratic

society.

The status "Negro," as Korn and McCorkle conclude, entails a greater risk of involvement with law-enforcement processes than does the status "white." The risk appears to increase at each stage of the enforcement process, from arrest to imprisonment. These same writers add: "A large but unknown portion of this higher rate of involvement with law enforcement must be attributed to distortions introduced into the statistics by differential legal and penal treatment of whites and Negroes. Until the extent of these distortions is known, there is no way of determining whether the higher Negro rate represents a higher rate of actual crime or a greater liability to involvement with law-enforcement agencies."(123)

High as the Negro criminal rate may be, many whites especially in our urban communities tend to exaggerate it. For example, in an interesting study of attitudes among a thousand white police officers in Philadelphia in 1952 (when integration of the police in that city was much less advanced than now), William Kephart found that when officers were asked what percentage of arrests in their districts were Negro, three out of four over-estimated the actual figures.(124) The higher the real Negro arrest rate, the greater was the over-estimation. At that time, Negroes comprised about 70 per cent of all persons arrested, but estimates by white officers averaged over 95 per cent.

The press has helped create distorted images of minority groups by sensationalizing the relatively rare instances of serious intergroup crimes. But these images also have been reinforced by the more visible and frequent appearance, particularly of Negroes, in the law enforcement chain from police to prison, from probation to parole. When a white probationer or parolee fails to conform to the rules of his release, especially if he commits a new crime, the public is unduly quick to criticize the whole system and philosophy of alternatives to imprisonment. If an unsuccessful parolee is also Negro, both the system and the race are often unjustly charged with failure, and the two are associated beyond proper proportion.

Reality always creates some kind of image; and, in reverse, an exaggerated image frequently promotes a corresponding change in reality. An image, like a prophecy, may have a self-fulfilling propensity. To project an image corrected by the reality of the relation between crime and race has been the purpose of this brief review.

SEEKING AN EXPLANATION

Our society has witnessed remarkable scientific growth and change since the beginning of the century. About half of us now marveling at satellites orbiting the earth were living before the first airplane was flown. Yet social change is sluggish. The Supreme Court decision on school desegregation did not come about until nearly a hundred years after the Civil War. And nearly 40 years ago Thorsten Sellin concluded a statistical note on Negro criminality that is still a valid commentary on the need to accelerate social change:

> Nothing ... points to a conclusion that the Negro's real criminality is lower or as low as the white's. The American Negro lacks education and earthly goods. He has had very little political experience and industrial training. His contact with city life has been unfortunate, for it has forced him into the most dilapidated and vicious areas of our great cities. Like a shadow over his whole existence lies the oppressive race prejudice of his white neighbor, restricting his activities and thwarting his ambitions. It would be extraordinary, indeed, if this group were to prove more law-abiding than the white, which enjoys

more fully the advantages of a civilization the Negro has helped to create.

The assumption that the Negro presents the higher rate of real criminality is, therefore, no indictment of the Negro race. The responsibility lies where power, authority, and discrimination has its source, the dominant white group. To that group the existence of a high rate of crime among Negroes is a challenge which cannot be brushed aside by platitudes about "race inferiority," "inherited depravity," or similar generalizations. The only way to meet it is by a conscientious and determined search for the causes of crime in general and among Negroes in particular.(125)

The search for causes goes on, but while men of good science and of good will have long abandoned the concept of the "born criminal," of the "genetic" theory of crime, it is still necessary to remind some of our "law-abiding law-breakers" of this fact. There are still voices in the wilderness of ignorance or prejudice who contend that the non-white, by reason of his biology alone, is a predisposed criminal. A statement made by one group arguing this "genetic" position in 1963 reads as follows: "The enormously greater incidence of criminality on the part of Negroes is largely attributable to genetically determined racial

differences in personality and behavioral traits."[126] Perhaps the comments by Korn and McCorkle are most clear and concise in response to such confused thinking.[127] They point out that heredity sets limits on what might emerge under different environmental conditions; that the environment seems to determine whether they will emerge, how they will emerge, and how they will be expressed in behavior. What we know about genetically determined traits suggests that they are specific; that is, we inherit hair and eyes of specific color and perhaps certain specific psychological potentialities. But criminal behavior is not specific, for there are almost as many kinds of crime as differences in behavior. If criminality were genetically determined, we should inherit specific tendencies for embezzlement, burglary, forgery, etc.; as would be required by Mendel's rule of inheritance of specific traits. If we inherited specific criminal forms of behavior, we would also have to inherit specific noncriminal occupations and be as destined to become a police officer as to have red hair.

Moreover, it cannot be argued that Negroes or whites or any group of people have personality and behavioral traits that genetically predetermine them toward general criminality. Not only does this position ignore the fact that the definition of crime is not stable over time or place, but it also fails to recognize that most criminals obey most laws. Most career

criminals are extremely careful to obey most laws in order to avoid drawing police attention. A genetic theory would have to explain why criminals observe most laws and only break some laws sometimes.

Finally, the false genetic theory of crime is sometimes reduced to a contention that certain minority groups are by heredity impulsive, lazy, irresponsible, and that these traits lead to criminality. If so, we might ask, do not whites also inherit these traits? And how do we account for the fact that these traits sometimes lead to criminal conduct and other times to non-criminal lives? How do we account for the increasing appearance of non-whites in outstanding positions of social service, science, business and industry? Or for the fact that some white crime rates in certain parts of the country are three or four times higher than the white crime rates in other parts?

As we observed at the start, no genetic theory of crime is given credence by the community of scholars concerned with either crime or genetics. Criminal behavior is learned, and what is learned comes from experience with our surrounding environment. It is to that environment we must turn our attention.

When queried, most people who are not students of criminology will say that a person becomes a delinquent or criminal because of adverse conditions, such as poverty, poor education, unemployment, lack of parental supervision, deteriorization of moral

values. The more sophisticated theories of criminologists also take cognizance of these factors, weaving them into a logical array of influences and ideas that seek to explain typical forms of crime and delinquency. An important point to keep in mind, therefore, is that instead of asking why a Negro becomes delinquent or criminal, we should ask why anyone does.

Among some of the most compelling writings on delinquency today are those of Albert Cohen, Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin, and Walter Miller, who base many of their ideas on the early researches of Frederick Thrasher, Clifford Shaw and Henry McKay in Chicago and the sociological theory of Talcott Parsons and Robert Merton.(128) Although there are important differences among these writers, their dominant themes are similar: There are values in American society which emphasize the goals of (mostly material) success. Because the means to achieve these goals are not available to all in equal measure, many people fall prey to feelings of anxiety and despair which may be expressed in forms of deviance and delinquency. In one sense, delinquency and crime are conceived as normal responses to conditions of life that close the doors of opportunity. Delinquency becomes both a protest against the social system that blocks the path to success and a way, albeit illegitimate, to acquire recognition and status among equal sharers in the same subjected group. Difficult to find are the legitimate oppor-

tunities to success (education, good job, proper contacts); far more accessible are the illegitimate opportunities (theft, gambling, drugs) to obtain the symbols of success (car, property, power).

This approach to understanding crime means concerning ourselves with the physical and social conditions -- low income, unskilled occupation and unemployment, family disruption, poor education -- which prevent some groups even the minimal promises of the American Dream. Psychological aspects of this relative deprivation may involve frustration, serious damage to self-conception, and other personality disorders, for these social conditions engender not only of delinquency, but also disqualification and despair. The catalogue of crises in the life style of the culturally deprived has been abundantly described in scientific studies, essays and popular fiction. We need not review them here. It is clear, however, that while many whites suffer social disabilities, the visibility of the Negro, Puerto Rican, and Mexican-American, along with the weight of a history of prejudice, renders these groups more vulnerable to isolation and a diminished share in the economic, political and social life of the larger democratic community.(129)

In the large-scale efforts by the New York City Youth Board to predict delinquency, using the Glueck Social Prediction Table, the results thus far suggest that the same set of factors -- the type of supervision and discipline by mother, the degree of

family cohesiveness -- are useful for predicting delinquency, whether among white, Negro or Puerto Rican youth.[130] With greater exposure to these deleterious conditions, it would not be surprising if Negroes displayed a higher crime rate. When white delinquents and non-delinquents are compared, differences in their backgrounds are similar to those observed when Negro delinquents are compared with Negro non-delinquents.

We cannot say with conclusiveness why some children in life's poorer circumstances become delinquent while others do not, for certainly not all homes in rundown neighborhoods, with missing parents, low incomes and crime in the streets produce delinquent juveniles. But these conditions are more likely to yield failure than success, to encourage children to drop out of school and into crime. Convinced that neither the child nor the adult freely chooses to become a criminal, we recognize that a society which does not provide sufficient acceptable alternatives to successful adjustment will encourage unacceptable ones.

The amount of mobility and family disorganization to many of the conditions noted above have also been associated with delinquency. Once again non-whites experience more of both. Many studies repeatedly find the same conclusion. One of these by Sidney Axelrod pointed out that among institutionalized children, only 18 per cent of the Negroes lived with both parents,

compared with 46 per cent of the whites; and 85 per cent of the Negroes came from broken homes, compared with 50 per cent of the whites.[131] It was also disclosed that Negro children committed by the courts were younger, had committed less serious offenses, and had fewer previous court appearances than white children. There are certain occupational groups which are virtually free from recorded crime. These include professionals, managers and proprietors, who constitute about 20 per cent of the white labor force but only 5 per cent of the non-white. The highest proportion of offenders, both white and non-white, comes from unskilled laboring groups or the unemployed. There are three times as many non-whites as whites in the unskilled category, and at least twice as many unemployed.

As of 1960, the average (median) family income of whites ($5, 893) was nearly twice that of non-whites ($3,161), with the regional difference greatest in the South ($5,350 for whites; $2,322 for non-whites).[132] Furthermore, while the income gap was closing between 1940 and 1950, no progress seems to have been made between 1950 and 1960. In 1940, the average non-white's male's wage was 41 per cent of the average white male; by 1950, this had risen to 61 per cent, but the improvement stopped there. By 1960, the figure was only 60 per cent.[133]

Again, in the Philadelphia report, about one-third of whites, but less than one-fourth of the non-whites, had finished high

school. As a matter of fact, about the same percentage of non-whites finished high school in 1960 as had whites in 1940, showing a 20-year lag in educational attainment. Fewer non-whites in that city had finished college in 1960 (3 per cent) than had whites in 1960 (6 per cent) or even in 1940 (4 per cent). Certainly this disparity is due to the greater difficulties of entering college than of staying in once admitted, for the drop-out rate of Negroes is low: In a national study, fewer than 10 per cent of Negro students failed to obtain a college degree while approximately 40 per cent of white students did not graduate.(134)

When all of these conditions are linked with segregation, particularly in highly deteriorated neighborhoods, they assume even greater weight as contributions to delinquency. Yet we have good reason to believe that it is not merely the concentration of Negroes that produces high rates of delinquency; as Lander has shown in his Baltimore study, neighborhoods with highest concentration had rates as low or lower than rates for whites throughout the city. And even in the highly congested, relatively segregated areas housing Puerto Ricans in New York City, the amount of delinquency is not high, as we have noted.(135)

Mozell Hill has summarized our thesis well: "Negroes who live in blighted areas suffer deeply from discrimination, rejection and lack of integration into the society. Juvenile delinquency among them is generated by this lack of integration

rather than by processes of social disorganization. An increase in juvenile delinquency is likely to occur most frequently when and where aspirations of youth persist under conditions of limited and prescribed opportunities. Under such circumstances, access to success-goals by legitimate means is seldom available to Negro youth in cities. They do not have opportunities for internalization of acceptable and respectable norms of conduct."(136)

Although Negro leadership in the 1960's has taken vigorous action toward full membership in American society, the entire citizenry is needed. As Time expressed the matter with respect to crime: "...even heroic efforts by Negro leadership could only dent the Negro crime problem, because essentially it is a white problem. And it will remain a severe problem until Northern whites, private citizens as well as civic officials, recognize that Negro crime is basically a symptom of a failure in integration...."(137) Until the Negro is permitted more complete participation in the good life offered by a democratic society, tremendous human resources will continue to be lost because of earlier deaths, untrained capacities and chronic crime. Besides the impelling force of humanitarian motives, it is far costlier to the nation to perpetuate present conditions than to remove them.

CONCLUSION

Thrust any child, white or colored, from the womb to a world that offers the rewards of status and success. With a moat of discrimination cut him off from the mainland so that there are few or no opportunities to achieve those rewards. Let him continue to wish for the same things the mainlanders desire, but make him move around much more, lose a father to death or desertion and a mother to work and dependency. Give him less knowledge to absorb, less money than the mainlander receives for the same tasks. Surround him with examples of unlawful achievers, and make him fight to protect the mainland without fully participating in the rules to govern it. Shorten his length of life, expose him to disease, treat him as if he were biologically inferior and call him nasty names to convince him of it. Even if the mainlanders value the service he gives them and the feeling of importance his contrast offers, he is lost.

Fortunately the future is not lost, for a bridge is being built across the moat; the Revolution that won a new kind of liberty two centuries ago is still working its way through the 20th century. Solutions once foreclosed by fiat are now being sought and found in new, often unanticipated ways that affirm the dignity and worth of all men. Because we have always felt

that one of the virtues of democracy is the abundance of alternatives, we are required to turn our attention to those who have known no abundance. And as we expand their choices of work and residence, travel and leisure, school and profession, we will reduce the inequity and increase participation. Although no firm preduction can be made, both changes should cause a decline in crime.

We are learning that while innate capacities are not equally distributed among whites or among non-whites, these traits can flourish and reach equal heights regardless of color.(138) Thus, Martin Jenkins writing in the Scientific Monthly, says that of 22,201 Negro subjects included in 13 studies, 0.3 per cent scored at I.Q. 140 and above, and fully 1 per cent scored at I.Q. 130 and above -- percentages similar to those obtained from a "normal" I.Q. distribution of American school children.(139)

Just as there is no way of knowing at present what the I.Q.'s would be if equal opportunity were given to all racial and social groups, there is no way of telling precisely what the crime and delinquency rates would be under similar circumstances. Some efforts have been made to equate the socio-economic status of lower-class whites with lower-class Negroes to determine whether differences in crime rates disappear; but even while noting that the differentials are slightly reduced, the authors admit that these efforts fail to account for the mental and

emotional import of segregation and discrimination.[140] The group which is socially defined as Negro in the United States might well have test scores ahead, and crime rates below, those of whites if life's chances were equal for both groups. "I am sometimes surprised," says Sherwood Washburn, 1962 president of the American Anthropological Association, "to hear it stated that if Negroes were given an equal opportunity, their I.Q. would be the same as the whites! If one looks at the degree of social discrimination against Negroes and their lack of education, and also takes into account the tremendous amount of overlapping between the observed I.Q.'s of both, one can make an equally good case that, given a comparable chance to that of whites, their I.Q.'s would test out ahead."[141]

All in all, there is every reason to believe, on the basis of what is now known, that under comparable circumstances to those given whites, the Negro crime rate would not be substantially different from the white rate. Even Army trainees, with integration of the services, are not on a completly comparable basis because they must deal with society outside of military life. But within the military social system there is relatively equal treatment and equal opportunity for achieving status. Housing is integrated; men sleep, train, eat and strive together. Norms of conduct and role models are presented alike to Negroes and whites. Military authorities report that the offense rate

since integration is lower for Negroes than for whites. Perhaps no better lesson for the future can be learned from the military social organization.[142]

The broad community-action programs now under way in many large urban areas are designed to improve housing through urban renewal, to upgrade education and occupation through new training activities, to strengthen physical health and family organization through extensive clinics and counseling. These, too, are forward steps that hopefully will reduce deviancy. We have been late in starting, for the seeds of deprivation have grown deep since slavery, and as Washburn has pointed out, the collective conscience is not always swiftly aroused or wisely directed. "The social conscience," he says, "is an extraordinary thing. A lynching stirs the whole community to action, yet only a single life is lost. Discrimination, through denying education, medical care, and economic progress, kills at a far higher rate. A ghetto of hatred kills more surely than a concentration camp, because it kills by accepted custom, and it kills every day in the year."[143] Removing these ghettos is part of the current phase of the American revolution. However, the aim of its leaders is not to drive out a dominant group; it is to join that group, to have admission in a middle class society that has been closed and that has imposed standards and restrictions without giving equal access to its benefits. As Franklin Frazer long

ago announced, Negroes have accepted the common values of American society and wish simply to participate in them.

We can now afford to be more optimistic because we are coming to recognize that the forces leading to crime and delinquency are subject to control. A child is not destined to become delinquent, as is an acorn a tree. But there are forces that determine his chances for successful or stunted growth. The development of organized movements to increase the opportunities of all is an index of society's awareness of this difference between what Sheldon Glueck calls destiny and destination.(144)

But more than formal action of city, state and Federal administrations is needed. The informal, everyday experiences that increasingly afford opportunities to display a democracy of respect and treatment will do far more to aid the structured programs than even well-spent tax funds. As knowledge replaces misconceptions about race and crime, which is one area where better understanding is needed, another shadow over the mind will be lifted and men once separated can come together.

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File
Amer. Jewish Committee

ES ✓
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July 8, 1964

Mr. Harry Fleischman
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Harry:

I have been so busy that I have not yet had a chance to read through Crime and Race, and have already missed your deadline for an order. We have, however, pretty well got out of the practice, if we were ever in it, of making large distributions of other agencies' publications -- it costs too much to distribute our own. I feel sure, however, that we will want to buy a quantity of 50 or so, and will do so whenever you begin taking orders. In the meantime, I shall read the manuscript as soon as I possibly can.

All the best.

Sincerely yours,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD/mmj

VJ
MA
BR
MJ
File

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • PLaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

July 13, 1964

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

Harry Fleischman has turned over to the Publications Division your order for 50 copies of Crime and Race. As he indicated to you, this pamphlet is scheduled for publication immediately after Labor Day and we shall be happy to send your copies along as soon as they are off the press.

Sincerely,

Sonya F. Kaufer

(Mrs.) Sonya F. Kaufer
Publications Division

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

SFK:pc

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December 2, 1964

Dr. S. Andhil Fineberg
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Dr. Fineberg:

The news of your retirement as community relations consultant for the American Jewish Committee gives many people a welcomed opportunity. It is a chance to say thank you and to congratulate you on many years of accomplishment in the field of human relations.

Placing a period after twenty-five years of work well done must give you a good feeling. In your case retirement should most probably be punctuated with a comma, signifying a continuation of your work. It is good this is so. I hope retirement will find you only slightly busier than you are now.

Again, my congratulations for your past contributions and my best wishes for your continued efforts in behalf of the common good of all men.

Sincerely,

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

LWD:mm

Rec'd 1/4/65

AW
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DR. S. ANDHIL FINEBERG
Human Relations Consultant
19 William Street
Mount Vernon, N. Y.

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

December 28, 1964

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

My retirement as community relations consultant of the American Jewish Committee was made a joyous occasion for me by the Executive Board, by the staff of AJC, and by my professional coleagues in other organizations, who sent me communications at John Slawson's suggestion. The letters handed to me at the Board meeting in Miami are a tremendous reward for my work as a rabbi and as a community relations worker. I want to thank you most heartily and also to convey Dr. Slawson's thanks.

It is most gratifying to have these encomiums from the professional heads of national and local Jewish, Protestant, Catholic and non-sectarian organizations and from so many others with whom it has been my good fortune to work during this past quarter of a century. Each of the nearly 200 letters deserves a personal reply. I wish that I had time to tell you how much your letter has fortified my desire to make some further contribution toward enhancing human relations. I pray that I may increasingly merit your esteem.

Although retirement terminates my work at AJC, my friends apparently expect me to remain active. It has become a habit that I shall try to retain. I hope to finish a book on the strategy of human relations, to do other writing, to lecture, and to serve as a free lance human relations consultant. The high regard, expressed in your letter, and the many memories of experiences I have shared with you will provide inspiration and incentive for this new career.

Sincerely yours,

With many thanks
and all good wishes,

Sol Finberg

Peddlers of Hate

A series of articles on organized bigotry in the United States.

BY

JACK STEELE

Scripps-Howard Staff Writer

Reprinted from the

New York World-Telegram

The Sun

A SCRIPPS-HOWARD NEWSPAPER

"GIVE LIGHT AND THE PEOPLE WILL FIND THEIR OWN WAY"

JACK STEELE, one of America's most distinguished Washington correspondents, has achieved a reputation as a reporter who digs deep—and persistently—for facts. For his expose of "five-percenters" in government he was awarded the Raymond Clapper Memorial Award by President Truman in 1950, as well as the Sigma Delti Chi citation for Washington reporting. The American Newspaper Guild's Heywood Broun Award was presented to him for his expose of corruption in the Reconstruction Finance Corp.

"PEDDLERS OF HATE," the series reprinted in this booklet, has already been widely acclaimed. Sen. Irving Ives (R., N. Y.) entered the initial articles in the Congressional Record. Sen. Harley M. Kilgore (D., W. Va.) hailed the series on the Senate floor as a "great public service in the finest traditions of American journalism." House Democratic Leader John W. McCormack (Mass.) called "Peddlers of Hate" "one of the most constructive pieces of newspaper work I have seen in many years." The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith termed it "a valuable community service for which Mr. Steele and the Scripps-Howard Newspapers deserve commendation and thanks." The Interfaith Movement, in praising the articles, stated that they "should be welcomed by all thinking Americans."

STORIES LIKE Jack Steele's "Peddlers of Hate" typify the penetrating, hard-hitting reporting which helps make the New York World-Telegram and Sun one of America's most respected newspapers. . . .

Peddlers of Hate

Bigotry Again On the March In America

By JACK STEELE,
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer.

WASHINGTON, May 2.—Organized bigotry is on the upswing in the United States.

Professional hatemongers, ranging from cynical racketeers to hysterical zealots, again are doing a thriving business.

Jack Steele

Scurrilous venom sheets and pamphlets are flooding the mails and turning up, often unsolicited, on breakfast tables and businessmen's desks throughout the country.

Hawkers of hate are capitalizing on cold-war tensions between communism and Western democracy, just as their predecessors did on depression-born frustrations and war fears during the 1930s.

Bigotry had its heyday in the late 30s. It went into eclipse in the brief era of peace, prosperity and goodwill following World War II. Some of its peddlers, on their uppers then, even had to hunt for jobs.

But now a revival is on. It's been coming up over the past year or two.

The House Un-American Activities Committee recently reported a "resurgence of neo-Fascist and hate activities."

The Post Office Department has noted an increase in complaints about hate literature, some of it resulting from the discovery by bigots that they could use the now-modified "junk mail" service.

A two-month study of current vitriol sheets and their sponsors by this reporter has produced these major conclusions:

- Hatemongering today is not as obvious a menace as it was in the late 30s, when it fed on deep economic unrest and was supported by Nazi and Fascist funds. There are perhaps 100 groups active in the country today, compared to 400 to 500 then. None has an organized membership such as those of the defunct Christian Front or German-American Bund.
- But today's bigots are growing bolder and are reaching an ever-expanding audience. Unless checked by exposure and education they again may grow strong enough to subject the nation to a bath of hate.
- New leaders, armed with new techniques and gimmicks to trap the unwary, have emerged from the underground era.
- Copying the fifth-column tactics of the Communists, hate specialists have had some success in in-

filtrating legitimate right-wing and anti-Communist groups.

The resurgence of venom-spreading is largely an unwelcome dividend of the nation's awakening to the greater menace of the Communist conspiracy.

Many of its current hucksters use anti-communism as the cloak for their bigotry. They have learned that anti-communism is an effective sugar-coating to make the bitter pill of hate palatable to some Americans.

Anti-Red Cloak.

Thus Conde McGinley's semi-monthly Common Sense—denounced by the Un-American Activities Committee as a "hate factory"—masquerades under the title of "the Nation's Anti-Communist Newspaper."

It was in warning against such covers for bigotry that the committee said last year in its annual report: "It is not sufficient to be simply anti-Communist if one is anti-American at the same time."

Haters also use anti-communism to screen themselves from attacks. Anyone who turns the spotlight on their practices can expect to be branded by them as a Red.

Hate sheets from coast to coast let loose furious tirades at the Un-American Activities Committee after its brief report on hate groups was issued in December.

A California zealot wrote that the committee had been infiltrated by Communists and become a tool of subvesion.

A Vermont hate sheet called "The Green Mountain Rifleman" had this headline: "Velde Plays Swan Song on a Jew's Harp." Rep. Harold Velde (R., Ill.) was committee chairman when the report was issued.

Elizabeth Dilling of Chicago, called the report a plot to "silence all honest Christian patriots."

Many Targets.

Today's hate brochures have many targets, chiefly Negroes, Catholics, Jews and members of other minority groups.

Some of their most vicious barbs are aimed at President Eisenhower, to whom the more blatant sometimes refer as "Iky" or "Ike the Kike."

The ever-recurring theme in these attacks is that the President is a front for Bernard Baruch and that his administration is the "captive" of a Jewish "invisible government."

Incredible as such attacks seem to most Americans, some hate "crusades" are even more ludicrous.

Some recently have "exposed" fluoridation of drinking water—to retard tooth decay—as a Red-inspired plot to poison all true patriots. And others see equally sinister motives in the labeling of kosher foods as such.

The United Nations is depicted as the instrument of a "Jew-Communist" plot to rule the world. The Supreme Court is called subversive because of its anti-segregation decision.

Most fanatic groups hitched free rides last year on Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy's bandwagon, all without any apparent encouragement—or discouragement—from him.

New Tactics.

But some embraced McCarthyism warily. They could not reconcile his Catholicism and his use of Jewish investigator Roy Cohn with their own bigotry.

Rabble-rousers have adopted some new tactics since the late '30s.

Then they blared out their admiration of Hitler and their hatred of minorities on street corners and in hired halls.

Then synthetic storm troopers patrolled Bund meetings and native bigots tried to organize semimilitary forces such as the Silver Shirt Legion and the Knights of the White Camelia.

Today few of them try to stage public rallies in competition with TV. Vanished, too, are "elite guard" forces copied after those of Hitler and Mussolini.

Largely ignored by the press and radio, many have turned to pamphleteering, copying the style of slick magazines and advertising brochures.

Some use "news letters" and "intelligence services" to give their bigotry an air of authenticity.

Angel Backing.

These haters have discovered the value of direct mailing lists to get their literature into the hands of people who would never subscribe to or pay for it. Funds are solicited from wealthy angels to pay for the mailings.

It is impossible to tell how much money some hatemongers are now raking in or how many people they reach with their messages of discord.

Gerald L. K. Smith is one of the few who makes a public financial report. Since his Christian Nationalist Crusade operates as a political party, he has to report to Congress on its finances.

His reported receipts for the last three years averaged over

$185,000 a year. This compares with the $113,000 he reported in 1950.

Common Sense claims to have distributed nearly 500,000 copies of "The Coming Red Dictatorship," an anti-Semitic broadside.

A West Coast purveyor claims to have put out more than 2,000,000 pieces of his "literature."

Fight Among Selves.

Despite all this fanaticism, there are some hopeful signs:

1. The hatemongers — unlike the Communists—lack central direction and organization. They copy each other's ideas, plug and sell each other's publications and sometimes even trade mailing lists. But whenever they try to get together they end up fighting like alley cats.

2. Outside of the deep South, hate appears to be waning as a political force. Elsewhere, no politician dares openly to embrace bigotry today. And most recent excursions into politics by hatemongers themselves have been flops.

3. Some disavow their bigotry. They issue vigorous denials of anti-Semitism, for instance, even though their publications openly attack Jews. Others resort to euphemisms (like Zionist for Jew) in hope of escaping the stigma most Americans place upon prejudice peddlers.

4. Some have even gone far afield for interest-catchers to help sell their hate sheets. Their gimmicks include spiritualism, quack cures and recently even flying saucers.

Tomorrow: The Old Pros of Bigotry.

Bigots Still Sow Poison

By JACK STEELE,
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer.

WASHINGTON, May 3.—Early in World War II the federal government indicted 29 assorted bigots and Bundists for conspiracy to commit sedition.

Their mass trial in Washington was an eight-month farce. The defendants used disruptive tactics which were copied by the Communists a decade later in the first Smith Act trial before Judge Harold Medina.

In the sedition case, the presiding judge died, a mistrial was declared and the indictments eventually were dismissed.

The trial demonstrated the difficulty of prosecuting hatemongers.

But it did turn the spotlight on the prewar hate ring. It hampered—temporarily—the operations of its leaders, including some who were not named in the indictments.

Today a surprising number—older, some seedier but unreformed—are back spreading hate. Others have faded into oblivion.

Here is what has happened to some of the old-timers who were not indicted in the sedition mistrial.

GERALD L. K. SMITH.

He's the No. 1 old pro of the haters. He has poked a finger into many efforts to stir up prejudice and disunity in the past 20 years. Some of his onetime lieutenants run little hate shops of their own. He taught them not only how to hate, but how to make hate pay.

Although he was not indicted in the sedition case, Smith rushed to Washington to raise a "million-dollar defense fund" for the trial.

He started out as a preacher. William Dudley

Pelley claims to have initiated him into the bigotry business. A hot-shot rabble rouser, Smith's raucous voice graced many prewar rallies.

He helped push Huey Long's share-the-wealth plan. After Long's assassination, he preached the funeral oration. Later he moved to Detroit, where Father Charles E. Coughlin's social justice program was in full swing.

In 1947 Smith shifted again to St. Louis, where he founded the Christian Nationalist Crusade as a vehicle for his own political ambitions. That, too, failed to catch on.

Now he operates from Los Angeles. He recently reported that 45 of 104 contributions of over $100 he received came from California.

Smith currently confines most of his rabble-rousing to the West Coast. But he also roams the country as the self-anointed go-between of the hate fraternity—living in the best hotels and sometimes traveling "incognito."

Here are a few of his recent ventures:

He helped engineer the abortive plot to block confirmation of Mrs. Anna M. Rosenberg as assistant defense secretary in 1950.

He led the hate attack on President Eisenhower in 1952 and, at the GOP convention, tried to stage a stampede for Gen. Douglas MacArthur. He ran Gen. MacArthur as the Christian Nationalist candidate for President—without the general's permission—but got only about 15,000 votes for him.

In 1953 he organized a new San Francisco conference "to abolish the United Nations." Last year he tried to muscle in on the McCarthy movement.

Smith tries to make his monthly magazine, the Cross and the Flag, a sort of bible of bigotry, doling out praise and criticism of his colleagues. But some refuse to accept him as the arbiter of the hate brigade.

THE REV. CHARLES E. COUGHLIN.

The so-called radio priest was not a defendant in the sedition trial. He was silenced on political issues by the Catholic Church in 1939.

Since then, Father Coughlin has stuck to running the spiritual affairs of the Shrine of the Little Flower near Detroit. His magazine, Social Justice, is defunct. The Christian Front, which he inspired, is inactive.

He emerged briefly two years ago to make a public speech indorsing the guaranteed annual wage.

GEORGE VAN HORN MOSELEY.

Gen. Moseley, onetime Army deputy chief of staff, likewise was not indicted in the sedition case, but he was a hero to many of the defendants.

Now living in semi-retirement in Atlanta, Gen. Moseley was until recently chief adviser to Judge George W. Armstrong, oil millionaire of Fort Worth and Natchez, Miss., who devoted his wealth and declining years to fomenting anti-Semitism and "white supremacy."

Armstrong, in 1950, offered oil lands worth $50,000,000 to Jefferson Military College if it would teach white, Aryan supremacy. The little Mississippi college turned down the offer.

Armstrong died last fall, but willed the bulk of his estate to two "fronts" for his bigotry. They may continue to put out his scurrilous pamphlets, including one devoted to the Korean War entitled "The Third Zionist War."

LYEL VAN HYNING.

Unlike her frequent collaborator, Elizabeth Dilling, Mrs. Van Hyning was not indicted in the sedition case. But these Chicago sirens of hate are equally strident.

Mrs. Van Hyning founded We, the Mothers, Mobilize for America and still issues her hate sheet, Women's Voice.

A recent issue carried an article headlined "Impeach Eisenhower." It attacked the President as the tool of Communists and Jews.

In a signed editorial in response to the Un-American Activities Committee's report on hate groups, she wrote: "I welcome any investigation which will expose the real enemies of my country, the Jews."

GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK.

Viereck was a prewar paid propagandist for Germany. Although not a sedition trial defendant, he served a jail term for violating the foreign agents' registration act.

He is now living quietly in a New York hotel and claims to have gone back to his first love —writing poetry.

Among his friends, however, are some of the ringleaders in the National Renaissance party, branded as neo-Fascist by the Un-American Activities Committee.

Viereck celebrated his 70th birthday recently at a cocktail party arranged by H. Keith Thompson, a former registered agent for the neo-Nazi Socialist Reich party. He was given

a bound volume of tributes from such persons as Hjalmar Schacht, Franz von Papen and the Rev. Gerald B. Winrod.

Here is what has happened to some of the sedition mistrial defendants.

WILLIAM DUDLEY PELLEY.

Pelley has managed to blend hate and mysticism. An aristocratic mien and trim goatee have been his trademarks. In the 20s he promoted California real estate and a book purporting to describe his voyage to heaven. It was a round trip.

An early admirer of Hitler, he organized the Silver Shirt Legion the day after the Fuehrer came to power. For years he flooded the mails with such anti-Jewish, anti-Negro hate-sheets as Roll Call, Liberation and The Galilean.

Pelley drew a 15-year jail sentence after a separate trial for sedition in 1942. He was paroled in 1950, but the Supreme Court recently refused to restore his civil rights.

Now he lives in California, but issues a curious publication called Valor from his old headquarters at Noblesville, Ind. It is described in subtitles as "The Golden Times Weekly" and "A Journal of Applied Spirituality."

His big pitches are spiritualism and flying saucers. He has fathered a cult he calls "Soulcraft"—a name worthy of the advertising agencies where he might have flourished but for his obsession with bigotry.

Pelley has another new gimmick. Hour-long recordings of his mystical preachings and fund appeals are played at meetings of his followers.

GEORGE DEATHERAGE

Another dean of the venom dispensers, Deatherage is remembered for his Knights of the White Camelia. The Un-American Activities Committee accused him in a 1940 report of trying to create a "united Fascist movement" with his American Nationalist Confederation. Its emblem was a swastika.

After the sedition mistrial, Deatherage ran a contracting business in Baltimore. Last year he turned up in Florida as a "research specialist" for Upton Close and Don Bell, two former radio commentators who now put out nationalist "newsletters."

ELIZABETH DILLING

She plunged into bigotry in the 30s with a book entitled, "The Red Network" and an organization she called the Patriotic Research Bureau. She was one of the noisiest of the sedition trial defendants.

Hysterically anti-Semitic, Mrs. Dilling still puts out irregular "bulletins" and writes for Common Sense and other tip sheets of prejudice. She recently sent a diatribe to the Un-American Activities Committee demanding that she be heard or indicted.

EDWARD JAMES SMYTHE.

His chief claim to fame was an abortive attempt to unite the Ku Klux Klan and the German-American Bund. He also organized dozens of "Protestant" front groups as fund-raising ventures.

Smythe still sends out hate literature from Washington under the imprint of his latest front—the Protestant Press Assn. He recently moved out of an office here and claims he was "dispossessed by Jews."

He pleaded no defense to a mail fraud indictment in Newark, N. J., in 1950 and was given a three-year suspended sentence.

Smythe has been anti-Catholic and anti-Semitic. He wrote several years ago that, if forced to choose between Catholicism and communism, "we would gladly accept communism as the lesser of two evils." He recently told this reporter: "We're not Fascists or Nazis, but we are anti-Jewish."

JOE McWILLIAMS.

In the late 30s he incited street-corner crowds in New York's Yorkville section with pro-Hitler, anti-Semitic tirades. After the sedition mistrial, he moved to Chicago and then to the Northwest. He has not been heard from for several years.

LAWRENCE DENNIS.

Once called "the brains of American fascism," Dennis now puts out a newsletter entitled Appeal to Reason from Becket, Mass. A recent issue referred to World War II as "the war against anti-Semitism."

OTHERS.

Another aging sedition case defendant, Col. Eugene N. Sanctuary, still finds an outlet for his hate in the pages of Common Sense.

Robert E. Edmondson, in 1953, published a book, "I Testify," which was advertised as "American Invisible Government Unmasked."

James B. True, who once patented a club he called a "Kike Killer," died soon after the mistrial.

Bigotry Draws New Blood To Carry Same Old Poison

By JACK STEELE,
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer.

WASHINGTON, May 4.—Some of the hatemongers who flourished in the 1930s have retired or gone to seed, but new ones have grabbed up their besmirched banners.

Of these newcomers some were lieutenants or disciples of pre-World War II bigots. Others, with curious ease, drifted into the hate business from military service—sometimes after a taste of wartime intelligence work.

Still others turned aside from respected careers as their prejudices suddenly erupted from long-hidden wellsprings.

Here are some of the postwar neophytes in the hate cabal:

CONDE McGINLEY.

An old-time admirer of Father Charles E. Coughlin, McGinley began his activities in 1946 with a little paper called Think. He soon changed its name to the equally inappropriate Common Sense.

McGinley and Common Sense—which now boasts it is "the most widely circulated paper of its kind in the world"—were prime targets of the House Un-American Activities Committee's staff report on "Neo-Fascist and Hate Groups" issued last December.

The report said of Common Sense: "The most vitriolic hate propaganda ever to come to the attention of the committee."

It described McGinley as "a modern example of the racketeers who made a business out of un-American hate propaganda during the 1930s."

Common Sense is a fountainhead for anti-Semitic and anti-Negro propaganda. Its abusive articles are quoted widely and reprinted by other hate-sheets. Other rabble-rousers, old and new, find it a ready market for their diatribes.

McGinley last year spread his hate into politics and public affairs.

Issues of Common Sense were trucked into Maine in a futile effort to defeat Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R.).

Material put out by McGinley's Christian Education Assn. was used against Sen. Clifford P. Case (R.) in the New Jersey campaign.

Special anti-Negro issues of Common Sense were circulated in areas where school strikes were staged against the Supreme Court's antisegregation decision.

McGinley pulled out all stops with a newspaper-size broadside entitled "The Coming Red Dictatorship." It featured pictures of 36 prominent Jews, many of them officials of the Eisenhower administration.

Its headlines screamed: "Asiatic Marxist Jews control entire world as last world war commences—thousands of plotters placed in key positions by invisible government."

An all-Christian jury in Newark, N. J., last month awarded Rabbi Joachim Prinz a $30,000 verdict in a libel suit against McGinley. The award included $25,000 punitive damages. The jury held that Dr. Prinz had

been labeled falsely as a "Red" in Common Sense. He headed the Jewish community in Berlin before being driven out by the Nazis.

ROBERT H. WILLIAMS.

This California pamphleteer and hate-sheet editor parades his bigotry under the guise of "intelligence." He advertises that his former service as an Air Force counterintelligence officer makes his publication vital for governors, mayors, police and "citizens interested in preventing sabotage and revolution."

But the Un-American Activities Committee reported that his intelligence duty consisted of less than a year as administrative officer for a bomber wing—a post where it said he could have received no information about "the Communist conspiracy."

The Air Force canceled his reserve commission in 1950 for the "best interest of the service."

Robert H. Williams, former Air Force major, who now runs a hate-spreading "intelligence" service.

His Williams Intelligence Summary is openly anti-Semitic. It is billed as "a monthly report on political and military developments, especially revealing the Jewish influence in these developments."

His pamphlet "Know Your Enemy" opens with the declaration: "This publication attacks no man because of his race, but it spares no subverter because of his race."

In it Williams suggests that all Jews should be interned in New York and strategic areas. Then, he argues, these areas would not be bombed by the Soviet.

Some of his fantasies are even more outrageous. He has charged that "Jewish General" Curtis LeMay arranged to drop the first two atomic bombs on the "only two sizable Christian centers in Japan."

FRANK L. BRITTON.

Also a Californian, Britton is one of the smoothest of the new hate peddlers.

His sheet, The American Nationalist, is a tabloid, printed on slick paper and splashed with color. Its format easily might be mistaken for the two most widely read publications in the Los Angeles area where he operates—Variety and The Hollywood Reporter.

Britton also runs a boycott campaign against Jews through a front group called the New Confederates. His color comic strips feature Uncle Sam in a pose copied from familiar "I Want You" recruiting posters. In Britton's comics, Uncle Sam offers advice like "Buy Gentile" and "Boycott Jew Stores."

JOHN O. BEATY.

Beaty is professor of English at Southern Methodist University, Dallas, Tex. As a wartime colonel in Army intelligence, he helped prepare daily G-2 reports for the White House.

But his book, "The Iron Curtain Over America," has been described by a Methodist minister, the Rev. Ralph L. Roy, as "the most extensive piece of anti-Semitic literature in the history of America's racist movement." Issued in 1951, it has gone through 15 printings and sold more than 50,000 copies. Most newspapers failed to review it and bookstores seldom display it, but it is constantly plugged by hate-sheets.

Beaty denies that he is anti-Semitic. In "Iron Curtain" he explains why. Its theme is that most European and American Jews are not Jews but "Khazars."

His theory—indorsed by some other haters — is that these Jews are descended from a Mongol tribe known as Khazars who adopted Judaism.

(Reputable historians say this is bunk. They agree that the Khazar tribe was scattered or destroyed centuries ago.)

But Beaty soberly parades the Khazar thesis. After an opening chapter glorifying Prussian militarism, he blames the Khazars for the New Deal, World War II. Communist subversion and what not. And in footnotes he quotes such authorities as McGinley's Common Sense.

Charges that he is anti-Semitic are "absurd," he maintains, since "the Khazar Jew is himself not a Semite."

JACK B. TENNEY.

Former chairman of the California Committee on Un-Amer-

ican Activities, Tenney is a recent convert to the hate brigade. He lost his seat in the State Senate last year after a campaign in which he attacked Jews.

He once called Gerald L. K. Smith a "racial agitator," but in 1952 was the Vice Presidential nominee of Smith's Christian Nationalist party. Smith contributed to his campaign and Tenney now writes for Smith's The Cross and the Flag.

Tenney also denies that he is anti-Semitic. But he has written three pamphlets attacking Jews: "Zion's Fifth Column," "Zionist Network" and "Zion's Trojan Horse."

EUSTACE MULLINS.

Mullins is a free-lancer of hate. A Virginian in his early 30s his bigoted articles have appeared since 1951 in Common Sense and other hate-sheets.

In 1952 an article entitled "Adolf Hitler: an Appreciation" appeared under his by-line in the Bulletin of the National Renaissance party, since branded by the Un-American Activities Committee as neo-Fascist.

He was active in the Aryan League of America and is credited with the authorship of the "Rabbi Rabinovich" canard—a modern version of the forged anti-semitic "Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion."

Bigot Business Hits All Faiths

By JACK STEELE,
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer.

WASHINGTON, May 5.—Prejudice is a disease that infects people of every religion, creed and race.

There is no common denominator to help classify the sources—any more than the targets—of the voices of bigotry now being raised in the United States.

Individual Catholics, Protestants and Jews are among those who cook up hate and abuse, just as these groups are among its victims.

A Protestant bigot, Edward James Smythe, is credited with this bit of doggerel which illustrates how the freebooters of scurrility attack every other group and then cloak their hate with some real or imagined menace:

God bless America.
The Jews own it.
The Catholics run it.
The Negroes enjoy it.
The Protestants founded it.
But the Communists will destroy it.

The hate fanatics use religion as others do patriotism and anti-communism as a cover for their bigotry. One hater, Elizabeth Dilling, even invented the alias of the Rev. Frank Woodruff Johnson as a byline for some of her writing.

Here are several of the fanatics who are spreading suspicion and loathing today.

THE REV. LEONARD A. FEENEY.

An excommunicated Catholic priest, Father Feeney for several years has run noisy hate rallies on the Boston Common with a little band of disciples he calls "Slaves of the Immaculate Heart of Mary."

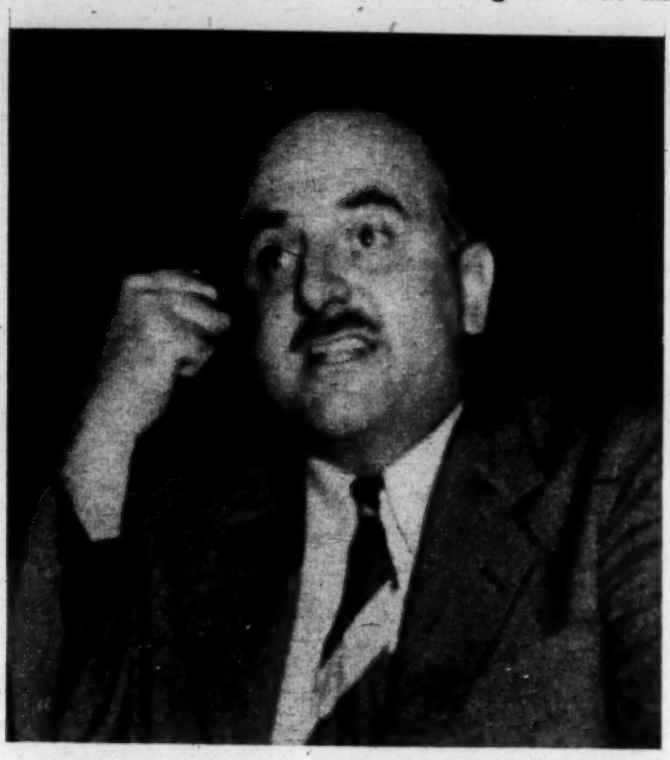
He might be written off as a minor local nuisance except that:

- He puts out a vitriolic little sheet, The Point, which he mails—with or without request—to a growing list of Catholics.

● Groups of his followers have sprung up, and have had brushes with the law, in several Eastern cities.

Father Feeney aims his hate at Protestants and the Catholic hierarchy, but mostly at Jews.

A recent issue of The Point denounced the Catholic Church for deserting the "ancient dogma" that all



The Rev. Gerald B. Winrod campaigning for the GOP nomination for the U.S. Senate in Kansas in 1938.

Jews are eternally "cursed" and criticized leading Catholics by name for associating with Jews.

It hailed the Spanish Inquisition as a "glorious institution."

Father Feeney was a gifted author. Once literary editor of the Catholic monthly America, he has written pleasant poetry and a widely read little book titled "Fish on Friday."

The Catholic Church nas done all in its power to discipline him since he shifted to bigotry.

Archbishop Cushing unfrocked him for preaching the doctrine that there is no salvation for non-Catholics. The Jesuit Order expelled him. The Pope finally excommunicated him.

His headquarters, St. Benedict's Center, once was a study house for Catholic students at Harvard. Now Catholics are forbidden to enter it.

The Rev. Gerald B. Winrod.

This man ranks close to Gerald L. K. Smith as an old pro. For more than 20 years Winrod has blended bigotry with Protestant evangelism and made it pay handsomely.

He started out attacking Catholics. After a visit to Hitler's Germany in 1935, he took up anti-Semitism. He was linked with most of the prewar hatemongers and was a defendant with them in the sedition mistrial.

In 1940 Winrod was accused by the House Un-American Activities Committee of joining forces with George Deatherage and others to form a "United Fascist movement."

He still operates, from Wichita, Kans., an organization he calls "The Defenders of the Christian Faith."

Winrod returned to blatant bigotry in the 1952 campaign when he joined the hue and cry of the smearers of Gen. Eisenhower. He charged that Ike was the "choice" of the "international Jewish banking fraternity" for President.

Among his fund-raising gimmicks are "prayer-circle letters" mailed to his followers.

THE REV. HARVEY H. SPRINGER.

"Cowboy" Springer is another of the flock of Protestant fundamentalists who also

preach hate. Since 1935 he has spread evangelism and bigotry from his headquarters, the Baptist Tabernacle at Englewood, Colo., a Denver suburb.

He is a hellfire-and-brimstone preacher who often makes evangelical tours of the South. He also is a shrewd businessman who has formed many organizations to foster his activities. They include the Rocky Mountain Evangelistic Assn., the Soul-Winning Bible Institute, the Protestant Information Bureau and the American Protestant League.

He operates a 160-acre Christian Youth Roundup Ranch near Denver and has incorporated a $250,000 stock-selling venture for a home for the aged.

Springer constantly has attacked Catholics. For a while he abandoned anti-Semitism, but recently has been assailing Jews again.

BENJAMIN H. FREEDMAN.

Freedman is a wealthy retired cosmetics manufacturer.

His association with hate publicists has been inexplicable and controversial.

He sided with the Arabs in the feud over creation of the State of Israel.

He has insisted that he is not anti-Semitic but only anti-Zionist, meaning anti-Israel.

He has contributed money and articles to the stridently anti-Semitic hate-sheet Common Sense. And he is widely quoted and praised by some racists—often in an effort to prove they are not anti-Semitic.

Freedman was the prime-mover in the abortive attempt to block confirmation of Mrs. Anna M. Rosenberg as assistant defense secretary. Active in the same cause were Gerald Smith and Smith's "legislative representative"—Wesley Swift.

Freedman witnessed the statements, alleging that Mrs. Rosenberg once had been a member of a Communist front group, which induced the Senate Armed Services Committee to reopen hearings on her confirmation. It all turned out to be a flimsy case of mistaken identity.

Under questioning by the committee, Freedman admitted he had given more than $15,000 to Conde McGinley to finance Common Sense.

Segregation Ruling Roused Bigots

WASHINGTON, May 6.—The ink was hardly dry on the Supreme Court decision last year outlawing school segregation before the bigots and racists got busy.

Hatemongers seized upon the decision—a milestone in the evolution of civil rights—as potentially the most explosive and exploitable issue that had come their way since they became aware of the Communist menace.

Typically, they "exposed" the Supreme Court decision as being Communist-inspired, ignoring the fact that attacks on segregation in the United States long have been a favorite weapon in Moscow's propaganda arsenal.

Hate sheets from coast to coast flamed with vicious attacks on the Supreme Court and what they called its "mongrelization" policy. Some are still at it.

Old Ku Klux Klan elements hastily tried to regroup in the South, and new little racist groups sprang up here and there to fan prejudices.

Haters first moved to stir up trouble in Washington and states nearby, where integration was put into effect in some schools last fall without waiting for the Supreme Court's follow-up order.

Anti-Negro groups encouraged "strikes" of parents and pupils in Washington, Baltimore and small

towns in West Virginia and Delaware. But firmhanded city and school officials—backed by responsible community groups and public opinion—soon quelled most of these demonstrations.

For the hatemongers this was only a trial run.

Some hope to start far more serious troubles when the Supreme Court lays down its plan for enforcing public school integration in the South, possibly starting next fall.

These are some of the individuals and groups engaged in fomenting disorder.

THE NAAWP.

The first hate group to cash in on school disruption was the National Assn. for the Advancement of White People. It's not-very-clever play on the name of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) apparently had an appeal to prejudice.

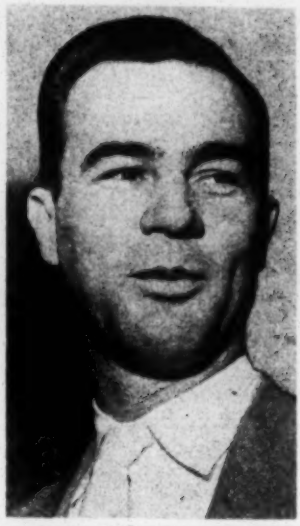
Its leader, Bryant Bowles, a 34-year-old ex-marine and Florida "cracker," had a record of arrests for passing worthless checks.

Bowles first formed the NAAWP in Washington late in 1953 in response to the Supreme Court decision outlawing racial covenants on real estate. He quickly reactivated it last year and in a few weeks claimed to have enrolled 50,000 members

The law moved in fast on Bowles. He vacated his Washington offices after a fracas with a Negro mailman and, last December, moved to Milford, Del., the scene of his only minor success. He now lives on the outskirts of Milford and is trying to organize a battle with its school board. A few days ago he was fined $600 for helping stir up the Milford school strike.

Conde McGinley threw the support of his anti-Semitic paper Common Sense behind Bowles. He put out a special issue in July which carried the headings: "Communism Hits South With Non-Segregation" and "Jewish Marxists Threaten Negro Revolt in America." A lead article by Eustace Mullins "traced" the Supreme Court's decision to a 1921 resolution by the Communist International.

Gerald L. K. Smith devoted a section of the January issue of The Cross and the Flag to the desegregation decision. Included were a picture of Bowles



Bryant W. Bowles, president of the National Assn. for the Advancement of White People and a belligerent in the fight against desegregation.

and a highly laudatory article. Smith also reported a $50 contribution to Bowles.

THE WHITE BROTHERHOOD.

Several new organizations are trying to rally old Klan elements in the South. One being watched closely is the so-called White Brotherhood, formed last fall in Tallahassee, Fla.

Its big wheel is Bill Hendrix, one-time adjutant of the Southern Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. He was convicted in 1952 of sending defamatory postcards through the mail and given a three-year suspended sentence.

CITIZENS' COUNCILS

The Citizens' Council move began in Mississippi and spread to Alabama and other states in the deep South. Its avowed aim was to bring economic pressure to bear on Negroes who insist on enforcement of the Supreme Court's anti-segregation decision.

Many Southern newspapers attacked this movement, one referring to it as a "refined descendant of the Ku Klux Klan."

However, Citizens' Councils have been set up in many deep Southern communities. They haven't done much yet, but they are ready to go into action when the first efforts are made to enforce school integration.

OTHER GROUPS.

The National Citizens Protective Assn., which started out to stir up racial troubles in St. Louis, is trying to expand into a nationwide group. The power behind it is John W. Hamilton, a one-time aid of Gerald Smith He turned to anti-Negro activ

ities when, he said, he got tired of Smith's "Jew, Jew, Jew stuff." Hendrix is one of the group's directors.

Other anti-Negro groups which have sprung up or gained a new lease on life in the South include:

The National Assn. for the Preservation of the White Race.

The National Assn. for the Advancement and Protection of a Majority of the White Race.

The National Patrick Henry Organization.

The Southerners.

The Pro-Southerners.

The Moonlighters.

The Grass Roots League.

The American States Rights Assn.

THE ISLAM CULT.

Negro organizations like the NAACP have fought bigotry in all its forms. But a few Negroes have formed little hate groups of their own. One is known variously as the Nation of Islam, the Allah Temple of Islam and the Muslim Cult of Islam.

Some members of this secret all-Negro cult preach militant hate of white. The cult has a military arm known as the FOI. Some authorities say this stands for "Fruit of Islam."

Peddlers of Hate

Bigotry Moving In On Right-Wing Units

Haters Employ Old Red Tactics

By JACK STEELE,
Scripps-Howard Staff Writer.

WASHINGTON, May 7.—New right-wing and isolationist groups now springing to life are providing a happy hunting ground for peddlers of prejudice.

Bigots of varying kind and degree are trying to infiltrate and take over these organizations set up to give voice to ultra-conservative or neo-nationalist sentiments.

Such groups are legitimate enough and have an unchallengeable role to play in the formation of American public opinion, just as do those of the non-Communist left.

But haters hope to use these groups for their own ends—either as covers for trouble-making or as paths to the pocketbooks of wealthy and unsuspecting angels.

In efforts to infiltrate right-wing groups, the forces of bigotry have adopted the fifth-column tactics of the Communists.

They readily take over and preach the doctrines of the particular group they want to penetrate. Often they cover their operations with an aura of intrigue and conspiracy.

Some operators try to conceal or explain away their own unsavory pasts. Others hide their prejudices behind euphemisms designed to fool the unwary and confuse their critics.

Pamphleteer Joseph P. Kamp as he testified before a House committee investigating lobbying in 1950.

These tactics make such infiltration hard to tag, as these recent case histories will indicate.

JOSEPH P. KAMP.

Kamp has been one of the nation's most prolific pamphleteers. He turns out brochures loaded with distortions and with appeals to fear and prejudice. Then he sells batches of them to businessmen and others to distribute "where they will do the most good."

Who supplies the money to keep Joe Kamp going? He won't say.

He went to jail for four months for contempt rather than disclose the sources of his revenue to a House Campaign

Expenditures Committee in 1944. He was convicted on similar charges in 1950, but won a retrial and acquittal.

Kamp, who refers to anti-Semitism as a "dirty little Communist swear word," vehemently denies that he is anti-Semitic.

But dislike of Jews creeps into much of his literature. That was the case with anti-Eisenhower propaganda he turned out before the 1952 convention.

He devoted two 16-page issues of his publication, Headlines, to candidate Eisenhower. The first was headed "Who's Promoting and What's Behind 'We Want Ike'?" and the second "More About What's Behind Ike."

Kamp's answer was obvious —Communists and Jews.

More recently Kamp has cashed in on Sen. Joseph R. McCarthy's fame. He formed a front called the Committee FOR McCarthyism and put out a "miniature library" of pamphlets on McCarthy.

He also took it upon himself last year to answer the "McCarthy Balance Sheet" — a series of articles by World-Telegram reporter Frederick Woltman, who won a Pulitzer Prize for exposing Communists. Kamp's pamphlet was titled: "The Red-Addled Brain Behind the Scripps-Howard Smear of Sen. McCarthy."

ALLAN A. ZOLL.

Zoll is another pamphleteer and promoter whose most successful venture was the National Council for American Education. This outfit, with a name easily confused with the respected American Council on Education, fomented a wave of troubles in the public schools Here's how it worked.

Zoll's Council put out pamphlets which served as blueprints for "exposing" school administrators, teachers and textbooks as being "Red-tinged" and for attacking so-called educational frills.

These were sold to taxpayer groups interested in cutting school costs and to patriotic groups aroused by Zoll's extravagant Red charges. Use of the pamphlets touched off a rash of battles in public school systems across the nation.

The New York World-Telegram and Sun first disclosed that Zoll was behind all this and told who he was.

Zoll in 1937 founded and became national commander of the American Patriots Inc. Attorney General Francis Biddle in 1940 listed it as "Fascist." Zoll called this a New Deal smear, but the now-defunct group is still carried on the Attorney General's list for the Eisenhower Administration's security program.

Zoll has been inactive since he married the elderly widow of an oil millionaire late in 1953. She sued for divorce last December. He is now back in his New York haunts—presumably ready for a new venture.

THE UNITED NATIONS

The U.N. is one of the major targets of blatant bigots. Gerald L. K. Smith and his fellow hatemongers rarely miss a chance to charge that the U.N. is part of a "Jewish-Communist" plot to destroy the sovereignty of the United States.

Neo-isolationists who are forming new groups patterned after the old America First Committee likewise center their attacks on the U.N.—without combining them with appeals to prejudice and bigotry.

These parallel attacks on the U.N. and one-worldism can and do create a good deal of confusion.

Take the case of W. Henry MacFarland Jr.

MacFarland now runs the American Flag Committee from his home in Philadelphia.

Attacks on the U.N. issued under this imprint have been widely circulated in the last few years—and widely reprinted by hate sheets.

But many people who have read and perhaps been influenced by the publications of the American Flag Committee know little about MacFarland's background.

A one-time admirer and supporter of Gerald Smith, MacFarland once ran from the same address in Philadelphia an outfit called the Nationalist Action League.

The attorney general cited the Nationalist Action League as Fascist on April 27, 1949, and its name still appears on the Justice Department's list.

A few weeks after it was so listed, MacFarland sought to unite the Nationalist Action League with a group of supporters of hatemonger Conde McGinley. For a short time, McGinley's Common Sense was the official organ of the league.

The House Un-American Activities Committee charged in its report last December on hate groups that MacFarland had also been active in the National Renaissance party, a group branded by the committee as "neo-Fascist."

MacFarland's union with McGinley did not last long. Soon after it broke up he formed the American Flag Committee as a vehicle for his attacks on the U.N.

New York World-Telegram
The Sun
A SCRIPPS-HOWARD NEWSPAPER

"Give Light and the People Will Find Their Own Way"

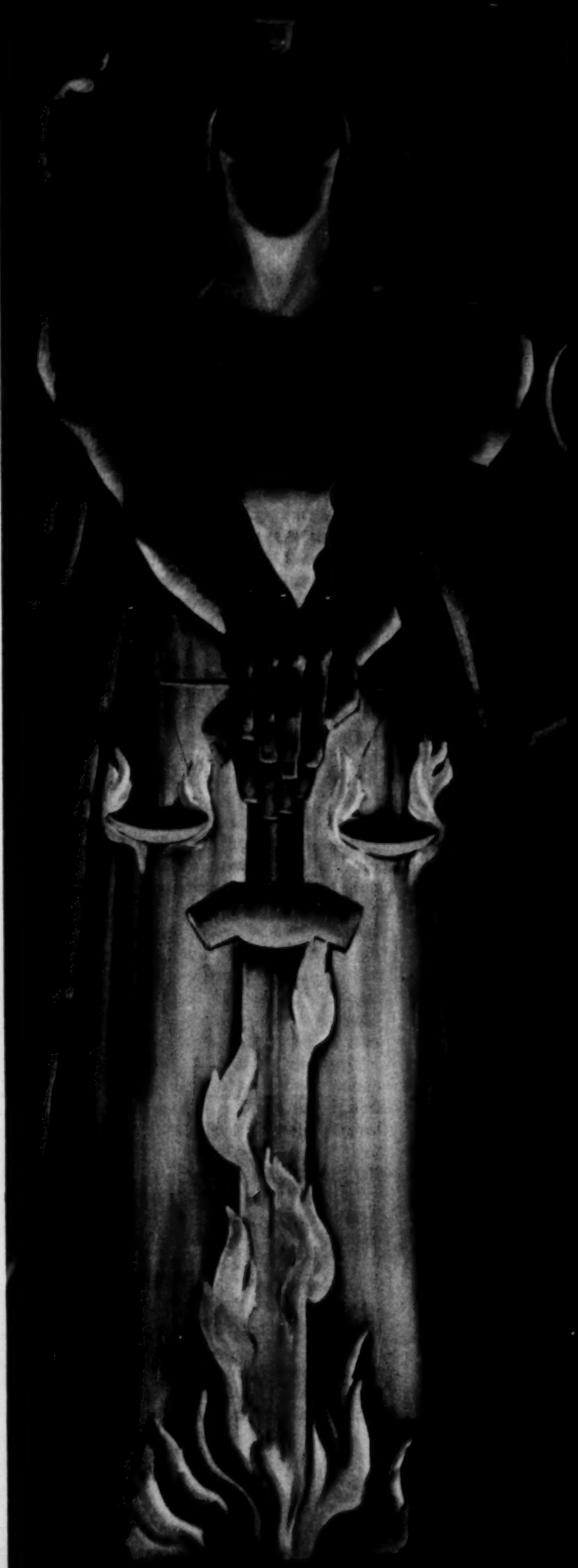
Can Morality Be Legislated?

By JOHN P. ROCHE

and

MILTON M. GORDON

JOHN P. ROCHE and MILTON M. GORDON teach political science and sociology, respectively, at Haverford College, Pa.



From a painting © Francis Scott Bradford.

Can Morality Be Legislated?

By JOHN P. ROCHE and MILTON M. GORDON

Yes, say these observers, as the Supreme Court's desegregation decrees are awaited. Under certain conditions, 'the majesty of the law not only enforces, but creates, morality.'

THE Supreme Court is pondering its decision on how and when to carry out its ruling of a year ago that public school segregation is unconstitutional. It is therefore timely to examine the relationship between law and mores, between the decrees of courts and Legislatures and the vast body of community beliefs which shape private action.

While it is not perhaps customary to think of the Supreme Court as a legislative body, the cold fact is that in the desegregation cases, the nine justices have undertaken to rewrite public policy in at least seventeen states and innumerable communities. Indeed, it would be difficult to find a recent Congressional enactment that equals in impact and scope this judicial holding. Whether one approves or disapproves of such judicial acts, it is clear that the court has undertaken a monumental project in the field of social engineering, and one obviously based on the assumption that morality *can* be legislated.

Opponents of the desegregation decision have, with the exception of a fringe of overt white supremacists, largely founded their dissent on the principle that law can not move faster than public opinion, that legal norms which do not reflect community sentiment are unenforceable. They cite the dismal failure of Prohibition as a case in point, urging that basic social change—however desirable—must come from the bottom, from a shift in "grass-roots" convictions.

On the other hand, the court's supporters maintain that virtually every statute and judicial decree is, to some extent, a regulation of morality. Indeed, they suggest, if the moral standards of individuals were not susceptible to state definition and regulation, we would never have emerged from primitive barbarism.

IN this article, we shall examine from the viewpoint of the social scientist the evidence on both sides of the question, and see if it is possible to extract any meaningful conclusions.

First of all, we must delve into the relationship that exists in a democratic society between law and community attitudes. While this is a treacherous area, full of pitfalls for the unwary generalizer, it seems clear that, as distinguished from a totalitarian society, law in a democracy is founded on consensus. That is to say that the basic sanctions are applied not by the police, but by the community. The jury system institutionalizes this responsibility in such cases as "mercy killings" or those involving "the unwritten law" by finding citizens who have unquestionably killed "not guilty."

Conversely, juries applying other sections of the criminal code—notably those penalizing subversion—will often bring in verdicts of "guilty" based not so much on technical guilt as upon the proposition that the defendant should be taken out of circulation. In another area of the law, insurance companies, faced with damage suits, have learned to shun juries like the plague. Indeed, they will frequently make unjustified out-of-court settlements in preference to facing a jury that begins its labors with the seeming assumption that no insurance company of any standing would miss $100,000.

FROM this it should be clear that in the United States law is a great deal more, and simultaneously a great deal less, than a command of the sovereign. Thus one can safely say that no piece of legislation, or judicial decision, which does not have its roots in community beliefs, has a chance of being effectively carried out.

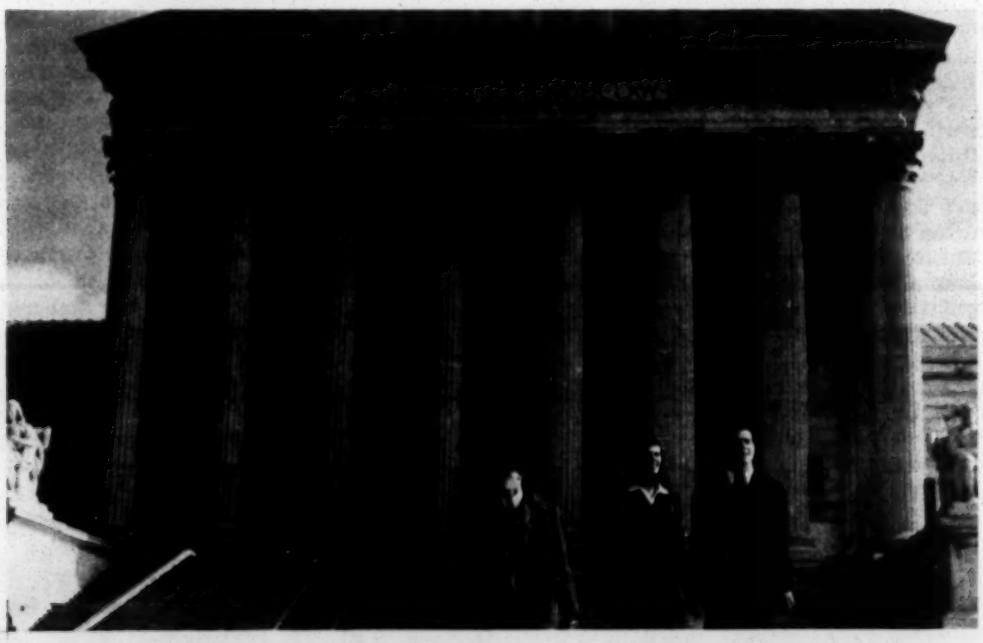
To this extent, it is undeniable that morality cannot be legislated; it would be impossible, for example, to make canasta playing a capital offense *in fact,* even if the bridge-players' lobby were successful in getting such a law on the books. This is a fanciful example, but in our view the Volstead Act and the Eighteenth Amendment were no less unrealistic in objective: like H. L. Mencken's friend, Americans seem willing to vote for Prohibition as long as they can stagger to the polls.

Excluding these extreme efforts to legislate morality, which are obviously unsound, we now come to the heart of the problem: Under what circumstances will an individual accept distasteful regulation of his actions? To put it another way: What are the criteria which lead an individual to adjust his acts to the demands of the state?

SPECIFICALLY, why do people pay taxes when they disagree strongly with the uses to which the money will be put? A large-scale tax revolt, as the French have recently discovered, is almost impossible to check without recourse to martial law and police state methods, but the average taxpayer grouses and pays. While Americans are not, by and large, as law-abiding as their British cousins, it is probably fair to say that most of us obey most laws without even reflecting on their merits.

This problem of the basis of legal norms has proved a fascinating one to sociologists. In the past fifteen years some significant new thinking on the subject has grown out of empirical research, more incisive analysis, and general observation of large-scale experiences with legal desegregation in important areas of American life such as employment, public housing and the Armed Forces.

The older categorical view stated in



Supreme Court building, Washington—"In its desegregration decision, the Court has undertaken a monumental project in social engineering."

classic fashion by the sociologist William Graham Sumner, was that law could never move ahead of the customs or mores of the people—that legislation which was not firmly rooted in popular folkways was doomed to failure. The implication was that social change must always be glacier-like in its movement and that mass change in attitudes must precede legislative action.

THE newer viewpoint is based on a more sophisticated and realistic analysis of social processes. In the first place, it questions the older way of stating the problem in terms of all or nothing. Any large, complex society, with its multiplicity of social backgrounds and individual experiences, contains varying mores and attitudes within itself. On any given piece of legislation there will not just be supporters and enemies; rather there will be many points of view, ranging from unconditional support, through indifference, to unmitigated opposition.

Thus, the degree of success that will attend such an enactment is the result of a highly complex series of interactions and adjustments among people with diverse attitudes toward the measure itself and toward the imposition of legal authority. Furthermore, it is predictable that a large segment of the population will be basically neutral, if not totally indifferent.

To put the matter in an even broader framework, the prediction of behavior must take into consideration not only the attitudes of the individual but also the *total social situation* in which his behavior is to be formulated and expressed. For instance, people with ethnic prejudice are likely to express themselves in a social clique where, say, anti-Semitic jokes are *au fait*, but will restrain themselves in a group where such remarks are greeted with hostility. Once the bigot realizes that he must pay a social price for his anti-Semitism, he is likely to think twice before exposing himself to the penalty.

IN this connection, Robert K. Merton, Columbia sociologist, has set up an incisive classification, suggesting that four major groups can be delineated:

(1) The all-weather liberal, who can be expected to oppose prejudice and race discrimination under any set of social conditions; (2) the fair-weather liberal, who is not himself prejudiced, but who will stand silent or passively support discrimination if it is easier and more profitable to do so; (3) the fair-weather illiberal, who has prejudices, but is not prepared to pay a significant price for expressing them in behavior, preferring rather to take the easier course of conformity; and (4) the all-weather illiberal, who is prepared to fight to the last ditch for his prejudices at whatever cost in social disapproval.

If we apply this classification to such a problem as desegregation, it immediately becomes apparent that the critical strata, so far as success or failure is concerned, are groups two and three. Group one will support the proposal with vigor and group four will oppose it bitterly, but groups two and three will carry the day.

But because groups two and three are not crusaders, are not strongly motivated, they are particularly susceptible to the symbolism of law. Thus the fact that fair employment practices have been incorporated into law, or that the Supreme Court has held school segregation unconstitutional, will itself tend to direct their thinking toward compliance.

THE symbols of state power are to the undedicated non-revolutionary mighty and awesome things, and he will think long and hard before he commits himself to subversive action. Consequently the law tends to become, in another of Merton's phrases, a "self-fulfilling prophecy"; that is, a statute tends to create a climate of opinion favorable to its own enforcement. As John Locke long ago pointed out, the great roadblock to revolution is not the police but the habits of obedience which lead the law-abiding majority to refrain from even legitimate and justified resistance.

American experience over the past decade and a half seems to confirm this hypothesis. By legislative action, executive order and judicial decision, the race prejudices of Americans have been denied public sanction. Fair employment practices commissions, of national scope during the war and subsequently operative in a number of states and municipalities, integration of the Armed Forces, integration of many segregated schools, elimination of "white primaries" and removal of racial restrictions in many professional associations—all these have provided a living laboratory for the study of the impact of law on the mores.

AT virtually every stage in the development, strong voices were raised to plead that morality could not be legislated, that an end to discrimination must await an unprejudiced public. Yet, the results indicate a high degree of compliance, some covert evasion, and only a few instances of violent resistance.

Moreover, it should be kept in mind that the success of desegregation laws or orders need not be measured against a hypothetical standard of 100 per cent but against the usual standards of law enforcement. Even laws against homicide and rape, which have overwhelming community support, are occasionally violated.

But, while laws may restrain behavior, is there any evidence to indicate that attitudes are affected? Here the evidence seems clear: the law itself plays an important part in the educational process. Again the key to analysis is the social situation.

Legislation and administrative orders which have prohibited discrimination in such areas as employment, the Armed Forces, public housing, and professional associations have brought people of various races together—often with initial reluctance—in normal day-to-day contact on an "equal-status" basis where the emphasis is on doing a job together. Contact of this kind gives people a chance to know one another as individual human beings with similar interests, problems and capabilities. In this type of interaction racial stereotypes are likely to be weakened and dispelled.

SUCH a favorable change of attitude as a result of personal contact has been reported in a number of studies. In one carefully designed research project, Morton Deutsch and Mary Evans Collins found that white housewives who had been assigned to public housing projects which were racially integrated tended to develop favorable attitudes toward Negroes, while the vast majority of those who occupied segregated housing tended to remain the same in their racial views. A study of integration in the Army reached a similar conclusion.

Findings such as these support a considerably broader and more complex conception of the relations between legal norms and human acts and attitudes than did the older, simpler Sumner thesis. In this more comprehensive analysis, law itself is seen as a force which, in its impact, does more than prohibit or compel specific behavior. Indeed, in its operation, law actually provides the setting for types of social relationships—relationships which may have a profound effect on the very attitudes which are necessary to adequate enforcement of the statute in question.

WE thus come down to the final and crucial problem. It is plain that under some circumstances morality can be legislated, while under other conditions, the laws prove impotent. But what are the specific factors which must be evaluated? What criteria can be offered as a guide to intelligent and effective action in these touchy areas of belief, superstition and vested prejudice? The following four considerations are suggested as a beginning:

First, the amount of opposition and its geographical spread. If a random of 15 per cent of the population, roughly gauged, oppose some regulation, there will probably be little difficulty in gaining public acceptance and enforcement. However, and this is particularly relevant to the desegregation problem, if the 15 per cent all live in one compact geographical area where they constitute a majority, control local government and supply juries, the magnitude of the problem is much greater.

Second, the intensity of opposition. This is a qualitative matter, for, to paraphrase George Orwell, while all Americans are created equal, some are more equal than others. A proposal which is militantly opposed by "opinion-formers" in the American community—for example, ministers, lawyers, newspaper editors—will have much harder sledding than a nose-count of the opponents would seem to justify, and, conversely, a measure which receives the support of this key group, or significant segments of it, can overcome a numerically large resistance.

MUCH of the success of the Negro in overcoming his legal, social and economic disabilities has been an outgrowth of the strong stand on his behalf taken by church leaders, journalists, trade unionists, business men and politicians who have created a climate of opinion favorable to Negro claims and who have based their assertions on the values which constitute the American Creed: Equality of treatment under law and human brotherhood under God. With this quality of support, much can be accomplished even against great numbers.

Third, the degree to which sanctions can be administered. Here we turn to the practical problems of enforcement, and it is at this point that Prohibition really should have run aground long before it was incorporated into public policy. Home manufacture of alcoholic beverages has, according to well informed sources, even survived in the Soviet Union, and if the M. V. D. is incapable of

banning private brew, there is little reason to suspect that a democratic society could handle the job.

It can not be emphasized too often that general principles of morality are no stronger than the instruments by which they are implemented; it would thus be legislative folly to try to prohibit people from disliking Jews, Negroes, Catholics, or Protestants. However, making gin in the bathtub, or disliking minorities, is not action equivalent to segregating school children on the basis of their pigmentation.

BECAUSE it is nearly impossible to regulate what goes on in millions of private homes, it does not follow that enforcement of desegregation in public institutions will be equally difficult. In sum, false and misleading analogies must be avoided, and each proposal must be examined on its merits to determine whether or not it is enforceable.

Fourth, the diligence of enforcement. It is extremely important that enforceable regulations be diligently enforced. This is particularly true in the initial period when public attitudes (specifically, the attitudes of Merton's groups two and three) are in the process of formation. Flagrant refusal to obey usually is designed as a symbolic act to rally the undecided, and strong action at such a time will convince many wavering minds that the best course is compliance.

The Milford, Del., episode—where parents, stirred up by agitators, refused to send their children to a desegregated school—is a good case-study of what should not happen; there vigorous action by the state authorities, such as occurred under similar circumstances in Baltimore, would have dampened the ardor of the fanatics and decimated their fellow-travelers. The danger is that successful symbolic defiance plants the dragon seed and brings into the resistance movement those who would otherwise remain interested and sympathetic spectators—at a distance.

IN short, to ask, "Can morality be legislated?", is actually to pose the wrong question. What types of morality, under what conditions, and with what techniques for enforcement are qualitative considerations which fragment the question into more answerable units. Our analysis suggests that, although large-scale local considerations may call for special circumstances of implementation, the majesty of the law, when supported by the collective conscience of a people and the healing power of the social situation, in the long run will not only enforce morality but create it.

Note: This article was written prior to the Supreme Court decision of May 31, 1955, assigning to the lower courts the responsibility for seeing that its desegregation decision is carried out as promptly and completely as local conditions permit.

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JUNE, 1955

CIVIL LIBERTY: CHALLENGE AND RESPONSE

Fall, Tuesdays, 8:30-10:10 P.M. WILL MASLOW, Chairman

An analysis of the most pressing civil liberty problems of our day, viewed in their historical, legal and moral contexts. Ample opportunity will be provided for class discussion. A reading list and "factsheets" will be available to registered students.

Sept. 25 The Necessity for Civil Liberty. Buell G. Gallagher, President, College of the City of New York.

Oct. 2 Tension in The South. George Mitchell, director, Southern Regional Council

Oct. 9 Desegregation and Gradualism. Thurgood Marshall, general counsel, NAACP Legal Defense And Educational Fund, Inc.

Oct. 16 How Shall We Deal With Domestic Communism? Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., national chairman, Americans for Democratic Action

Oct. 23 Improving The Federal Employees Security Program, Walter Millis, consultant, The Fund For The Republic

Oct. 30 Congressional Investigations: Their Uses and Abuses. Edward J. Ennis, co-counsel, American Civil Liberties Union

Nov. 6 Wiretapping: Dirty Business Or Legitimate Self-Defense? Alan Westin, Harvard University

Nov. 13 Academic Freedom Today. Robert M. MacIver, author, "Academic Freedom In Our Time"

Nov. 20 The Modern Censorship Drive. Paul Blanshard, author, "The Right to Read"

Nov. 27 The Alien and Civil Rights. Jack Wasserman, former member, Board of Immigration Appeals

Dec. 4 The Attack upon the Secular Public School. Leo Pfeffer, author, "Church, State and Freedom"

Dec. 11 Civil Liberty And The Radical Right. Nathan Glazer, editor, Anchor Books

Dec. 18 Public Opinion Polls And Civil Liberty Attitudes. Herbert Hyman, Associate Professor, Columbia University

Jan. 8 How Can The United Nations Promote Universal Rights? Roger N. Baldwin, chairman, International League For The Rights of Man

Jan. 15 Civil Liberty Today:A Balance Sheet. Will Maslow, general counsel, American Jewish Congress

Program

ANNUAL DINNER MEETING

Greater Miami Chapter

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Sunday evening, December 18th, 7:00 p.m.

WESTVIEW COUNTRY CLUB
2601 N. W. 119th Street
Miami, Florida

Guest Speaker

HON. SIMON H. RIFKIND

Chairman, National Executive Committee
American Jewish Committee

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE · INSTITUTED 1906

BUSINESS SESSION - AGENDA

I. Nominations Committee Report

Officers

President	Harold B. Spaet
Vice-President	Van Myers
2nd Vice-President	Jerome C. Hofmayer
Secretary	Mrs. E. Max Goldstein
Treasurer	J. Gerald Lewis

Executive Committee

David Fleeman - Chairman

R. W. Apte	Rabbi Irving Lehrman
Jack August	Ritter Levinson
George J. Bertman	Herbert Markow
Herman Binder	Baron deHirsch Meyer
Harvey Fleischman	Raymond G. Nathan
Arthur S. Friedman	Dr. Kurt Peiser
Burton B. Goldstein	Leo Robinson
Mrs. Jennie Grossinger	Nathan B. Rood
Aaron Kanner	Lee Ruwitch
M. J. Kopelowitz	William D. Singer
Irvin Korach	Dr. Joseph M. Weidberg

Richard Wolfson

II. Executive Committee Resolution

(a) The Executive Committee recommends adoption of its December 5, 1955 resolution that: "an Advisory Board be established composed of Jewish leaders in Dade County. This Board shall examine policy matters objectively and make recommendations about them to the officers and Executive Committee. Its members shall consist of persons of outstanding judgement and prestige who shall be detached from administrative responsibilities of the Chapter. The Chairman of the Advisory Board shall be elected by the membership at the Annual Meeting of the Chapter and he shall appoint the members of the Board subject to the approval of the Executive Committee."

(b) We nominate Dr. Kurt Peiser as Chairman of the proposed Advisory Board.

PROGRAM

Presiding —

Leo Robinson, President
Greater Miami Chapter

Invocation —

Rabbi Joseph R. Narot
Temple Israel

DINNER

Election of Officers —

Van Myers, for the Nominating
Committee

Introduction of Program —

Dr. Kurt Peiser, Chairman
Executive Committee, Greater
Miami Chapter

"People Are Important" —

Seymour Samet, Southeast Area
Director, American Jewish
Committee

Dramatic Presentation --

"Boundary Lines"
Adapted from the film and narrated
by Alan Keyes, star of WTVJ's
"The Vagabond."

"CIVIL LIBERTIES IN AN AGE OF ANXIETY"
HON. SIMON H. RIFKIND

Benediction —

Rabbi Irving Lehrman
Temple Emanuel

ANNUAL DINNER COMMITTEE

Dr. Kurt Peiser, Chairman

Arrangements	-	Mrs. Harold Spaet Chairman Mrs. David Fleeman Co-Chairman
Program	-	Lee Ruwitch Chairman
Publicity	-	Herman Binder Chairman

Hostesses

Mrs. George Bertman
Mrs. David Fleeman
Mrs. Harvey Fleischman
Mrs. Burton B. Goldstein
Mrs. E. Max Goldstein
Mrs. Jerome Hofmayer
Mrs. Irvin Korach
Mrs. Ritter Levinson
Mrs. J. Gerald Lewis
Mrs. Baron deHirsch Meyer
Mrs. Van Myers
Mrs. Raymond G. Nathan
Mrs. Kurt Peiser
Mrs. Leo Robinson
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Let's Talk About Immigration

EDWARD CORSI

THE CRUCIAL ISSUE of immigration is an old one—about as old as our Republic. The Alien and Sedition Acts, the first manifestation of intolerance and discrimination against immigrants and prospective immigrants, were passed during the Administration of our second President, John Adams, and quickly repealed when Thomas Jefferson took office. What happened later on—the agitations against Irish and Germans, the systematic sowing of fears about "Popish idolatries" and "Jesuit intrigues" in the 1840's and 1850's, the formidable growth of the "Know-Nothing" party before the Civil War—all this is in elementary history textbooks. Unfortunately our present immigration laws serve to remind us that racial and religious bigotry are not just a matter of past history.

In more recent times the flaming crosses of the Ku Klux Klan, revived in 1915, could be considered nothing more than a colorful if brutal item of Americana.

Now we are living in a glass house. Our foreign policy does not express itself exclusively through the declarations of our diplomats and traveling statesmen abroad. Our immigration laws as administered by our consular officials are an essential part of our diplomacy; their impact is felt not just in chancelleries but by the harassed, fearful people whom I saw during my many trips patiently standing in long lines at the doors of American consulates.

It is important to realize, I believe, that whatever our immigration laws may be, good or bad, they are worked out abroad not at the ambassadorial but at the consular level. What the godlike powers of an American consul, whose decisions are beyond appeal, have become these days, I feel incapable of describing. The many-sided artistry of Gian Carlo Menotti has done the job. Some of Menotti's doleful tunes were haunting me while I was visiting American consular establishments. It struck me, however, that there is something new since Menotti composed *The Consul:* The American consul today is a frightened little god who exhausts his energies scrutinizing other people with the same distrustful uneasiness with which he himself is scrutinized by his superior officers back home.

Help Wanted

The laws the harassed American consul has to apply to the men, women, and children who crowd his office seem primarily designed to keep people away from our shores—whether they are prospective immigrants or merely people who only want visitors' visas. The laws are based on the assumption that some races are inferior to others and that irrespective of race there is evil in the intention and in the character of anyone who for any reason wants to come here. Incidentally, the American public does not know how frequently foreigners who have a good chance of being admitted say "Thank you, no," and walk out of the consulate rather than submit to the endless questioning, fingerprinting, and scrutiny of their pasts that they consider a revolting invasion of their privacy.

The harmful effects of the present immigration law, the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952, which was passed by Congress over President Truman's veto, appear at once when we look at it from the viewpoint of self-interest and see what this law has done to the economy of our country.

Ever since the 1920's our immigration laws have deprived us of the manpower and the skills that our expanding economy require by cutting off immigration from the very countries that can provide these skills. Except during brief periods of recession, our economy has always called for more manpower. This demand used to be met through natural population growth, internal migration of labor—and immigration.

This labor demand is now being met by draining manpower from the farms, by immigration from non-quota countries in the Western Hemisphere, and by importing temporary labor from neighboring lands, much of it smuggled in from Mexico. Like the demand for liquor during the prohibition years, the demand for labor has been satisfied by makeshift and frequently illegal means.

THERE IS at the present time a shortage of manpower in agriculture. Finding local labor to harvest the crops is becoming more and more difficult—sometimes so difficult that fields are left uncultivated.

It is true that as of last January we had 3,347,000 unemployed in the United States. In New York State alone there are now upwards of 266,000 people getting unemployment insurance from the state treasury. Even so, many thousands of extremely important jobs are going begging. Ours is a free society and we cannot force our unemployed to take jobs for which they have no training and no liking.

There are serious shortages of skilled tailors, dressmakers, mechanics, precision workers, watchmakers, cooks, bakers, farmers, domestics, and in other classifications in which many jobs have traditionally been filled by immigrants. David Dubinsky, the head of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union and one of the most constructive labor leaders in America, told me recently that if the shortage of skilled workers in the garment industry continues, in ten years it will be hard to find tailors in the United States who can produce a custom-made or fit a ready-made suit. Clothing manufacturers in Rochester are not only having difficulty recruiting trained workers but cannot even find apprentices to train despite the industry's high wages and excellent working conditions.

Restaurants all over America cannot find competent cooks to keep pace with America's growing tendency to eat out rather than at home. The shortage is so acute that the average small restaurant is now relying not on experienced cooks but on ordinary kitchen help improvising at

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the stove.

These shortages lead to disproportionately high labor costs and to demands for high tariffs to protect goods that cannot be produced competitively here for lack of the necessary skilled labor.

While the McCarran-Walter Act extends preference to workers with high technical training, the numerical limitations of the quota system tend to defeat that purpose.

IN THIS connection, it is important to notice that the traditional antagonism to immigration by organized labor has substantially been abandoned. Needless to say, enlightened and responsible labor leaders like George Meany and Walter Reuther—like every person who has sensibly approached the problem of immigration in our day—are not in favor of a return to the uncontrolled immigration of the early 1900's. But they recognize that a greater flow of immigration – selective and controlled—is needed in order to meet the demands of our expanding economy. Many labor leaders feel that this economy of ours could profitably absorb a quarter of a million immigrants a year—approximately the same number that is proposed in the Lehman-Celler bill now before Congress.

No Scientists Need Apply

The present law—the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952—fixes a specific annual quota for each of eighty-five countries, the total being 154,657. Any nation's quota is equal to one-sixth of one per cent of the number of persons in our 1920 population who were of that origin. Minimum quotas of one hundred are given to a number of Asian countries that were previously excluded entirely. The quotas allotted each country within this total are neither interchangeable nor cumulative, which means that unless all quotas are filled each year—and this never happens—the unused allotments are forfeited. The United Kingdom, Eire, and Germany are given about 109,000 visas; the remaining 45,000 have to be divided among all the nations of the world. Overpopulated Italy has a quota of 5,645, while the United Kingdom, whose people can emigrate to places within the Commonwealth like Canada and Australia but who are under no great pressure to leave home anyway, has the largest of all quotas—65,361. It is never filled.

Because of the mortgaging of the Greek quota under the Displaced Persons Act of 1948, which allows countries to mortgage up to fifty per cent of their annual quota for an indefinite period, only 154 Greeks can come here each year until 2013. Latvia's quota of 235 is reduced by half for the next 320 years.

THE ACT provides for non-quota migration from independent countries in the Western Hemisphere. Also, spouses and unmarried children of U.S. citizens are admitted without restriction. And so are qualified ministers. But professors and scientists, who were admitted outside their countries' quotas under the old Act of 1924, can be admitted under the Act of 1952 only within them.

For example, if someone like the late Enrico Fermi, the refugee Italian scientist who played a major role in the development of the atomic bomb, or the Hungarian Leo Szilard wanted to come to this country for permanent residence today, he would have to do the following: Obtain a clearance from the United States Employment Service, get written statements from some labor organization, submit affidavits from persons having special knowledge of him, assemble clippings of American advertisements calling for the services he claims to be able to render, and produce certified copies of diplomas, school certificates, and similar documents. He would then be placed on a waiting list. Any scientist born in a country to which we have allotted the generous quota of one hundred would have practically no chance at all.

Do the supporters of the McCarran Act think that ours is the only country where refugee scientists and scholars can perform their tasks?

The Race Myth

The reasons for discrimination against certain nations and races and in favor of others were stated quite forcefully by the late Senator McCarran himself in the Senate debate on his immigration bill on May 16, 1952:

". . . the cold, hard truth is that in the United States today there are hard-core, indigestible blocs who have not become integrated into the American way of life, but who, on the contrary, are its deadly enemy." Senator McCarran did not specify from which foreign nations the "hard-core, indigestible blocs . . . deadly enemy" were coming, but by simply looking at the chart on page 24 we can guess which ones he had in mind.

Many other statements made by our elected representatives during the debate illustrate the climate of opinion which has produced our immigration laws since the early 1920's and still blocks all efforts to liberalize the immigration policy of the United States—an attitude of wholesale mistrust and fear of certain races.

Our lawmakers still lean heavily, whether they know it or not, on the pseudo-scientific theories and baseless fears that went into the writing of the restrictive Acts of 1921 and 1924. These theories first found their expression in the anthropological vagaries and racist myths of Houston Stewart Chamberlain, Madison Grant, Lothrop Stoddard, and other "scientists."

According to these writers, some races are hopelessly wayward; the superior races are the blond Nordics, mainly Anglo-Saxons and Teutons; eastern and southern Europeans, along with Asians, Africans, and the rest of the colored peoples, are to be ruled by their Nordic betters if they know what's good for them.

THESE now completely discredited theories are still codified in our immigration laws, which provide that preference be extended to the Germans, the English, and the Celts, whose culture is seen as identical with ours and who are therefore assimilable. The rest of humanity in the quota areas is kept out either by token quotas of one hundred a year—the McCarran-Walter allotment to China, India, the African countries, and other nonwhite areas—or by ridiculously low quotas, as in the case of the Italians, the Greeks, the Poles, and other Europeans.

It is interesting to look back on the writings of these American racists. In *The Passing of the Great Race*

(1916), the late Madison Grant of the American Museum of Natural History wrote: "These new immigrants were no longer exclusively members of the Nordic race as were the earlier ones . . . The new immigration . . . contained a large and increasing number of the weak, the broken, and the mentally crippled of all races drawn from the lowest stratum of the Mediterranean basin and the Balkans, together with hordes of the wretched, submerged populations of the Polish ghettos. . . . the whole tone of American life, social, moral, and political has been lowered and vulgarized by them."

He later wrote: "Much of the immigration during the last century has been identical with the old British stock in all respects. The English and the Scotch who have come over here, as well as the Scandinavians and most of the Germans, and perhaps some other elements, are to be regarded as reinforcements of the older stock."

In a spirit of lyric exaltation after the Act of 1924 became law, Lothrop Stoddard of Harvard in his book *Re-Forging America* (1927) wrote:

". . . not since the nation's youthful days before 1850 have America's prospects been so bright as they are right now. We have already seen that the Immigration Restriction Act of 1924 marks the second great turning-point in our national life."

NORMAL IMMIGRATION QUOTAS, 1954

Area	Quota	Area	Quota
Afghanistan	100	Liechtenstein	100
Albania	100	Lithuania	384
Andorra	100	Luxembourg	100
Arab Peninsula	100	Monaco	100
Asia-Pacific triangle	100	Morocco	100
Australia	100	Muscat	100
Austria	1,405	Nauru	100
Belgium	1,297	Nepal	100
Bhutan	100	Netherlands	3,136
Bulgaria	100	New Guinea	100
Burma	100	New Zealand	100
Cambodia	100	Norway	2,364
Cameroons	100	Pacific Islands	100
Cameroun	100	Pakistan	100
Ceylon	100	Palestine	100
China (and other Chinese)	205	Philippines	100
Czechoslovakia	2,859	Poland	6,488
Danzig	100	Portugal	438
Denmark	1,175	Romania	289
Eire	17,756	Ruanda-Urundi	100
Egypt	100	Samoa	100
Estonia	115	San Marino	100
Ethiopia	100	Saudi Arabia	100
Finland	566	Somaliland	100
France	3,069	Southwest Africa	100
Germany	25,814	Spain	250
Greece	308	Sweden	3,295
Hungary	865	Switzerland	1,698
Iceland	100	Syria	100
India	100	Tanganyika	100
Indonesia	100	Thailand	100
Iran (Persia)	100	Togo	100
Iraq	100	Togoland	100
Israel	100	Trieste	100
Italy	5,645	Turkey	225
Japan	185	U. of S. Africa	100
Jordan	100	U.S.S.R.	2,697
Korea	100	United Kingdom	65,361
Laos	100	Vietnam	100
Latvia	235	Yemen	100
Lebanon	100	Yugoslavia	933
Liberia	100		
Libya	100	Total	154,657

After having quoted the pseudo-scientific rantings of a generation past, it is a relief to be able to report that among a group of internationally respected anthropologists who were consulted in the preparation of a UNESCO pamphlet in 1952, "There was no delay or hesitation or lack of unanimity in reaching the primary conclusion that there were no scientific grounds whatever for the racialist position regarding purity of race and the hierarchy of inferior and superior races to which this leads."

As to what goes into the racial composition of an American, Sinclair Lewis gave the classic definition in describing Martin Arrowsmith, the hero of one of his best novels:

"Martin was, like most inhabitants of Elk Mills before the Slavo-Italian immigration, a Typical Pure-bred Anglo-Saxon American, which means that he was a union of German, French, Scotch, Irish, perhaps a little Spanish, conceivably a little of the strains lumped together as 'Jewish,' and a great deal of English, which is itself a combination of Primitive Briton, Celt, Phoenician, Roman, German, Dane, and Swede."

Embarrassing Questions

Although neither reason nor science can furnish any support for the racialist, discriminatory laws of the 1920's, it is not hard to understand how at that particular time the nation turned toward a mythical past and away from Europe. In the revulsion that followed the First World War, any idea that our country had a responsibility of leadership was often rudely or cynically laughed off. What use was there, people asked, in getting further involved with an ungrateful, messy world? It was much better to keep our country isolated and isolationist. The best way to guarantee our freedom in a world tumbling into slavery and chaos was to exert a very strict control over the new blood and the old culture flowing in from Europe.

We cannot go back to that era of wonderful nonsense. Now we are the center of a broad alliance, and our national survival largely depends on the vigor of that alliance. We are frequently and deeply concerned, and rightly so, with elections in nations which our immigration laws still consider inferior and from which we admit only a trickle of immigrants.

When, in 1948, people of Italian descent in the United States embarked on the famous letters-to-Italy campaign urging the defeat of Communism in the Italian elections, the writers laid great stress on the blessings democracy had bestowed upon them in America. The Italian Communists then staged an effective counter campaign of letters to America: What about letting us, people of your own blood, share with you the abundance of American life? they asked. Will your government let us come?

During the hearings before the President's Commission on Im-

migration and Nationalization in 1952, an American business leader, soldier, and statesman, William H. Draper, summed up the principles that should have guided our lawmakers:

"What I am proposing concretely is that we take another close look at our immigration policy and adjust it to the conditions of the world of today and tomorrow and to our place and role in that world. This does not mean that we should remove all barriers and throw our gates open to all and sundry, without control and limits. But it does mean that our policy as expressed in legislation on the statute books should be responsive to our needs and capabilities. We are capable of admitting, absorbing, and assimilating more newcomers than is permitted under present legislation. We need not tie our hands to national-origin quotas based on legislation enacted over a quarter of a century ago in circumstances which no longer exist and which discriminates undeservedly against some of our own partners in NATO. In endeavoring to strengthen the economic and military defense of the free world, and particularly of the North Atlantic community, we should recognize immigration policy as one of the elements in achieving economic and political stability as well as social equilibrium."

Yet it was not the wisdom typified by General Draper's opinion that prevailed but that of a small, powerful group of politicians, committee chairmen, and "experts," people whose discredited theories are carbon copies of Grant and Stoddard. We find even so reasonable a man as Senator Walter F. George of Georgia, now chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, saying in May, 1952, on the floor of the Senate, that he had helped frame the 1924 immigration law and "I hope the time has not come when one must apologize for being a hateful Anglo-Saxon. I hope the time has not come when one must apologize for being an American."

With due respect for the senior Senator from Georgia, I must say that for its own good our nation must live by the ideals it has professed from the day the Declaration of Independence affirmed that all men—and not just the Anglo-Saxons—are created equal. Certainly of all American ideals none is more genuinely ours or more eloquently proclaimed by our present leaders. Yet it is exactly this American belief in the primacy of the individual as against his membership in any group that our immigration laws now flout. In the 1920's this was a mistake; in the 1950's it may lead to tragedy.

What Must Be Done

The first step on the road to sanity is to acknowledge that there can be no return to unregulated, unrestricted immigration. Those who still claim that this is the aim of the opponents of our present immigration laws lie, and they know it. The time when immigrants could come when they themselves decided to seek a new life in America and when each year the total number of arrivals was left to chance—that time is gone forever. It is gone not only because of our immigration laws but also because in every civilized country there are trade unions and in varying degrees all governments feel responsible for the welfare of their citizens. Every government now exerts control over the outflow as well as the inflow of migrants. Our government, because of its position of leadership, must establish its own standards.

Moreover, the problem of displaced persons—there are still distressingly large numbers of them—as well as that of overpopulated countries, cannot be solved by anyone nation alone, even with the most humanitarian intentions. These problems must be the object of international negotiations, with each nation that is in condition to help or in need of help doing its share. There are already several international agencies at work on these problems. The most important of them is the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, made up of twenty-six nations. Incidentally, the two American representatives at the recent Geneva meeting of this committee were, of all people, Congressman Walter and Mr. McLeod.

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER has stated forcefully on any number of occasions that our immigration policy must be revised. I myself was particularly impressed by his speech at the Alfred E. Smith Memorial Foundation dinner on October 16, 1952, when he said:

". . . we must strike from our own statute books any legislation concerning immigration that implies the blasphemy against democracy that only certain groups of Europeans are welcome on American shores." This was not just campaign oratory. I believe it came straight from the President's heart. Recently when asked at a press conference whether he was satisfied with the way the Refugee Relief Act was administered, the President answered squarely, No.

The President alone has the power to move from that "No" to positive actions. In my opinion, he should appoint a bipartisan commission, with representatives from both houses and experts of his own choosing, to study the problem thoroughly and propose basic changes in our immigration laws. It may be said that there have been too many such committees, but they have been precommitted and partisan; this one should draw particular authority from the quality of its membership and the President's unflagging support.

Insulting Entire Continents

Above all, the commission should make the relevant facts known to the public—the facts about the number of immigrants we can put to work and the contribution our country can make in bringing relief to those in dire need of resettlement. There is desperate need that these facts be made known, for the old myths still poison the air. Among the myths, there is that of our people's antagonism to new immigrants. But do the American people really want to shut the door on the rest of the world? Are they really willing to perpetuate this insult to entire continents, Asia and Africa, whose importance in the modern world grows day by day?

Whatever the final solution may be—and there must be a number of acceptable solutions—public discussion is what we need most. For we cannot afford an immigration policy that is inconsistent with both our own economic needs and our position of leadership in the world. There is no reason for us to be afraid of a free and open discussion about immigrants—the very stuff of which this country is made.

Subscription prices for THE REPORTER: One year $5, Two years $8, Three years $10

GREATER MIAMI CHAPTER - AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
1208 Congress Bldg. Miami, Florida

MEMORANDUM

To: AJCommittee Members

From: Seymour Samet, Southeast Area Director

Subject: February Monthly Literature

THE PEOPLE TAKE THE LEAD

The attached reprint of an article by Roscoe Drummond in the New York Herald Tribune on January 4, 1957, gives a detailed description of the latest issue of THE PEOPLE TAKE THE LEAD. This pamphlet, published annually by the American Jewish Committee since the Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights was issued in 1948, takes a long look at significant civil rights developments during the past year. Price, 15¢ per copy.

FEARS AND PREJUDICE

This is a condensation of Selma Hirsh's book, "The Fears Men Live By." This pamphlet relates in simple language the findings of years of painstaking research on the origins of prejudice and on the nature of the prejudiced person. Price 20¢ per copy.

EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION

The attached resolution was adopted at the January 1957 meeting of the Executive Committee of the Greater Miami Chapter of the American Jewish Committee. We urge that you make every effort to obtain the passage of similar resolutions by other organizations with which you may be affiliated.

If you desire copies of THE PEOPLE TAKE THE LEAD or FEARS AND PREJUDICE please indicate the number you want in the box provided above and return to this office, 1208 Congress Bldg. Miami, Fla.

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, FRIDAY, JANUARY 4, 1957

WASHINGTON

By ROSCOE DRUMMOND

The 298 Steps

If an inter-planetary visitor had dropped in on the United States any time during the year 1956, he could easily have gained the impressions, from glaring headlines and various incidents, that the American people were engaged in a bitter, dead-end controversy over whether a nation, dedicated to the proposition of political equality, can long exist—and may not.

Drummond

Fortunately it would be a false impression. The exact opposite is the truth. The truth is that the American people are engaged in the rewarding process of realizing one of our greatest democratic promises, total political equality under law for all. We are making tremendous headway.

The glaring headlines, telling of a mob threatening Negro children on the way to school, of hooded cross-burners relighting some of their fires of resistance, of some Governors seeking ways to evade the Supreme Court, do not reflect an insoluble problem; they reflect our concentration upon solving the problem.

We are solving it steadily, persistently, visibly, sometimes painfully. In gauging the struggle that still lies ahead it is well to look at some of the reassuring evidence of progress.

The record of progress in civil rights from 1948 to 1957 has been compiled by the American Jewish Committee in New York, which, in so doing, has performed a valuable public service in helping us all to see this problem in perspective. It is an impressive story, factually told. Its central fact is that during the past nine years there have been 298 separate, solid, significant actions—judicial, legislative, administrative and voluntary—taken by Federal, state and municipal government and private groups all advancing and securing equal rights of citizenship in the following ways:

Presidential orders that paved the way for integration in the armed services.

State and local laws barring discrimination on the job, in public housing, and in tax-supported colleges.

Court rulings outlawing racial segregation in public schools and in a wide variety of public accommodations.

Spontaneous actions of private citizens and groups to further political equality.

* * *

Here are some of the steps which show American Democracy in action, demonstrating that it has within itself the seeds of adaptation and change and self-reform:

U. S. Supreme Court sets aside death sentence of Georgia Negro because jury was chosen on racial basis.

Democratic state primaries opened to Negroes in Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana and Texas.

U. S. Supreme Court rules compulsory segregation in public schools is unconstitutional.

Moves toward desegregation are initiated in close to 1,000 school districts and units in Southern and border states. By October, 1956, desegregation is under way in 797 school districts affecting 319,000 Negro and 2,000,000 White children. Some 110 of 208 tax-supported Southern colleges now admit Negro students.

Poll of 15,000 Southern college teachers reveals that 70 per cent favor integration in professional and graduate schools.

Big league baseball teams start using Negro players and Pacific Coast League hires first Negro umpire.

Discriminatory advertisements by employment agencies rejected by telephone directories.

Journal of American Medical Association drops designations by race and creed from "situations wanted" advertisements.

Federal District Court removes last restriction on the right of American Indians to vote.

Miami erases color line in its library.

Southern Presbyterian Church votes to absorb colored Presbyteries in white synods.

National Press Club elects first Negro member.

And so forth and so forth.

* * *

Much remains to be done and on this point the preface to the American Jewish Committee's incandescent report rightly remarks:

"Time and patience will be required to change practices that have long been the only accepted pattern for millions of Americans. But each passing year makes it increasingly clear that the clock will not be turned back—that America will continue its ever forward march toward 'one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.'"

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Copies of THE PEOPLE TAKE THE LEAD are available from The American Jewish Committee, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.

15¢ per single copy; quantity prices on request.

SOUTHEAST AREA OFFICE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

213 N.E. SECOND AVENUE, MIAMI, FLORIDA TEL. FR 3-4749

SEYMOUR SAMET
Area Director

At the January 1957 meeting of the Executive Committee of the Greater Miami Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, the following resolution was adopted:

"It having been called to our attention that Channel 2, the educational television station, is in jeopardy of going off the air for lack of sufficient funds,

RESOLVED that the Greater Miami Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, strongly favors the retention of Channel 2 by the Board of Public Instruction of Dade County as an educational channel, the potential of such educational television being unlimited, first, as a supplement to regular instruction in the public schools and, second, through its use as a means of adult education, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Greater Miami Chapter of the American Jewish Committee has been informed that if Channel 2 is permitted to go off the air, it will become available for commercial television and that thereafter, educational television will be unavailable in the future for Greater Miami, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that the Greater Miami Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, in order to prevent Channel 2

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NATIONAL OFFICE: 386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

from going off the air and thereby preserving it for this and future generations, urges the Board of Public Instruction to allocate part of its budgeted funds now and hereafter available for the operation of such educational station and that such steps as may be deemed necessary be taken by the Board of Public Instruction to have sufficient funds allocated in future budgets for the support of said station, whether such monies come from present tax sources or must be raised through the imposition of new taxes, it being our understanding that between $75,000.00 and $100,000.00 annually would be sufficient to operate the said Channel 2, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that a copy of this resolution be forwarded to the members of the Dade County Legislative Delegation, to the members of the Dade County Board of Public Instruction, and to the President of the Community Television Foundation of South Florida, Inc, and

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED that copies of this resolution be sent to the leaders of civic organizations in Dade County urging support of these views."

American Jewish Ctte: Miami

April 16, 1957

Mr. Seymour Samet
Southeast Area Office
American Jewish Committee
Metropolitan Building
Miami, Florida

Dear Seymour:

Many thanks for the clipping from the April 7th Sunday Herald, "Racial Bars Cost Miami Millions in Caribbean Trade." Would it be possible for you to send us an original or make five or six copies for us? We could get a good deal of mileage out of this clipping.

I was terribly disturbed upon hearing what had happened to Ed. Is there anything I can do to help? It sounds like a frame-up to me.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **PAUL ANTHONY**

7BR:

Write Seman + ask if we can have 6 or 8 more of these clips – preferably the original – from which we can make our own

Good stuff with much mileage for the good eggs

From the desk of . . . .

SEYMOUR SAMET
Area Director

To: Fred Routh

I am sure you will be interested in the attached.

SOUTHEAST AREA OFFICE
American Jewish Committee
Metropolitan Bldg.
Miami, Fla.
Tel.: 82-4984

Racial Bars Cost Miami Millions in Caribbean Trade

By PAT MURPHY
Herald Staff Writer

KINGSTON, Jamaica — Racial discrimination and practically nonexistent industrial promotion are costing Miami millions of dollars a year in direct business from the Caribbean.

Both points were tossed at the Miami Trade Mission as it swung into this picturesque British island on the last leg of a 14-day goodwill trip to eight Caribbean neighbors.

Trade Minister Wills Isaacs said wealthy Jamaican Negro businessmen are steering away from Miami to do their buying because of color barriers at hotels and restaurants.

Without such barriers, he said Miami's business with Jamaica would increase "400 to 500 per cent and that amounts to millions."

Later, the eight-man trade mission met with officers of the Jamaica Chamber of Commerce who were critical of Miami's neglect in publicising its industrial growth.

The chamber men said that most average Jamaica businessmen still don't know that Miami has something besides tourist facilities.

Miami Mayor Randall N. Christmas, who has been plugging hard and convincingly for greater trade with Miami, said the way is being cleared to solve both problems.

"Miami is becoming more cosmopolitan and our area is the least discriminatory in all the South. I think you will find Miami leading the way in lowering barriers which are detrimental to inter-American trade and goodwill."

Mayor Christmas said he believes both the city and businessmen "will wake up some day and make a more dynamic and fuller presentation of our industrial picture."

The mayor commented to the Jamaican chamber officials that unless Miami sets its sight on selling in the Caribbean the city's young industrial economy will lose out to other cities who are beginning to court Latin businessmen.

The chamber men said Jamaicans are buying goods mostly in New York and Chicago.

Several suggested that Miami should also seek lower freight rates to Jamaica to make trade more attractive.

Mayor Christmas told the group that Miami soon will have a new port and then can force rate-setting agencies to lower rates.

In its tour to eight countries, the eight-man mission has found interest among Caribbean businessmen to do business with Miami.

But at each stop, Miami's lack of a large seaport, high freight rates, and narrow promotional campaigns were cited as reasons now blocking trade.

Harold A. Hayward, vice president of the First National Bank, has told businessmen that Miami industry has not launched a dynamic enough sales program to enter the Caribbean market.

However, Timothy J. Sullivan, of Florida Power and Light, said first signs of what he called "a persistent door-to-door" sales campaign in the Caribbean is being made by Miami businesses.

GREATER MIAMI CHAPTER - AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

May we recommend for your listening pleasure the following A.Committee radio programs to be carried on Station WQAM # 560 on your dial.

THE PEOPLE TAKE THE LEAD

March 31, 11-11:30 A.M. They Can't Wait (Public Education)

April 7, 11-11:30 A.M. Termites In The House (Discrimination in housing)

April 14, 11-11:30 A.M. You Hold The Key (Human Rights)

Seymour Samet
Southeast Area Director

GREATER MIAMI CHAPTER - AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Notice of Special TV Program

Your attention is directed to a TV program on WCKT, Channel 7, on Sunday, June 23rd, 4 - 4:30 p.m. called "Frontiers of Faith - The Koinonia Project."

Koinonia Farm is an interracial cooperative near Americus, Ga. It has enjoyed uninterrupted existence for over fourteen years. Recently Koinonia has been the object of violent attack.

"Frontiers of Faith" is produced jointly by the National Council of Churches and the National Broadcasting Co.

MR HAROLD FLEMING
S REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVE NE
ATLANTA GEORGIA

MR HAROLD FLEMING
S REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVE NE
ATLANTA GEORGIA

RECEIVED JUN 24 1957

From the desk of . . . .

SEYMOUR SAMET
Area Director

RECEIVED JUL 2 1957

RECEIVED JUL 2 1957

To: Fleming

I am sure you will be interested in the attached.

SOUTHEAST AREA OFFICE
American Jewish Committee
Metropolitan Bldg.
Miami, Fla.
Tel.: 82-4984

RECEIVED JUL 2 1957

Man That Segregationists Hate

ATLANTA—(AP)—HAROLD C. FLEMING SLID an inch lower in the chair. Somehow he managed the appearance of a slightly wistful schoolteacher — which was misleading.

"I am a real conformist at heart," he said. "It's just that there are some things in the South with which I can't conform."

As director of the Interracial Southern Regional Council (SRC) he is a shrewd, sharp and tough advocate of the moderate approach to the South's ancient racial problem. He has become one of the men most deeply hated, and perhaps feared, by the South's more rabid pro-segregation groups.

He is a native southerner with an ancestry reaching back into rural Georgia, where he himself once lived. But he goes around saying such things as:

"It is no longer a matter of whether the South must solve its racial problem, but when, how and at what cost, or damage to the economy and the human beings involved."

Among the pro-segregation groups this sentiment amounts to subversion of "the Southern way of life." Some equate such an opinion with communism.

FOR A TIME he and his family nearly suffered a form of social ostracism in the neighborhood. There were rumors floating about that possibly he really was a Communist.

Finally, an exasperated neighbor who had known Fleming from early high school days angrily told a community citizens meeting that they were all nuts, that Fleming was about as Communistic as a hot

FLEMING LIVES in suburban Atlanta with his wife and two small boys in a three-bedroom, den and two-bath home which looks like about 50 others.

When he finds time, which is rare, he plays with his two boys, Gary Phillips Fleming, 6, and Anthony Hughes, 13 months.

For Fleming works 12 to 16 hours a day, keeping in touch with council affiliates in 15 Southern states and answering his enormous volume of mail. He coordinates an interracial staff of 12. He even keeps a dictating machine at home.

"He's working," said Jane, "when he isn't sleeping." She also suffers in silent exasperation the fact that 15 minutes after a meal, Fleming probably couldn't for the life of him tell you what he has eaten.

Fleming was born in the Georgia Baptist hospital at Atlanta, July 27, 1922, the son of Lorraine Hulme Fleming and the late Howard Hughes Fleming, vice president of one of Atlanta's largest building material firms.

A large part of his early life was spent in Elberton, Ga., where the Hulmes are known as real Old South folk. The Fleming side of the family came from Oglethorpe County, Ga.

SO HOW DID he wind up where he is?

"I don't know. I guess it goes back to college. I started to college, Harvard, on a scholarship back in 1940."

While he was at Harvard the war broke out and Fleming joined the Field Artillery ROTC. He remained at school until 1943, when he was sent to Ft. Bragg, N. C., and ultimately to Officer Candidate School.

He wound up on Okinawa after the fighting as a captain in charge of a Negro quartermaster company.

"I would say that going out of the South made me aware of the racial problem and I would say that my Army experience made me think about it deeply for the first time. I lived, ate and slept with it every day. You were not only an officer, but above everything else you were the boss White man.

"You couldn't duck the responsibilities. Trying to get a decent shake for your men from the brass above was rough. These men felt keenly the segregation and the fact that they got the short end of the stick.

"On the ship going over our men had the lousiest quarters. They were last in the chow line and this meant they got there after all the good things had run out."

He got back to Atlanta in 1947 and heard of a special writing job with the SRC through Ralph McGill, editor of The Atlanta Constitution and one of the founders of the SRC in 1944.

"I took the writing job for the summer. I had planned to go to New York in September, possibly to work for a publishing company, but then I got interested."

For the author of the once famous "First Epistle to the Selectees," which appeared in the Feb. 18, 1944, edition of the Army newspaper Yank, the situation is slightly ironical.

In that epistle, Fleming wrote: "The wise men [illegible] out the easy details, but only a fool [illegible]

emerging as spokesman for moderate point of view in our racial crisis.

Harold C. Fleming, of Atlanta, Ga., talks into dictation machine while he scans news story attacking Southern

AJC - Samet

September 25, 1957

Mr. Seymour Samet
American Jewish Committee
1208 Congress Building
Miami 32, Florida

Dear Seymour:

Sorry I didn't get to see you when I was in Miami, but things got completely out of hand and I was very rushed.

Enclosed is the information on Fred Leopold which I had intended to give you in Washington. I hope the meeting Tuesday evening went well. Drop me a note and let me know the outcome.

Unfortunately I did not get to see Joe Hall while I was home. I dropped by there but no-one was home.

Best regards. On to Little Rock!

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Enc.

FBR:fcl

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **FRED ROUTH**

11 Sept 57

TO: HCF

Re: Seymour Sanet inquiring to us.

Frederick O. Leopold.

about 25
married - no children
AB - Univ of Miami - Dept of Human Relations
MA - Syracuse Univ's Maxwell Graduate School of Social Science.

Now working at Veterans' Administration Hospital, Hollywood, Fla as vocational counsellor.

Congregationalist -
Copy of recommendations attached.

1535 Adams Street
Hollywood, Fla.

Seymour Samet.
American Jewish Ctee
1208 Congress Bldg
Miami 32, Florida

AJC

November 12, 1957

Mr. Stanley Leibner
Executive Assistant
The American Jewish Committee
1208 Congress Building
Miami, Florida

Dear Stanley:

I have forwarded your letter of November 7th concerning the bi-racial committee recently formed in Durham to the Director of our state organization in North Carolina, Harry Jones.

You will, I trust, hear from him shortly.

Warm regards to Seymour and you.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

November 11, 1957

Rev. Harry S. Jones
Executive Director
121 East Third Street, Room 209
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Harry:

I am sending you a letter that has just come into our office from the American Jewish Committee's regional office in Miami. Please answer Mr. Leibner's enquiry.

The long awaited news letter will be out 'ere long.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

Enclosure.

FBR:fcl

SOUTHEAST AREA OFFICE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

~~XXXNEXSECONDXAVENUE~~, MIAMI, FLORIDA
1208 Congress Bldg.

TEL. FR 3-4749

SEYMOUR SAMET
Area Director

November 7, 1957

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburan Ave N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Routh:

It has just come to my attention that a bi-racial committee has been formed in Durham, N.C. I would be very thankful if you could send to me any background materials as to how this council came into being and information on its present program.

Anything else that you might care to add in this matter will be highly appreciated.

Thanking you for your kind consideration.

Sincerely,

Stanley Leibner

Stanley Leibner
Executive Assistant

SL:sm

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5th ANNUAL MEETING

GREATER MIAMI CHAPTER

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Sunday, Nov. 24, 1957—Seville Hotel

RECEIVED OCT 31 1957

You are cordially invited to attend our workshops and dinner . . .

4:30 WORKSHOPS

Mrs. David Catsman, Chairman

CENSORSHIP — Safeguard or Threat?

Chairman—Martin Fine
Recorder—Jay Schwartz
Panelists—
Jack Kassewitz, City Editor of Miami Daily News;
Dr. Frank Sessa, Director, Miami Public Library;
Lee Ruwitch, Vice President, General Manager, WTVJ.

WHAT IS THE CITIZEN'S RESPONSIBILITY IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL CRISIS?

Chairman—Ernest London
Recorder—Mrs. Chas. Finkelstein
Panelists—
Mrs. Chas. Mitchell, Past President, Dade County PTA;
Dr. Samuel Ersoff, Professor of Education, University of Miami;
Shepard D. Phillips, Jr., Member at Large, Dade County School Board.

WHO SHALL SPEAK FOR THE JEWISH COMMUNITY?

Chairman—Mrs. Leo Ackerman
Recorder—Jerry Lindzon
Panelists—
Stanley Myers, Honorary President, Greater Miami Jewish Federation;
Col. Nathan B. Rood, Chairman, Committee on Community Relations;
Mrs. Seymour Liebman, Director of Elementary Education.

WHAT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE AMERICAN JEW TO JEWS ABROAD?

Chairman—Dr. Peretz Scheinberg
Recorder—Mrs. M. A. Baskin
Panelists—
Bill Baggs, Editor of Miami Daily News;
Dr. Ben Rosenberg, Executive Director, Greater Miami Jewish Federation;
Leo Mindlin, Editor of Jewish Floridian.

6:00 DUTCH TREAT COCKTAIL HOUR

7:00 DINNER

Election of Officers

Annual Report

Workshop Report

Dramatic Reading—"We Hold These Rights"

GUEST SPEAKER—MORRIS B. ABRAM

Morris B. Abram, Chairman of the Atlanta Chapter of the American Jewish Committee and member of the National Executive Committee of AJC, has enjoyed a distinguished career both in private and public life. He is an honor graduate of the University of Georgia and he also holds degrees from the University of Chicago and Oxford University, England. He served as a member of the American prosecution staff at the International Military Tribunal at Nuernberg following the close of World War II. He has also served as Regional Counsel and Public Board Member of the Wage Stabilization Board for six southeastern states. He is the co-author with Alexander F. Miller of the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith of "HOW TO STOP VIOLENCE AND INTIMIDATION IN YOUR COMMUNITY," which has served as a model for anti-Klan legislation presently in force in five southern states and 54 cities.

SUNDAY, NOVEMBER 24, 1957

SEVILLE HOTEL

GUESTS INVITED

Workshops and dinner — $7.50 per person
(gratuity included)

Please reply on enclosed card

American Jewish Committee

MRS. BERNARD STEVENS, *Chairman*
Annual Dinner Meeting

Enclosed is my check for _____ reservations, at Seven Dollars and Fifty Cents per person, for the American Jewish Committee's Annual Dinner Meeting on November 24, 1957, at the Seville Hotel.

I also plan to attend the following workshop: (please check one only)

- ☐ CENSORSHIP—Safeguard or Threat?
- ☐ WHAT IS THE CITIZEN'S RESPONSIBILITY IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL CRISIS?
- ☐ WHO SHALL SPEAK FOR THE JEWISH COMMUNITY?
- ☐ WHAT IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE AMERICAN JEW TO JEWS ABROAD?

Signed_____

Reservations should be made before November 15th.

Make check payable to American Jewish Committee.

(over)

I am bringing as my guests the following persons:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

If possible, please seat me with:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

(over)

14 December '57

Mr. Stanley Leibner
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
1208 Congress Building
Miami 32, Florida

Dear Stanley:

The proposed clergymen's conference sounds more and more exciting. Obviously, the more widely representative the group, the greater the impact their meeting and pronouncements will have.

As you note in your letter, Seymour asked me if I could talk with some Catholic representative to CCD about getting cooperation from the Catholic Church in Florida in the proposed conference. I talked with several Catholic laymen at the NAIRO Annual Meeting about this and there was almost unaminous feeling that the Bishop of St. Augustine was anything but anxious to participate in inter-faith conferences. This I remembered from my days in Florida.

Several things may be possible, however. The NCCJ, if it is cooperating in this program, might reach him from the national staff level. Louis A. Radelet, Director of their Commission on Community Organizations, is a prominent Catholic layman and might be able to reach the Bishop. Second, it might be possible for Bishop Louttit and the AME Bishop to jointly request his participation or permission for priests to participate. Third, Priests of Holy Orders are more free to participate in such meetings than are parish priests. This brings to mind two things: Barry College; and Jesu which is served by Jesuits. Oh, one other thing, at the Department of Human Relations we used to have a nun, whose name (as I recall) was Mother Mary Joseph, attend meetings. Don Sprague would remember her; she was from St.Therese (probably wrong saint) in the Gables...the scholl connected with the Church of the Little Flower.

I have written Paul Williams, Knight of St. Gregory, about this,too and asked that if he had any good thoughts to write Seymour.

Best regards to Seymour and Bill and to you all seasons greetings.

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

THE

GREATER MIAMI CHAPTER
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
1208 CONGRESS BUILDING
MIAMI 32, FLORIDA
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December 13, 1957

Southeast Area Director
SEYMOUR SAMET

Mr. F. B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Routh:

The concept of a Churchmans conference concerned with the "role of religious organizations in the current crisis" draws substantially nearer. Quite a number of prominent clergyman have signed a joint letter requesting the Governor to come and address them on the conference theme.

At this time, however, we have not made contact with any Catholic clergymen. As Seymour indicated to you in a letter dated October 14, 1957, we are concerned that the Catholic clergy will not participate in such a proposed conference.

Have you ever contacted the representative from the Catholic participant from the C. C. D. meeting? This man (name unknown to us) had indicated he knew nothing of what our activities were on this issue in Miami. We hope you spoke to him and found out the contact people whom he would recommend or the actual involvement by him or others in motivating or mobilizing the Catholic Community on this issue.

Cordially,

Stanley Leibner

Stanley Leibner
Executive Assistant

Sl/rl

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NATIONAL OFFICE: 386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

231-4-57
261

May 20, 1958

Mr. Seymour Samet
Area Director
Southeast Area Office
American Jewish Committee
1208 Congress Building
Miami, Florida

Dear Seymour:

I had hoped to get these off to you before this, but the rush of events interrupted my intentions. Sorry. You may keep "A Community Survey Gets Results," but please return "By the People" for it is SRC's file copy.

We can't find "One Bad Apple."

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR;mf
Enclosures: 2 (New South - May/1948; New South - June/1947)

GREATER MIAMI CHAPTER

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

1208 CONGRESS BUILDING
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Southeast Area Director
SEYMOUR SAMET

Executive Assistants
MRS. JANDON SCHWARZ
STANLEY LEIBNER

May 23, 1958

Mr. FredRouth
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburan Ave. N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Fred:

Thanks for coming to my help the other day when I called you from Jacksonville regarding their community audit of 1949. It was helpful in my discussions with some of the people that afternoond and may become the basis for a serious consideration by some of them for a community audit tied into the community audit suggestion by the United Churchwomen and others for such audits to be held in commemoration of the 10th Anniversary of the UN Declaration of Human Rights in December of this year.

For your information I am attaching a copy of a three part program which I recommended to the Public Relations Committee of the Jewish Community Council of Jacksonville. I would be most interested in your reactions to it. Perhaps we can spend a short time together in Atlanta when I come up for the Interagency meeting next week.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Seymour Samet

Seymour Samet
Southeast Area Director

SS:sm
enc: 1

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR COMMUNITY RELATIONS PROGRAM

JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

MAY 1958

1. The establishment of an informal non-auspices group for purposes of communication, problems solving and program evaluation. Such a group (you can call it "The Thing" or "The Downtown Discussion Club") would be composed of selected individual community leaders who are representative of important areas of community life but not delegates from any organizations. It might include persons active in such organizations as Y. W. C. A., Ministerial Alliance, Social Welfare Council, A. D. L., A. J. Committee, Mental Health Association, University, PTA Council, A. A. U. N., Urban League, United Church Women, Northeast Florida Council on Human Relations, etc. Meetings would be irregularly called by any of the members desiring to discuss matters of importance:-- e.g. the pressures being currently brought against the Y. W. C. A. to disaffiliate from its national organization, the current status of the Urban League in the Community Chest, attacks against the PTA platform regarding their support of the U. N.; suggestions for recommendations in the about-to-be created state advisory boards on civil rights, etc. There would be no voting, officers, or minutes. By such sharing of problems each group would better understand the inter-relatedness of issues discussed and the possibilities of united action. It could give strength to each group which currently presumes no support for it's problems and so fights the common enemy alone or not at all.

2. The establishment of an official county or municipal community relations board. If modeled along the proposals made in Dade County it would be a county ordinance establishing a 15 man commission with a professional staff. Its purposes would be to deal with broad issues of intergroup relations as they are affected by population increases, industrialization, housing dislocations resulting from urban redevelopment, health and welfare needs of minority groups, etc. It could conduct research and establish broad educational programs on community relations issues; investigate reports of intergroup tension; counteract rumors affecting interreligious affairs; and advise various government officials and departments regarding these matters. The proposed Miami Ordinance is attached. Properly handled, it should be adapted to Duval County needs, "sold to a few key

leaders who would then privately get support for it from a majority of the commissioners. Then, and only then, should it be presented for official consideration. If there is a chance that the proposal would be defeated it is probably wise not to present it at all.

3. In December of 1958 we will celebrate the 10th anniversary of the U N Declaration of Human Rights. Under the leadership of such groups as the United Church Women and the American Jewish Committee a brochure describing a unique method of observing this anniversary has just been published. The suggestion is that as many communities as possible make an audit of the status of human rights on the local level. The techniques for doing this are fully described in the pamphlet which I am sending under separate cover. Interestingly, apparently unremembered by Jacksonville leaders, a similar survey was made in Jacksonville in 1949 by local citizens assisted by the Southern Regional Council. It is suggested you speak to Davison Dunlap, Mr. Johnson of the Dinsmore Dairy, and Crawford Solomon about this survey in which they were involved. I am getting a copy of this survey for your information. My suggestion is that a new audit be made to show the progress that has been made in the past decade and to indicate current needs. Such a survey should employ the widest possible co-sponsorship which would probably be available if sparked by the United Church Women.

These are obviously long range programs. However, their potential depends upon relatively quick action to capitalize on current interest. The bombings can and should be used as an instrument for getting a continuing concern for improving intergroup understanding. This is possible only for a period of another 2 - 4 weeks. After that Jacksonville will once again be "back to normal". Since normal isn't good enough the above may be a means of helping to make Jacksonville a better place in which to live. I recognize that I have merely outlined some ideas. If they are valid I would be pleased to be of assistance in their implementation.

Rcd 7/10/58

July 8, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Fred:

I am attaching a copy of a memorandum to my national office referring to our plans for a community audit to be held in Miami. We will obviously need considerable assistance in order to develop this project. Could you give me some indication of what resources might be available to us. Several questions come to mind:

1. Is it possible that the Southern Inter-Agency Group can lend professional assistance in developing the research guides, etc?

2. Are professional consultants available to us for specific responsibilities before, during, and after the survey?

3. Is money available from any source that you are aware of which can be used to subsidize the cost of this project?

I am leaving July 9th for Bethel, Maine, where I will attend the group dynamics laboratory program at Gould Academy for the next three weeks. Please don't wait for my return, however, but send your information on to Jessica Schwarz here in my office and she will share it with the appropriate individuals.

Many thanks for your help. My best regards.

Cordially,

Seymour Samet
Southeast Area Director

SS:sm
cc: Bill Williams
Harold Fleming ✓
Mrs. Stewart Austin

Eleanor Ashman

July 7, 1958

Seymour Samet

As a result of plans initiated by me and members of the Chapter Committee on International Affairs, plans have been projected for a community audit of human rights in Dade County. The audit will be along the lines suggested in the guide "In Your Hands."

To date we were able to get Mrs. Stuart Austin, President of the United Church Women of Greater Miami to convene local members of the national sponsors of this program. They agreed to conduct an audit in seven areas: Employment; Education; Public Health; Recreation; Public Accomodations; Government (voting rights, jury service, etc.); and Housing.

All the investigations will be conducted by inter-organizational committees. Each organization will agree to coordinate the research in one area. AJCommittee has already agreed to do this for Education and a planning meeting is already set up.

Resources to be solicited include several departments at the University of Miami, the research staff of the Welfare Planning Council and the professionals of participating groups.

The groups which are currently represented include:

AJCommittee
AJCongress
Anti-Defamation League
Council of Churches
Congregational Church
Dade County Council on Community Relations
Roman Lutheran Club
Miami Hebrew Society
Miami Latin Center
Nat'l Council of Negro Women
St. Philips Episcopal Church
Trinity Methodist Church
United Church of Church
United Nations Association
United Nations Church Women
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Women's Society of Christian Service
YWCA - Murrell Branch
YWCA

There are still numerous important details to clear up before we get started. Not the least is official agreement on co-sponsorship. My leaving for Bethel provides a big gap in my ability to follow thru but there are some good people involved who should prove of tremendous value.

Incidentally, is any money available - as far as you know - to subsidize this kind of an audit? It would be of tremendous hlep if we could get an idea of where some such help might be obtained.

NS:mm
cc: Ed Lukas
Harold Murray

July 16, 1958

Mr. Stanley Leibner
Executive Assistant
The American Jewish Committee
1208 Congress Building
Miami 32, Florida

Dear Stanley:

Thanks for your letter of July 11 regarding the position of Executive Director of the Virginia Council on Human Relations. That slot has been filled. Indeed, in the last few weeks all openings in state councils have been filled.

If you intend to apply for any other positions, you might let me know for I know a good many people in this field and will be glad to say a good word for you.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

GREATER MIAMI CHAPTER

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

1208 CONGRESS BUILDING
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Southeast Area Director
SEYMOUR SAMET

Executive Assistants
MRS. JANDON SCHWARZ
STANLEY LEIBNER

July 11, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Fred:

I have just applied for a position as Executive Director of the Virginia Council on Human Relations and used your name as a reference.

If, perchance, you know the Mr. David H. Scull I have written to, I would appreciate anything you might do to aid my application.

With warmest regards and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Stan

Stanley Leibner
Executive Assistant

SL:rl

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Seymour Samet

REGARDING:

Proposed "Florida Project - AFL-CIO"
(A Proposal)

DATE

January 29,1959

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Cooperating Agencies - "Florida Project"

From the desk of . . . .

SEYMOUR SAMET
Area Director

RECEIVED APR 9 1959

To: Harold Fleming
Fred Routh

I am sure you will be interested in the attached. Would you like copies for the So. Interagency Group.

Seymour

SOUTHEAST AREA OFFICE
American Jewish Committee
Metropolitan Bldg.
Miami, Fla.
Tel.: 82-4984

RECEIVED APR 0 1959

February 14, 1959

We, the following ministers and rabbis of Greater Miami, join with 311 of our brother clergymen of all faiths in Atlanta in endorsing the following principles as essential to a solution of the racial problems of the nation:

1.

Freedom of speech must at all costs be preserved.

2.

As Americans and as religious leaders, we have an obligation to obey the law.

3.

The public school system must not be destroyed.

4.

Hatred and scorn for those of another race, or for those who hold a position different from our own, can never be justified.

5.

Communication between responsible leaders of the races must be maintained.

6.

Our difficulties cannot be solved in our own strength or in human wisdom but only through prayer and in obedience to the will of God.

(Those signing do so as individuals. Church or Synagogue is listed for identification purposes only.)

ABRAMOWITZ, MAYER	North Shore Center
ADAMS, JOHN T.	Tarboux Methodist
ALBRECHT, E.W.	South Miami Lutheran
ALBURY, HOWARD B.	Methodist - Leisure City
ALFONSO, MARIO J.	Methodist - Cutler Ridge
ALLS, IVAN P.	Bethany Church of God
AUSTIN, H. STEWART	Bryan Memorial Methodist
BAIN, Jr., HOMER	Central Boulevard Methodist
BAIN, Sr., HOMER	Holleman Park Methodist
BARNES, N.	Advent Lutheran
BARTGES, D. CLYDE	Le Jeune Presbyterian
BAUMGARD, HERBERT M.	Temple Beth Am
BIRO, LADISLAU	Coral Gables Baptist
BOYD, P.M.	District Superintendent, Methodist Churches
BRANTLEY, I.D.	Greater Israel Beth. P.B. Church
BRILEY, JOHN A.	Tamiami Temple Methodist
BUELL, HAROLD E.	White Temple Methodist
BUELL, JOHN J.	Flagami Baptist
CALLIGAN, JAMES	Presbyterian - retired
CANFIELD, GLENN O.	First United Unitarian
CHEEKS, C.W.	Kendall Church of God
CLARK, JOE	Trinity Methodist
COFFEE, JONATHAN B.	All Angels Episcopal
COLE, FRED B.	Coral Gables Congregational
COLEMAN, T. RUPERT	University Baptist
COMPTON, WM. H.	Methodist - Redlands
CONDELL, ARNE	Bethany Lutheran
CRAIG, GORDON N.	Coral Way Methodist
CULBRETH, R.B.	Miami Springs Baptist
CULMER, JOHN E.	St. Agnes Episcopal
CARTER, J. PERRY	Flagler Street Baptist
DAVENPORT, JOHN P.	Opa Locka Methodist
DAVIS, CURRY W.	Hialeah First Presbyterian
DAVIS, DAVID J.	Plymouth Congregational
DAVIS, JACK A.	Rador Memorial Methodist
DAVIS, RAY W.	Riviera Presbyterian
DuBOSE, Jr., WILES	Chaplain U.S.A.F. (Inter. Airport)
FAIN, WM. MAURICE	Miami Beach First Baptist
FELTON, H.M.	Hialeah First Methodist
FINKLEA, W. RAY	White Temple Methodist
FISACKERLEY, W.A.	Methodist - West Hollywood
FOSTER, JUNIUS	First Baptist
FOSTER, O.W.	Ebenezer Baptist
FRYER, THOMAS W.	Stanton Memorial Baptist
GRAY, RICHARD E.	Palm Springs Presbyterian
GURNEY, GOERGE L.	Epiphany Episcopal
GYSAN, A.E.	Christ Lutheran
HALEY, GERALD D.	Coral Gables Methodist
HARKNESS, W.E.	Methodist - retired
HASELEY, LOUIS C.	St. Luke's Lutheran
HENDRICKS, JOHN I.	Coral Terrace Presbyterian
HILLER, GEO. J.	Trinity Episcopal
HIVELY, EARL L.	St. James Lutheran
HOCH, JOHN R.	Allapattah Methodist
HOLMAN, GORDON	Bethany Covenant Church
HOY, IVAN	Supt. of Religion - Univ. of Miami
HUNTER, S.L.	St. Johns Presbyterian
HUNTZEIGER, HOWARD	Coral Gables Congregational
HURWITZ, B. LEON	Congregation Petach Tikvah
HUSTON, RALPH B.	South Miami Methodist

JAMES, CHARLES P.	Ressurection Episcopal
JONES, JOE	Homestead Methodist
JOYNER, W.L.	Wesley Methodist
KEY, LUTHER A.	Homestead Baptist
KEENY, FRANK A.	Central Baptist
KRONISH, LEON	Temple Beth Sholem
LEACH, MILTON S.	Miami Baptist Ass'n.
LEHRMAN, IRVING	Temple Emanuel
LEONARDSON, C. OSCAR	Bethel Lutheran
LINDSAY, Jr., HOMER G.	Northwest Baptist
LINSTROM, HOWARD	Messiah Lutheran
LUDDER, CARSTEN W.	St. Peter Lutheran
MACKAY, DONALD A.	Riverside Methodist
MALAVSKY, MORTON	Israelite Center
MEEKER, CHARLES H.	Church-By-The-Sea Congregational
MERCHANT, LATHAN T.	N. Miami Baptist
MERRELL, ROBERT E.	Alta Vista Presbyterian
MIESEL, ROLLAND L.	Good Shepherd Lutheran
MORALES, FELIX	Spanish American Methodist
MORGAN, FRANK C.	W. Little River Baptist
MURPHY, H.E.	Sellers Methodist
NAROT, JOSEPH R.	Temple Israel
NELSON, FRED	Miami Shores Community
NELSON, ORVILLE	N. Miami Beach Methodist
O'NEAL, ERNEST E.	Olympia Heights Methodist
PAPKE, EARL R.	Biscayne Blvd. Lutheran
PERRY, SAM C.	House of Prayer
PINDER, ROBERT	Coral Villa Baptist
PURVIANCE, A.E.	Methodist
RABBE, LESLIE E.	St. Paul Methodist
RANTZ, ARTHUR	St. Thomas Episcopal
RATLIFF, DALE	Protestant Service Bureau
RATRUCK, DORSEY E.	Church of the Brethren
RIVERS, RALPH W.	Christ Methodist
ROSE, CECIL H.	Bethany Presbyterian
ROSENBERG, YAAKOV G.	Beth David
ROWAN, JAMES C.	Kendall Methodist
SCHMIDT, ALBERT R.	Grace Lutheran
SCOTT, L. WILEY	Miami Beach Community
SILEO, MEL	Miami Shores Community
SIMCOE, RIKER A.	First Free Methodist
SKOP, MORRIS A.	Temple Judea
SOSA, ERNESTO	First Spanish Presbyterian
STADTLANDER, C.H.	Hope Lutheran
STEINBACK, ARTHUR H.	Little River Baptist
STERN, TIBOR	Beth Jacob
SWANSON, John A.	Resurrection Lutheran
SWINSON, J. ARTHUR	Holy Angel's Episcopal
SWYGERT,WM. C.	York Memorial Methodist
TALHSTROM, H.	St. John Lutheran
TAYLOR, J. MITCHELL	All Soul's Episcopal
THAKSSITES, GEO. L.	Hellenic Eastern Orthodox, Church of the Assumption
TITUS, FRANK L.	Holy Cross Episcopal
TOLLE, JOE A.	Trinity Methodist
TURKIEWICZ, A.M.	Hialeah Episcopal
UPSHAW, W. KENNEDY	Church-of-the-Masterm Presbyterian
VAN ZANT, ROLAND D.	Norland Methodist
WALLACH, BENNO	Temple Sinai
WAXMAN, ALFRED	Temple Zion
WEANT, W. BAXTER	St. Mark's Lutheran
WELLS, G. LEON	Southwest Methodist
WENNER, ROBERT	Hollywood First Methodist
WHIPPLE, RICHARD E.	Lakeview Baptist
WHYTE, LLOYD N.	Shenandoah Baptist
WICKS, CHARLES H.	Coral Gables Congregational
WILLIAMS, WM. K.	Dade County Council Community Relations
WOLF, CARL G.	Retired
YOUNG, WM. A	Palm Springs Christian

GREATER MIAMI CHAPTER

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

SATELLITE

VOLUME 2 DECEMBER, 1959 NUMBER 9

Published monthly for ten months as a newsletter by the Greater Miami Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, 1208 Congress Building, Miami, Florida.

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SATELLITE Editor
ALLEN I. FREEHLING

Year Ends on High Note

Annual Meeting Huge Success

President Rood Reports

'59 IN RETROSPECT—LOOK AT '60

As the year comes to a close, Col. Nathan B. Rood, president of our AJC Chapter, has written a fine summary and projection. We believe that he should be commended for its preparation—this report surely exemplifies the strong leadership that Col. Rood has exerted since his assuming the presidency a year ago.

During the last 12 months, many matters arose, engaging the attention of the American Jewish Committee—matters of international, national and local import.

1. Jews Behind the Iron Curtain:

The meeting of the A.J.C. leaders with Soviet Deputy Premier, Anastas Mikoyan, on his visit to this country resulted in a formal statement by the Soviet authorities that they did not intend to revive the Jewish settlement in Biro-Bidzhan.

Jacob Blaustein, an Honorary President of the Committee, was sent on a government mission to Poland to study the economic and community needs of that country.

2. Jews of West Germany:

The Committee called attention to the growing Anti-Semitism in West Germany. In April this resulted in

(Continued on page 2)

An Outstanding Event in Chapter's History

GREAT PLANS FOR '60

Under the able leadership of Alvin Cassel, with the cooperation of scores of members who worked untiring at their assignment, with the imaginative direction of the Workshop by Jack I. Green, culminated by a dramatic and spirited speech by Morris Abram of Atlanta, this year's Annual Workshop and Meeting has won the praise of all the membership. Such laurels are well deserved by all those who masterminded the event.

Who but Jack Green would come up with (1) tape recorded conversations with youngsters all over Greater Miami, who unhesitatingly presented youth's ideas on its own problems, and (2) a filmed summary of the Workshop only 90 minutes after it was concluded (with sound, yet!)?

Well attended, the adult members of AJC were especially impressed with the Workshop's youthful but highly preceptive resource people, who all hold positions of responsibility in the University of Miami's student body. Those who fired the imagination of the participants were Jay B. Hess, Henry Edgar, Steve Slepin, David Yellen and Stuart Fabric.

We all owe Jack, his own staff, and all the Workshop workers a debt of gratitude. They truly sparked a clear "Spotlight on Youth."

Moving on to the Annual Meeting, every one who had a hand in the arrangements and the hundreds of details that are taken care of behind the scenes blended their interest and abilities to create an outstanding eveing. Of course, the highlight was the return of Morris Abram, who two years ago set the membership back on its heels and who once again challenged us and moved us with amazing ease. Here certainly is one of the most intelligent statesman in the South today.

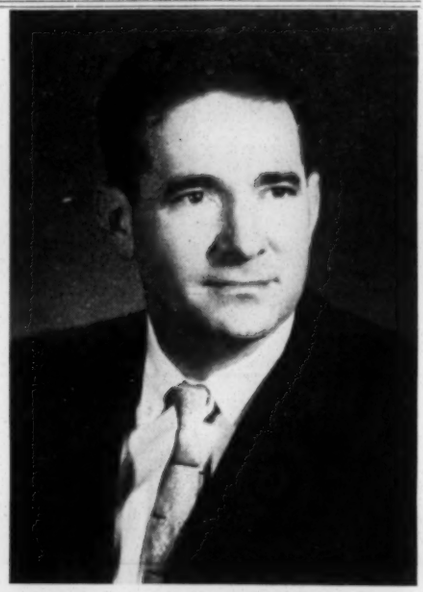
Picking up points as he dropped them across the stage with a determined zeal, we gleaned this summary from Leo Mindlin of the Jewish Floridian: Juvenile crime represents a major challenge to the survival of the nation's great cities as centers where decent people can live . . . .

He denied that the statistically low rate of teen-age delinquency reduces its significance it impact on contemporary civilization . . . . Problems of the young among us mirror those of the adult world.

He charged that the majority no longer cares about the third among us who are ill-clothed, ill-housed and ill-fed. He said that these had champions in the '30's; today there is silence . . . .

But it is this third of our popula-

(Continued on page 2)



Out of a host of dedicated people, here are the three that pulled the team together to make our annual Workshop-Meeting such a huge success. They are (left to right) Alvin Cassel, overall chairman of the event; Jack I. Green, creative chairman of the workshop; and Morris Abram, dynamic speaker and statesman.

YEAR ENDS ON HIGH NOTE

(Continued from page 1)

tion that is slowly taking over our cities, while the privileged flee.

We seek status quo . . . . youth need not look for jobs; jobs seek youth . . . "Among college students today, I find more interest in Freud than in economics."

He discussed rehabilitation and capital punishment and the need for the extensive re-evaluation of our laws and our methods of detections "which must be more scientific than a $300-a-month policeman — frequently a social misfit—can bring to the task."

What are the principal characters of the juvenile offender? The normal youngster testing the limit of his power in normal environments; the youngster made abnormal by abnormal environment; the disturbed, neurotic, psychotic child . . .

Blaming adults for creating circumstances which upset the equilibrium of youth, with special emphasis on material things today, "these children ultimately deduce freedom to be acquisitive. This is crime in its essence, with youthful wrongdoers infiltrating the cities to make of them giant jungles.

"We are permitting new barbarians, who don't want to be barbarians, to sack all our Romes."

The solution? We must approach this indictment of ourselves "with new flights of imagination."

The man, the meeting . . . the whole day . . . SENSATIONAL!

'59 IN RETROSPECT—LOOK AT '60

(Continued from page 1)

our receiving assurances from the German Federal Republic that that subject would receive serious attention at a forthcoming conference of Ministers of Education.

3. Latin-American Jewry:

Our delegation to Latin America covered an area and approximately 600,000 Jews living in a Catholic-dominated culture. In addition, consideration is being given to a Miami Chapter proposal that a special sociological study be made of Jewish Life in Mexico.

4. Jewish Life in Europe:

The Committee continued its program in collaboration with the Alliance Israelite Universelle and the Anglo-Jewish Association, of further support for the development of religious and cultural lives of various Jewish communities in West Europe.

The close ties between the Committee and the Pro Deo Institute in Rome were further cemented during the past year.

5. Middle East Affairs:

The problem of Jews in North Africa and their interests in the Middle East continued to be our active concern during the past year. In Miami, the Chapter sponsored, in conjunction with other organizations, a special study of Middle East conditions held recently at the University of Miami.

6. Activities in the South:

The problems of integration and segregation, the position of the Jews in the South, the rise of Anti-Semitism,—all received increased attention during the past year.

7. Youth Problems:

Our concern with the problems of youth needs little further elaboration. The Committee is actively engaged in the research of and preparation for the coming Youth Conference called by President Eisenhower for the Spring of 1960. Our Chapter has been responsible for some of the key recommendations which will be made by the Florida State delegation to the National Conference.

8. Scientific Research:

The American Jewish Committee continued its never ending scientific approach towards the solution of social problems.

9. Improving Inter-Group Understanding:

Believing that a harmonious community can best solve its general problems, A. J. C. has continued its work with other agencies such as the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the National Education Association, The American Association for the United Nations, the Y.M. and Y.M.C.A. and many others, both sectarian and non-sectarian, in promoting inter-group understanding.

10. Teaching of Religion in Schools:

With a continuing sensitivity for the need to handle the Church-State problems with a minimum of dislocation in community relations, we have endeavored to seek the elimination of religious activities from the public schools.

11. Jewish Attitude Studies in Miami:

Long aware that the way in which people regard themselves affects the way others regard them, we have instituted surveys of Jewish attitudes in key communities of the United States. One of the most ambitious of these studies has been undertaken by us in Miami and will be completed during the coming year.

Our primary interest is not so much with the problems themselves, but also with their causes—not so much with individual incidents as they arise, but with the hidden sparks that cause them to generate. We are concerned not so much with what is happening to us, but what may happen to our children. We "dig" deeply to ascertain these causes and we design our programs to eliminate or prevent these causes. We gear ourselves to long range programs designed to promote better understanding between peoples, groups and cultures; designed to eliminate discrimination in employment, housing, social groups and fraternities; designed to afford every American, regardless of background or belief, equality of opportunity.

Such goals may to many seem hopeless of attainment. But goals such as they have been crossed before and will continue to be crossed.

To do so we must continue to enlist the voluntary services of people dedicated to the same beliefs, willing to devote an important measure of their time and effort. We must develop leaders and thinkers who are trained to recognize the causes of group discontent and friction and who know the techniques used in the eradication of evil causes. Ours is a group movement involving people of good will who are interested in human betterment, who realize that Democracy cannot be taken for granted but must be cared for with a singular devotion in order to be preserved.

These were our aims in 1959. These will continue to be our guide posts in the future.

Specific tasks for our Chapter in 1960? Yes, just to list a few:

1. More active participation by the Advisory Board in the affairs of our Committee.

2. A study of the cultural, social and economic conditions of the Latin-American people in our area.

3. A study of Anti-Semetic undertones in the various high schools in our area.

4. Increased participation of our membership in committee functions, in our discussion groups, and in our humanitarian concerns.

5. Continued insistence in the creation of an official County Community Relations Agency.

6. Greater activity toward the elimination of discrimination in housing, employment, social groups, fraternities, et cetera.

7. Amelioration of the many problems of our migrant labor population.

Election Summary

OFFICERS, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE NAMED

As a traditional part of the Annual Meeting, the membership elects the AJC leadership for the coming year.

The complete slate of officers is found on the masthead of this issue. Among those named to the Executive Committee, following the recommendation of the Nominating Committee headed by Charlie Finkelstein, were: Alvin Cassel, Leo A. Chaiken, Mrs. Charles Finkelstein, Allen I. Freehling, Melvyn B. Frumkes, William E. Gladstone and Mr. and Mrs. Charles Goldstein.

Also, Jack I. Green, Jerome G. Greene, James R. Katzman, Irvin Korach, Mrs. Jane B. Leeds, Raymond Lewis, Seymour B. Liebman, Ernest J. London, Robert Macht and Herbert L. Markow.

And, Mrs. A. Herbert Mathes, Van Myers, Rabbi Joseph R. Narot, Lee Ruwitch, Admiral H. R. Sobel (Ret.), Mrs. Bernard R. Stevens and Richard Wolfson.

The Executive Committee convenes once a month and many of its meetings are open to the general membership. Those wishing to attend should contact the office for further details.

Plan to Attend One

Workshop Set—Religion In Public Schools

Audrey (Mrs. Charles) Finkelstein, chairman of the education committee, who was recently elected president of Dade County Girl Scout Council, has announced that January 11th should be saved by all of us for an important event.

On that evening, there will be three concurrent workshops on "Religion in the Public Schools" in which speakers and panelists will appear from AJCommittee, AJCongress and the ADL.

Sponsored by the Joint Advisory Committee, the 8 o'clock sessions will be held at Temple Beth Sholem on Miami Beach, Beth David Congregation in southwest Miami and Congregation of Monticello Park in North Miami Beach.

"Members," says Audrey, "especially parents of children in our Dade County schools, are urged to attend the workshop in their neighborhoods. I cannot overstress the importance of this meeting."

Now's Your Chance to Work

COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN APPOINTED

AJC President Nathan B. Rood has announced the names of committee chairmen, who will serve during the new year.

In announcing these appointments, Col Rood urges all the membership to give serious consideration as to which committee seems most interesting; then contact the office and volunteer to serve.

Every committee needs your help —the chairmen can't do the job assigned to them without strong backing and support.

Here's a resume of the appointments: David R. Hochberg, budget; Melvyn B. Frumkes, civil liberties; Mrs. Nathan B. Rood, discussion groups; Mrs. Charles Finkelstein, education; Irvin Korach, housing; and Charles Finkelstein, Jewish Attitudes Survey and social discrimination.

Also Mrs. Bernard Stevens, Jewish communal affairs; Lee Ruwitch, mass media; Mrs. David P. Catsman and Mrs. James R. Katzman, program; Mrs. Louis F. Rogel, telephone; and James R. Katzman, youth; Mr. Seymour Liebman, international affairs; Mr. Stuart Simon, church-state affairs; Mrs. Peritz Scheinberg, annual meeting arrangements; Mr. Allen Freehling, Satellite; Mr. Herbert L. Markow, fact-finding.

Basic Education

With all the current fuss about "frills" versus basic education in this country, it's interesting to learn what Eskimo youngsters in Thule, Greenland, are studying these days. They're learning the three R's, of course, reports the **National Parent-Teacher.** But in addition, they study kayak building, dog-team driving, harpooning, the use of firearms, and the sewing of skins.

And we thought "life-adjustment classes were only for "higher" civilizations.

Charles Finkelstein Reports

Jewish Attitudes Survey

The survey of Jewish attitudes, under discussion for over a year, has emerged from the planning stages and is now actually under way.

Charles Finkelstein, Chairman of the Survey Committee, reports that interviewers are out in the field obtaining answers from several hundred Jewish residents of Dade County.

The survey here parallels a number of similar surveys conducted by AJC in other communities in other sections of the country. Our study will therefore be adding another section to the picture that AJC is gradually drawing of the attitudes, beliefs and practices of Jews throughout the United States. It will also serve as a basis for our own program planning —and that of other Dade County Jewish organizations and institutions —so it will conform to the realities of local Jewish patterns, rather than guesses or assumptions.

Mr. Finkelstein paid tribute to the intensive efforts made by the members of his committee and its various subcommittees. Mrs. Leo Ackerman headed a group which articulated the particular concerns and issues in Greater Miami which were later incorporated into the questionnaire by sociologists of the AJC national staff. Herbert Markow gathered vast amounts of population data which provided the facts upon which the sample design was evolved.

Mrs. Jean C. Lehman, recruited, and is leading the twelve captains and 65 interviewers who are conducting the interviews. Manheim Shapiro, Director of National AJC's Jewish Communial Affairs Department, conducted six two-hour training sessions for these interviewers in the last week. Mrs. Charles Leeds will head the coding operation which will convert the responses to the questionnaires into numerical terms which can then be tabulated by IBM machines.

It was predicted that the survey findings will have great significance for many organizations in the community. This has happened in other communities where such surveys were conducted. The Chapter regards the study as a service to the community and will be pleased to make relevant data available to temples and synagogues, Federation, men's and women's organizations and Jewish centers for appropriate use by them when the final tabulations and analysis are completed.

Discussion Groups Roundup

THEY'RE MEETING ALL AROUND THE TOWN

Discussion groups are "going like '60" (no pun intended) and we hope that all membership will join at least one of these informative, provocative and stimulating groups.

Knowing that it would be impossible for each member to attend every group's sessions, the chairmen are preparing reports that will be summarized in issues of the SATELLITE.

Before giving you the recap, we again urge that you call the office to find the schedule of the discussion group nearest your home. We guarantee some evenings you'll never forget!

HENDRIK BERNS COVERS "THE MIDDLE EAST AND PEACE"

Gloria Kramer reports that Hendrik Berns, well known Miami News writer, gave an in-depth summary of the Middle East today, as he served as resource for a group meeting at the home of Dr. and Mrs. Robert Hyams.

In addition to reviewing last month's Israeli elections, in which 24 parties were on the ballot, an election that was precipitated by the German-Israel arms deal, Mr. Berns guided the group in a heated discussion on Israel, its influence on peace in the Middle East and its relationship to all the world's Jewry.

JOHN B. ORR—"THE PRACTICAL AND PRACTICING LIBERAL"

Under the supervision of Dr. and Mrs. Jerome A. Kramer, who are really coming up with some tremendous programs, John B. Orr was invited to meet with a group at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Albert Beer.

Mr. Orr's definition of liberals: "people who are least resistant to change." He cited Britain as a country willing to experiment and went on to say that only in a nation where there is freedom and willingness to experiment can a sound government continue.

The former State legislator's beliefs and experiences gave rise to an unforgettable discussion in which all the group pitched in.

SUE STEVENS—"GOVERNMENT CENSORSHIP OF PUBLIC MEDIA"

Recently returned from an AJC seminar at Chattanooga, Sue (Mrs. Bernard) Stevens ably led a group discussion on "Censorship by Government of Groups of Public Media; e.g., Radio, Television, Motion Pictures and Literature." They met at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Gerard Schainuck.

The group became familiar with the problems presented by reviewing several case histories. Many members felt that there should be some supervision of the media, lest minority groups suffer. However, no one suggested the suppression of a difference of view or the presentation of a doctrine.

It was concluded by the group, which is coordinated by Mel Frumkes, that any government censorship might be bad because of the possible danger stemming from an over-zealous public official's action in doing his job as censor.

GREATER MIAMI CHAPTER
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
1208 CONGRESS BUILDING
MIAMI, FLORIDA

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U. S. POSTAGE PAID
Permit No. 193
Miami, Fla.

Mr. Harold Fleming
S. Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave, NE
Atlanta, GA.

January 25, 1960

Mr. Seymour Samet
American Jewish Committee
1208 Congress Building
Miami, Florida

Dear Seymour:

Here is the list of Dade Countians receiving our L-Reports, as you requested. Since our stencils aren't maintained geographically, somebody may have been missed, but this is nearly all, if not all.

If you have suggested additions -- or, for that matter, deletions -- they will be appreciated.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

PERSON IN DADE COUNTY, FLORIDA, RECEIVING L-REPORTS

Berne Barnes, Manager
Hialeah-Miami Springs Chamber of Commerce
Hialeah, Florida

Alfred Canel, Vice-President
Miami-Dade County Chamber of Commerce
Miami, Florida

C. A. Baker, Acting Manager
Chamber of Commerce
Miami Beach, Florida

Lee Ward
Chamber of Commerce
Miami Shores, Florida

Henry J. Baker
North Miami Chamber of Commerce
North Miami, Florida

Fred W. Sheeper, Executive Secretary
Chamber of Commerce
Opa-locka, Florida

J.E. Endorf
1300 Northwest 136th Street
North Miami, Florida

Joe Hall
Dade County School Board
Miami, Florida

Nathan Perlmutter
Anti-Defamation League
330 Seybold Building
Miami, Florida

A. R. Finchell
ACLU of Greater Miami
Olympia Building
Miami, Florida

Seymour Samet
American Jewish Committee
1208 Congress Building
Miami, Florida

Charles E. Gottlieb, Vice-President
Stevens Market, Inc.
6209 Northwest 27th Avenue
Miami, Florida

William Baggs
Miami Daily News
Miami, Florida

John S. Knight
Miami Herald
Miami, Florida

John Turner
Florida Advisory Committee
on Civil Rights
Orange State Oil Company
Miami, Florida

William K. Williams, Executive Director
Florida Council on
Human Relations
4241 Southwest 109 Court
Miami, Florida

Haskell Lazere
American Jewish Congress

July 6, 1960

Mr. Seymour Samet
Southeast Area Director
The American Jewish Committee
1207 Congress Building
Miami 32, Florida

Dear Mr. Samet:

We are mailing you, under separate cover, 70 copies of the Congressional Record report on the Southern Regional Council.

Enclosed is a copy of "The Southern Regional Council Reports The Changing South." If this would be of any aid, we could also send you 70 copies of these.

We are placing Mrs. Lotz on our mailing list.

We do appreciate your getting this material out to your Executive Committee; and if we can be of additional aid, please let us know.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec
Encl.

Greater Miami Chapter

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

1207 Congress Building • Miami 32, Florida • Tel.: FR 3-4749

Southeast Area Director, Seymour Samet

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Vice-Presidents
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JEROME C. HOFMAYER
DR. PERITZ SCHEINBERG
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Financial Secretary
DAVID R. HOCHBERG
Treasurer
R. W. APTE
Chairman, Executive Committee
HAROLD B. SPAET
Chairmen, Advisory Board
DAVID B. FLEEMAN
LEO ROBINSON

Executive Committee
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LEO A. CHAIKEN
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July 1, 1960

Mr. John Constable
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Constable:

If they are available, please send us 70 copies of your Report No. L-1 (April 27, 1959) entitled "The Southern Regional Council - Its Origin and Aims," for distribution to our Executive Committee. This is part of an orientation program I have initiated here. If they are not available, perhaps you have another piece that adequately describes the Southern Regional Council that can be used for that purpose.

I would appreciate your putting the following name on your mailing list for future reports:

Mrs. John Lotz
Dade County Chamber of Commerce
345 N.E. 2nd Avenue
Miami, Florida

Many thanks.

Sincerely,

Seymour

Seymour Samet
Southeast Area Director

SS:sm

GREATER MIAMI CHAPTER

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

SATELLITE

VOLUME 4 APRIL, 1961 NUMBER 2

Published monthly for ten months as a newsletter by the Greater Miami Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, 1208 Congress Building, Miami, Florida.

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Chapter's Pot Is Boiling With Exciting Events

We Hope You're Participating In Them

Annual Membership Reception

Robinsons Invite Us All!

The entire membership of our Chapter, including all those whom you consider to be prospective members, have been invited to the home of Mr. and Mrs. Leo Robinson on Sunday afternoon, April 23rd.

This is an annual event which has always been an exciting part of our overall program. We enthusiastically look forward to seeing all our members and their guests. Our special thanks to our gracious host and hostess, Leo and Elsie Robinson.

Remember, that's Sunday afternoon, April 23rd.

Priscilla Has Date With Stork

Welcome, Gail Silverman

On behalf of all the members of the American Jewish Committee may we say a fond farewell to Priscilla Perry who served for the past year as Executive Assistant and is now eagerly awaiting the birth of her second child.

We wish to welcome at this time Mrs. Leonard Silverman who will be replacing Priscilla. Gail is a graduate of the University of Miami having majored in Psychology and has been active in the community. We all look forward to meeting Gail and working with her.

Plan To Be With Us On May 1st

DR. PAUL VIETH WILL SPEAK

The Jewish Communal Affairs Committee of The American Jewish Committee, chaired by Mrs. Bernard Stevens, is pleased to announce a meeting of unusual interest on Monday evening, May 1, 1961, at 8:00 p.m. at the Du Pont Plaza Hotel. All Jewry in the Greater Miami area is invited.

DR. VIETH

Dr. Paul Vieth, Horace Bushnell Professor of Christian Nurture at Yale University and head of the faculty committee which supervised research for the "Yale Study" to determine the degree of bias in Protestant school texts, will be the principal speaker. The "Yale Study," you will recall, was featured in the March 14th issue of Look magazine in an article entitle "The Roots of Bias," by Bishop James A. Pike.

The survey was conducted under the auspices of the Yale Divinity School. It was conceived by the American Jewish Committee for the purpose of determining whether the church-classroom is a possible breeding ground for negative intergroup attitudes. The study, seven years in the making, was completed in May, 1959. It is the most thorough undertaking of its kind, covering over 120,000 units from religious school curricula materials.

Dr. Vieth will discuss the study, its findings, implications and results to date. After Dr. Vieth's remarks, he will be questioned by three panel members representing the educational, public information and medical professions. The panelists will be Mr. Louis Schwartzman, Director of the Bureau of Jewish Education; Mr. Leo Mindlin, editor of the Jewish Floridian; and Dr. Marcia Klein, psychiatrist. Following a brief intermission during which the audience at table buzz sessions will discuss the problems presented earlier, Dr. Vieth will answer written questions presented from the floor.

Arrangements for the evening have been made by Mrs. Jerome Hofmayer. A nominal charge of $1.00 per person

(Please turn to page 4)

They Were Mighty Successful

Chapter Activities Report

We hope you didn't miss our three outstanding events of March. On the 26th, Mr. and Mrs. David Hirsch were hosts at a cocktail party and buffet dinner for prospective members at their home, the Carleton Terrace Apartments. The evening was a huge success, with many new members joining our rolls.

March 28 was the date of a provocative panel discussion arranged by our Hollywood discussion group under the leadership of Mrs. Ruth Berger. More than 170 people turned out to view the film "Destiny's Tot," an adaptation of a case history from the late Dr. Robert Lindner's book "The Fifty Minute Hour." After seeing the film, the audience participated in a discussion led by a panel of experts including our own Seymour Samet, Rabbi Joseph Narot, and Dr. Alan Lipton.

Our own Miami discussion group committee, chaired by Mrs. Helene Berg, were hosts to a similar group at the Du Pont Plaza Hotel on the following evening, March 29. Panel discussants, moderated by Dr. Peritz Scheinberg, were Mr. Leon Fisher of the Jewish Family and Children's Service, Mrs. Audrey Finkelstein, chairman of the Dade County chapter, Girl Scouts of America, and Dr. George Jacobson, a practicing psychiatrist.

If you had to miss these noteworthy events, perhaps you can join us in coming affairs we have planned for you in April and May.

YOU ARE INVITED TO A BAR MITZVAH OBSERVANCE

Honoring the 13th Anniversary of the Establishment of the State of Israel.

This will be a county-wide celebration, presented under the auspices of the Zionist Council of South Florida and the community's leading cooperating civic, religious and national organizations.

This thrilling event will take place at the Deauville Hotel, Saturday, April 22, 1961, 8 P. M. A Bar Mitzvah service is planned, and supper will be served. There will be very fine entertainment as well.

Plan to join with the Jewish Community of Greater Miami so we may truly share this "simcha" together!

SUGGESTED STATEMENT OF VIEWS ON JEWISH COMMUNAL ORGANIZATIONS

The annual meeting in New York, April 28-30, will be attended by our delegation: Seymour Samet, Dr. Joseph Weidberg, William Apte, Mrs. Robert Berger, Mrs. Charles Leeds, and Mrs. Bernard Stevens. The Office would like your reactions to the following statement, so the delegates can present them at the meeting.

A distinctive characteristic of American civilization is the freedom and encouragement it affords its citizens to organize into voluntary groups to pursue diverse interests. This pattern of association enriches American society by facilitating the contribution of ideas, culture and services. Through voluntary affiliation with groups of his choice, each person is afforded the opportunity to fulfill his particular aspirations in a manner consistent with his individual outlook.

Jews in the United States have availed themselves of this situation, which provides them at one and the same time with unprecedented freedom of meaningful group association and with equality as American citizens. In the more than 300 years of Jewish communal life in the United States, Jewish religious, philanthropic and cultural activities have flourished. Jews have a common bond in their religion and their historical heritage. But like all other Americans, we differ among ourselves in religious practises, economic views, political philosophy, and world outlook. We differ in our attitudes. We differ in our ideologies.

In keeping with the Amercian pattern, Jews with diverse aims and outlooks have formed organizations and established institutions of their choosing. This diversity of communal effort has contributed to the vitality of Jewish group life in America, and by affording the opportunity for multiple points of contact within the general community, has stimulated participation of Jews in all phases of American life.

Any attempt to create a central authority among Jews in the United States would be contrary to the American experience and would militate against effective social action. The freedom of individual members of organizations to determine their own course of conduct is curbed by compelling them to surrender the responsibility for managing their own affairs. Centralized control by others of the activities of Jewish national organizations and their local counterparts reduces their vitality and diminishes their creativity. A unitary concept of Jewish community organization is as unrealistic as it is false in its premise. It must, and inevitably does, create a harmful image of the Jewish group as representing a separate enclave in the life of America.

We reject the principle of centralized control, whether it be in the name of "Jewish Unity" or of "efficiency." We maintain the right to abstain from any such practice and shall resist all pressures for participating therein. We shall continue to insist that groups of Jews have both the right and the duty to organize themselves to achieve the ideals and purposes they cherish; and that they shall do so free from any external control, except the power of persuasion, by other groups who may hold different views.

Consonant with this, we firmly believe in cooperative efforts on the part of our various communnal organizations to provide on a voluntary basis, for exchange of information and ideas, fruitful consultation and constructive collaboration in agreed-upon specific matters. This we have welcomed and this we shall continue to welcome.

UM Action Taken

Letters Sent To Board

Dear Mr. Mahoney:

The decision of the Board of Trustees of the University of Miami to admit all eligible students regardless of race has set a high moral standard for all law abiding citizens of Florida. The Greater Miami Chapter of the American Jewish Committee wishes to commend the Board for this action. Their example will assist our community to live democracy more fully and will encourage the policy making groups in other organizations to follow your excellent example.

We of the American Jewish Committee for over 50 years have been concerned with the education of citizens so that they may function more effectively in a democratic society. If our experience in this area can be of guidance to your staff in the implementation of your new policy, please feel free to call upon us.

Sincerely,
David B. Fleeman, President
Greater Miami Chapter
American Jewish Committee

We Recommend

"THE UNTRIED CASE"

By Herbert B. Ehrmann

Reviewed by Victor Reuther

If this book does nothing else it should lay to rest the idea that lawyers are unemotional individuals more interested in legal abstractions than in human values. Herbert B. Ehrmann is a Boston attorney who underwent a soul-shaking experience shortly before the execution of Sacco and Vanzetti. Retained as co-counsel for the two men after their conviction for the South Braintree robberly and murders, he dedicated himself completely to a search for the truth. Finally, after an investigation of almost unprecedented thoroughness, he came up with apparently clear evidence that his clients were innocent. One is inevitably reminded of the Dreyfus Case revelations.

Unfortunately, Ehrmann's facts were weighted by Massachusetts jurists who had already made up their minds that the defendants were guilty. Today the author remains deeply grieved that he and his associate were not permitted to take the facts before a jury at a new trial. Many others have shared his feeling. Joseph B. Ely, who was governor of Massachusetts shortly after the Sacco-Vanzetti execution, told Ehrmann, "Before I read your new book I had some doubt as to the guilt of Sacco and Vanzetti. When I had finished, I had no doubt of their innocence."

Probably the majority of readers will agree with Governor Ely. Ehrmann's account of his investigation of the notorious Morelli gang as the probable perpetrators of the crime for which Sacco and Vanzetti died, is both fascinating and convincing. He gives details of the occurrence, tells who drove the murder car, who sat next to him, who else was in the automobile. It is hard to escape the feeling that the book contains the true story behind one of the great miscarriages of justice.

At this distance from the anti-anarchist hysteria which enveloped Massachusetts at the time, it is difficult to understand how any court could have refused a new trial. It is sadly evident, however, that a judge can succumb to prejudice as readily as other men unless he is deeply committed to the principles of legal justice. Happily, we have recently observed American courts adhering to those principles in the face of immense pressures. But even in that era, this could also have been the case. The late Joseph N. Welch says in his introduction, "I have always thought that the great tragedy of the Sacco-Vanzetti case was that it happened to be assigned to Judge Thayer. I think almost any other judge would have granted a new trial."

"The Untried Case" includes an introduction by Edmund M. Morgan, Royal Professor of Law Emeritus, Harvard University; Vanzetti's last statement; and a number of other documents. But perhaps the most telling is a note by Mr. Ehrmann in which he relates an incident involving Justice Edward P. Pierce, a former member of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court that had upheld the conviction. At a Bar Association meeting in memory of William G. Thompson, a great advocate with whom Ehrmann was associated in the appeals, Judge Pierce came up to Ehrmann after he had delivered a tribute to Thompson. During the various appeals there had never been any indication that any of the judges had misgivings. But this is how Ehrmann describes Judge Pierce's reaction to his recital of Thompson's unflagging efforts for Sacco and Vanzetti: **"As the proceedings were concluded, I saw the Justice approaching me, apparently under the stress of a powerful emotion. The tears wer pouring down his cheeks. To my amazement he grasped my hands warmly and said in a rather broken voice, "Thank you! Thank you! Thank you!"**

For Your Library Shelf

"The Bayville Survey"

The Greater Miami Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, with the guidance of Manheim S. Shapiro, director of AJC's Jewish Communal Affairs Department, completed in 1960 a survey of the attitudes and activities of Jews in Dade County, Florida (the Greater Miami Area). A summary of the highlights of this survey was published in a series of four articles in THE JEWISH FLORIDIAN of Miami. The Greater Miami Chapter of AJC has now reprinted this series of articles in booklet form.

Copies may be obtained at 15c each at the office.

As A Public Service

Speakers Bureau Formed

As a service to the many organizations which are now formulating their program plans for the coming year, the Greater Miami Chapter of the American Jewish Committee has chosen this time to announce to the Jewish community the establishment of a **Speaker's Bureau** under the chairmanship of Mrs. Robert Berger. A group of AJCommittee members have been trained as speakers and discussion group leaders on a series of subjects which have grown out of a scientific Survey of Jewish Attitudes conducted by AJCommittee in Dade County. This study has stimulated a wide-spread community interest in attitudes held by Jews toward themselves and their Christian neighbors.

Speakers and discussion leaders on the following five subjects are now available:

1. "Who Is A Good Jew?"
2. "Is Jewish Behavior A Factor in Anti-Semitism?"
3. "How Do We Regard Our Christian Neighbors — Catholic and Protestant?"
5. "Mirror on Dade County Jews." (The actual findings of the Survey).

In addition to Mrs. Berger, the speakers available include: Dr. Robert Berger, Mrs. Earl I. Brown, Mr. Alfred Boas, Mrs. David P. Catsman, Miss Minnie Feinberg, Mrs. Charles H. Finkelstein, Mr. Aaron Foosaner, Mr. Allen I. Freehling, Mr. Melvyn B. Frumkes, Mr. Jerome G. Greene, Dr. George Jacobson, Mr. Paul H. Klein, Dr. Jerome A. Kramer, Mrs. William Leone, Mrs. A. Herbert Mathes, Mrs. Eileen Meyer, Mr. and Mrs. Arnold Perlstein, Mr. David J. Saklad, Dr. Peritz Scheinberg, and Mr. Kenneth Treister.

All requests for speakers may be made by writing the Chapter office or calling FR 3-4749. In order to be assured of thorough preparation for these highly specialized topics, speaker requests should be made at least three weeks in advance of a meeting.

A LETTER TO THE CHAPTER

Dear Friends:

One of man's most ennobling qualities is his concern for other men. It is a quality not confined to any particular religious or national or racial group, nor is it wholly absent from any group. Its highest expression is in its selflessness, in its desire that everyone, everywhere, be treated justly, and that opportunity be denied to no one.

It is one thing to share this concern passively, to feel that if one were in a position of legislative capacity he could and would act to right injustice; but since one isn't, what can one do? Who will hear, he may think, the one small voice protesting the plight of the migrant worker or the slum dweller or the Negro struggling for dignity.

The truth is that the one small voice is the most important sound in the world. It is the murmur from which swells the tempest. It may even be that the tempest comes long after the first wan voices have been stilled, for the crescendo of justice must sometimes wait many years until it is loud enough to be heard. It took one hundred years for Great Britain to make slave trade unlawful, one hundred years of small voices swelling until their whispers became roars that eventually drowned out the sounds of the powerful, entrenched interests that had fostered and perpetuated the slave trade.

If, during those hundred years, those who fought for the abolition of slave trade had been less devoted, if they had grown discouraged and had left the fight, if they had flagged or failed in their zeal, it might well have taken 120 or 140 years for abolition. The point is that a great many of them didn't, and the fact that it took one hundred years is their mark of grandeur, not of ineptitude.

Since perfection is not for the human race, social injustice will always be with us. But since improvement is for the human race, there is hope and there is progress. It remains for us to be vigilant—to nurture and cherish our concern for other men — and to raise our voices in their behalf.

ALFRED BOAS

DR. PAUL VIETH TO SPEAK

(Continued from page 1)

will cover the entire evening including refreshments. We urge that you make every effort to attend this important event. Please send us your reservation card, or call the office, FR 3-4749, for reservations.

For Your Information

This 'n That

Did you see the letter in Forbes magazine, December 15, 1960, page 7)? James Batal of Coral Gables (local spokesman for the Arab League) praising the article "Road Back from Suez" (Forbes, Dec. 1, 1960). What did you think of the letter, and article??

Had you any doubts about the Jewish Attitudes Survey? The Speakers Bureau has been swamped with requests by various organizations in the community.

Interreligious Dialogues—to bring together lay and religious representatives of the major faiths for a free and frank discussion of views or issues which may tend to create or emphasize tensions, not necessarily to resolve problems, but to establish channels of communication, disseminate knowledge, and achieve understanding of each other's point of view on the issues. This is not being sponsored by a particular committee at this time. We haven't a card or coupon for you to mail in, but if you are interested, drop us a line.

LAWYERS (and non-lawyers)—are you redecorating? Our library facilities are cramped for shelf space. Instead of discarding those bookshelves, why not donate them to our office?

Well Done! (In case you weren't there)—to Dr. S. Andhil Fineberg, AJC staff consultant, for his excellent and stimulating presentation on the implications of the Eichmann trial at the largest luncheon meeting we have ever had. More than 100 members and non-members attended. As a result of newspaper publicity and a TV interview of Dr. Fineberg, members of AJC from Canada and North Dakota were in attendance.

Congrats, also, to the Program Committee for their arranging such a fine affair; next time they'll need the Miami Beach Convention Hall!

Fashion Note — Continental lapels have increased the difficulty of buttonholing prospective members so the resourceful Membership Committee has instituted a series of Sunday brunches for prospects. Ladies don't usually wear lapels; will the Membership Committee have a series of teas (—laced, of course)?

Public Health—The newly constituted FFC considered means of effecting a community wide program of "Quarantine" should our favorite bigot come to town. For a do-it-yourself sanitation engineer's kit, contact the office for "Deflating the Professional Bigot", by Dr. S. Andhil Fineberg. (15c).

Decorator's Item—The ladies of the Volunteer's Committee have done a massive rearranging of the furniture in the office. This is not mere experimentation "in decor", but a functional alignment of facilities to accomodate their work in speeding office administration.

HOCHBERG APPOINTED CHAIRMAN

David Hochberg will be Chairman of our Chapter's Ninth Annual Meeting which will be held on weekend of November 18-19, at the Diplomat Hotel. Further arrangements will be announced at an early date. Mark your calendar now for the entire week-end.

GREATER MIAMI CHAPTER
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
1208 CONGRESS BUILDING
MIAMI, FLORIDA

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Miami, Fla.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St. N.W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

June 21, 1956

Mr. George Kellman
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Kellman:

We have been pondering the question which you raised in your letter of June 11th.

We have the same problem that you do with respect to hate literature. There is a tremendous volume of it in circulation, and we get it usually in single copies from members and friends who come across it in the normal course of their activities. It is very difficult to obtain additional copies without ordering them from the publishing groups, which we are reluctant to do.

We would be glad to copy some of these items for you, but the bulk of the material prohibits our offering to copy it all. Perhaps we might be able to help if you could find the time to inventory the items you have on hand thus eliminating duplication in our respective files. Naturally we would be glad to make the material available to any of your staff members who might turn up in Atlanta.

I may add that we have a full time staff member for the summer doing field research on the various resistance movements. When his findings are available - in about three months from now - AJC will most certainly receive a copy of the report.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Assistant Director

HCF:mbo

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

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June 11, 1956

Mr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
53 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

We find that the need for the acquisition of facts and data relating to White Citizens' Councils, the Klan and similar movements to be most urgent at this time.

While we get some literature, publications and leaflets, we are sure that we are missing many of local origin emanating from ~~from~~ groups in widely scattered points in the South.

Could you, therefore, see your way clear to arrange for getting such literature for us, by means of securing extra copies or otherwise?

We will be most grateful.

With kindest regards and every good wish for the success of your endeavors, I am

Sincerely,

George Kelman

George Kelman

GK:em

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148-2-56

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

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COMMUNITY AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT — SOL SATINSKY, *Chairman* — A. HAROLD MURRAY, *Director*
DR. S. ANDHIL FINEBERG, *Community Relations Consultant*

To: Correspondents of the Community Affairs Department

From: A. Harold Murray

I am pleased to inform you that Miss J. Libby Rosen has been assigned a greater responsibility in the area of our publications program and will therefore no longer be servicing your requests to the Community Affairs Department. We are grateful to her for her most helpful cooperation with you which has resulted in making it possible for AJC to meet your needs.

We are pleased to announce that Mr. Isaiah Terman of our professional staff will now direct the handling of requests for information, program materials, community assistance and literature services for the Community Affairs Department. Mr. Terman has been a member of the Community Service Department and the Community Affairs Department for the past 12 years. He is probably well known to most of you since he has visited many of you during the many years in which he has been working with communities in behalf of AJC. I am sure that he will continue to provide the excellent service and cooperation which has been so wonderfully demonstrated by those who have preceded him.

Will you therefore please note in your records that all future requests for service to the Community Affairs Department of the American Jewish Committee are to be sent to MR. ISAIAH TERMAN at the above address. Will you kindly correct your mailing lists accordingly.

January 31, 1957

AHM:RL

A.D. & Ass'ts.
ADL Reg'l Dirs.
CRC Basic
S & Key lists

MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 5-0181

COMMUNITY AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT
A. HAROLD MURRAY, Director
DR. S. ANDHIL FINEBERG, Community Relations Consultant

"FEARS AND PREJUDICE" by Selma Hirsh

This condensation of Selma Hirsh's book, "The Fears Men Live By", as a Public Affairs Pamphlet should be useful in a wide variety of situations. The following may help to refresh your memory of the subject matter:

> The Fears Men Live By, by Selma Hirsh, is a distillation of the findings published in a series of volumes, Studies in Prejudice. This series of studies brought together the findings of psychiatrists, psychologists, social and political scientists, after years of painstaking research. These studies provided a powerful body of evidence on the origins of prejudice and on the nature of the prejudiced person. In The Fears Men Live By, the author has translated this highly technical material into the language of our everyday life. How the authoritarian personality functions, the mechanisms which the prejudiced personality employs, and ways in which we can help to reduce the fears men live by are discussed in non-technical language.

In its present form under the title Fears and Prejudice, the possibilities for distribution are greatly expanded. Anyone with the equivalent of a high school education -- North, South and borderline -- should be considered a potential reader. Jews and non-Jews, especially those who are involved in intergroup relations, should be familiar with the pamphlet's contents. Its uses in group discussions will be obvious to you.

The pamphlet is available from AJC at 20¢ per copy; in quantities of 100 and over, 17¢ per copy; special prices for orders in excess of 500.

Isaiah Terman

Encl.
1/31/57

AD&Ass'ts
ADL Reg.Dirs.
CRC Basic
S & Key Lists

153-7-56
261

Community Affairs Dept.
American Jewish Committee

Please send me a sample copy of

Fears and Prejudice by Selma Hirsh.

Name _____

Address _____

City & State _____

Date _____
(IT)

American Jewish
Other

March 7, 1957

Dr. Theodore Leskes
American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ted:

Harold Fleming was talking with Dave Freeman and Adam Yarmolinsky of the Fund for the Republic the other day and they had not seen the very excellent memo done by Julius Cohen on tax exemption which appeared in the 1956 report of the NAIRO Commission on Civil Rights. Would you, therefore, please send to each of them a marked copy of the report?

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

BLIND COPY: Mr. Adam Yarmolinsky
Mr. Dave Freeman

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

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OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
52 VANDERBILT AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

March 11, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thanks very much for your letter of March 11.

I was very pleased to learn, through Ed Lukas, that Mr. Herzberg had been of some help.

Mrs. Engel underwent a quite serious operation last Friday, but she seems to be doing as well as could be expected.

With every good wish for success in your endeavor,

Sincerely,

Irving M. Engel
President.

March 7, 1957

Mr. Irving M. Engel
President
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Engel:

You were very kind to see me, along with Morris Abram, last week. I appreciate it doubly because I know that it was a pressing and difficult time for you.

I later talked with Mr. Herzberg and found him extremely sympathetic and disposed to be helpful.

Please accept my personal wishes for Mrs. Engel's early return to good health.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

RECEIVED SEP 20 1957

To: CRC Offices
AJC Area Offices
ADL Regional Offices

From: Theodore Leskes and Paul Hartman

Date: September 3, 1957

Subject: Final 1957 Report on Developments with Respect to Civil Rights Legislation at the State Level

On March 19, 1957, and again on May 31, 1957, we reported on developments with respect to state civil rights legislation up to May 25, 1957. This memorandum supplements our earlier ones and will bring you up to date on such developments through August 31, 1957, by which date almost all state legislatures had adjourned.

1957 was a very productive year for state civil rights laws. Colorado and Wisconsin strengthened their existing FEP laws, Colorado by extending the enforcement provisions to private employment heretofore exempt from such provisions and Wisconsin by adding enforcement machinery to its existing educational-type FEP law. In addition, Colorado brought violations of its civil rights law with respect to places of public accommodation under the jurisdiction of its existing Anti-Discrimination Commission.

Massachusetts, New Jersey, Oregon and Washington passed laws to prohibit discrimination in the sale or rental of publicly aided housing. All of these states vested jurisdiction over these new anti-discrimination laws in their existing commissions against discrimination. In addition, Oregon and Washington, like Colorado, strengthened their statutes prohibiting discrimination in places of public accommodation by vesting enforcement jurisdiction in their existing commissions against discrimination. Minnesota, while failing to pass a bill which would have prohibited discrimination in publicly aided housing, enacted a bill which declared discrimination in housing to be contrary to the public policy of

the state and which created a commission to study and investigate discrimination in the sale or rental of housing accommodations.

California, Illinois and New York passed laws to discourage discrimination in employment in certain narrow fields. Illinois amended its state school code to require school districts to certify that they do not discriminate in the employment of teachers as a condition to securing state aid. California authorized the State Board of Education to establish a commission to assist and advise local school districts in problems relating to racial, religious or other discrimination in the employment of certificated employees. New York enacted a statute prohibiting discrimination in the apprenticeship training program under the joint sponsorship of labor unions and management groups.

Vermont passed a law prohibiting racial or religious discrimination in places of public accommodation. Colorado and South Dakota repealed their statutory prohibitions on interracial marriages, while Missouri repealed its statute providing for segregated schools and eliminated color as a factor in computing school attendance. Missouri also established a state commission on human relations. Wyoming enacted a statute which provides that "no person of good deportment shall be denied the right of life, liberty, pursuit of happiness, or the necessities of life because of race, color, creed or national origin."

In the following pages we have again classified state legislative developments under the headings: Education, Employment, Housing, Public Accommodations and Miscellaneous. We have used asterisks (*) to indicate reports on matters which were first mentioned in our earlier memoranda.

Since "Southern School News" reports in great detail each month on legislation, litigation and community action related to desegregation developments in the 17 southern and boarder states and in the District of Columbia, we have omitted from this memorandum any reports on legislative developments in education in those states.

TL/HP:cam

No. 219

EDUCATION

California: AB 758*, to bar fraternities and sororities which restrict their membership on the basis of race or religion from state college campuses, was permitted to die in the Assembly Committee on Education.

Connecticut: The Legislature adjourned on June 5, 1957 without taking any action on SB 571* or HB 1852* which would have prohibited discrimination in educational institutions on the grounds of race, color, religion or national origin.

Illinois: The Senate defeated HB 474*, which would have permitted boards of education to consider race and color in setting school district lines so as to achieve integrated schools, and which had passed the House on May 1.

Missouri: HB 163*, repealing the statute requiring segregated schools and eliminating color as a factor in computing school attendance, was signed into law by Governor James T. Blair, Jr.

Oregon: HB 770* which would have prohibited discrimination in higher education, died in Committee when the Legislature adjourned on May 21, 1957.

Pennsylvania: The Legislature adjourned on June 21, 1957 without acting on SB 736*, which would have established an Educational Opportunities Commission.

EMPLOYMENT

California: After the defeat of AB 2000* (FEPC) by the Senate Labor Committee, the Assembly amended the Senate-passed SB 1955 (which dealt with the employment of minors) by attaching prohibitions against employment discrimination to it, and passed it on June 11, 1957, by 53 to 13. The bill then went to the Senate (bypassing the hostile Labor Committee) for concurrence. On June 18 the Senate voted by 21 to 13 to kill SB 1955 with its fair employment provisions.

SB 2566* passed the assembly and was signed by Governor Goodwin Knight on July 10, 1957. It authorizes the State Board of Education to establish a Commission to assist and advise local school districts in problems relating to racial, religious or other discriminations in the employment of certificated employees.

The other bills to outlaw discrimination in employment (AB 2939*, AB 3148* and AB 3372*) failed to reach the floor of the Assembly.

Connecticut: All the bills to strengthen the powers of the existing Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights (HB 304*, SB 417*, SB 655*, HB 295* and HB 1868*) were permitted to die when the Legislature adjourned on June 5, 1957.

Illinois: Governor William G. Stratton signed into law HB 254*, which denies state aid to any district which fails to certify that it does not discriminate in the employment of teachers.

Maryland: FEP legislation* failed of enactment in Maryland when it was permitted to die in committee.

Missouri: HB 161*, to establish FEPC, failed to pass the House prior to adjournment.

HB 164*, to prohibit discrimination in state employment, which had passed the House, was permitted to die in the Senate Committee on Jurisprudence.

New Hampshire: HB 340*, to establish a state commission against discrimination, was referred on July 25, 1957 to the State Judiciary Council, composed of members of the judiciary from all branches of the state courts. The Legislature adjourned. The Judiciary Council will consider the measure while the Legislature is in recess.

Ohio: The two fair employment practice bills* introduced in the House and Senate failed to be enacted.

Wisconsin: S 327*, to provide enforcement machinery for the Wisconsin Industrial Commission to enable it to issue cease and desist orders which could be supported by Court enforcement, passed the Senate on June 3, 1957 and the Assembly on June 5. Both actions were unanimous. Governor Vernon W. Thomson signed it into law on June 28, 1957. Wisconsin thus becomes the thirteenth state with an enforceable fair employment practice law applicable to public and private employment.

The Wisconsin FEP Law, however, now contains one provision of rather ambiguous meaning. In final form, the Legislature provided that if any order issued by the Industrial Commission is "unenforceable against a labor organization in which membership is a privilege, the employer with whom such labor organization has an all-union shop agreement shall not be held accountable under this chapter, when such employer is not responsible for the discrimination." The scope and importance of this provision will have to await judicial interpretation.

HOUSING

California: AB 367*, which would have prohibited discrimination in redevelopment projects and which had passed the Assembly, was permitted to die in the Senate Committee on Government Efficiency and Economy.

Connecticut: The Legislature adjourned without acting on either of the two bills* which would have extended the present jurisdiction of the Commission on Civil Rights to private housing.

Illinois: HB 523*, which would have banned discrimination in the sale or rental of public or publicly-aided housing, and which passed the House, was permitted to die in the Senate.

Massachusetts: S 328*, to prevent discrimination in public or publicly-assisted housing projects, passed the Senate on May 6 and the House on June 4, 1957. It was signed into law by Governor Foster Furcolo on June 7, 1957.

Michigan: A bill* to prohibit discrimination in publicly-assisted housing, failed of passage before adjournment.

Minnesota: The 10-member study commission established by the Legislature to investigate discrimination and segregation in housing accommodations*, was duly appointed by Governor Orville L. Freeman.

New Jersey: A 8*, which prohibits discrimination in FHA-aided housing and vests jurisdiction over this problem in the existing Division Against Discrimination, was signed into law by Governor Robert B. Meyner on June 4, 1957.

Oregon: HB 647*, which prohibits discrimination in the sale or rental of publicly-aided housing and vests jurisdiction over this problem in the Bureau of Labor, was signed into law by Governor Robert D. Holmes on June 11, 1957.

Pennsylvania: The Legislature adjourned on June 21, 1957 without acting on either of the two bills* which would have prohibited discrimination in publicly-assisted housing accommodations.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATIONS

Connecticut: The Legislature adjourned without enacting HB 296* or HB 314*, which would have given the Connecticut Civil Rights Commission power to initiate complaints charging discrimination in places of public accommodation.

Maryland: The series of bills* to prohibit discrimination in places of public accommodation, failed of enactment at the 1957 session of the Lesiglature.

Missouri: HB 162*, to protect all persons in their right to enjoy places of public accommodation, failed of passage.

Nevada: AB 185*, to protect the right of all persons to the use of public accommodations, failed of passage.

New Hampshire: HB 340*, which would have banned discrimination in places of public accommodation, was referred to the State Judicial Council. (See under Employment).

Oregon: HB 646*, which extends the jurisdiction of the Bureau of Labor to complaints of discrimination in places of public accommodations and adds trailer parks and camp grounds to such places, was signed into law by Governor Robert D. Holmes on June 11, 1957.

Utah: HB 87*, which would have prohibited discrimination at places of public accommodation and provided civil penalties for violations, failed to pass the Legislature.

MISCELLANEOUS

California: AB 2690*, to create a Civil Rights Commission, was permitted to die in the Assembly Committee on Rules. AB 3687*, to promote the establishment of city and county agencies to foster better intergroup relations, was permitted to die in the Assembly Committee on Government Efficiency and Economy.

Delaware: HB 51*, to create a State Human Relations Commission, failed to be reported out of committee by adjournment date.

Illinois: HB 434*, to amend the Election Code to allow for absentee voting by those unable to vote at the polls on election day because of religious observance, passed both houses but was vetoed by Governor William G. Stratton.

Missouri: HB 125* creates a State Commission on Human Rights. The bill was weakened in the Senate by curtailing the investigative powers given to the Commission. It was signed into law by Governor James T. Blair, Jr., on June 18, 1957.

Wisconsin: S 276*, which would have eliminated "race" from the descriptive information required on applications for drivers' licenses, was killed by the Senate Committee on Highways.

TL/PH:cam

December 17, 1957

Mr. Leo Pfeffer
American Jewish Congress
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 64th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Mr. Pfeffer:

Enclosed you will find a copy of our Special Report, Organizations and Personnel Engaged in Human Relations Activities in the South, as requested in your letter of the 10th.

If we can be of further help, please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/mf
Enclosure - 1.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE · 15 EAST 84TH STREET · NEW YORK 28, N. Y. · TRAFALGAR 9-4500

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A. L. WIRIN

WILL MASLOW, General Counsel

December 10, 1957

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Gentlemen:

I should appreciate it very much if you would send me a copy of your latest revised directory, "Organizations and Personnel Engaged in Human Relations Activities in the South."

Thank you.

Cordially,

Leo Pfeffer

Leo Pfeffer

LP:bl

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303

September 5, 1958

Dr. Theodore Leskes
Fifteenth Floor
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ted:

We are now receiving "For Your Information" regularly and much appreciated. It gives us insights into activities that are of interest to us but are often difficult to run down.

The last issue just arrived. I note that the envelope was sealed with scotch tape; I wonder if this was done in your office or is someone tampering with the mail?

I look forward to seeing you at the annual NAIRO meeting in Pittsburg. I hope things go well with you.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh

FBR:ls

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386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

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Dr. Frederick F. Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Ga.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

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September 8, 1958

Dr. Frederick B. Routh, Ass't Dir.,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.,
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I received your note of September 5, 1958 concerning our reports on the activities of rabble rousers, anti-semites and race baiters. I am glad you find these reports helpful.

I sealed the envelope with scotch tape here, as an added precaution against anyone attempting to steam it open. I will try to remember to use the same precaution in the future.

I, too, look forward to seeing you at the NAIRO Board meeting in Pittsburgh, as well as at the Annual Meeting.

With kindest personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Ted

Theodore Leskes

TL:ps

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIFTY-SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

The 52nd Annual Meeting of the American Jewish Committee was held at the Hotel Commodore, New York City, April 17-19, 1959.

Proceedings of the Fifty-Second Annual Meeting

April 17-19, 1959

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations

165 EAST 56 STREET

NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

SUBJECT: Attorney General of Wisconsin rules released time bill unconstitutional.

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Theodore Leskes

DATE: July 22, 1959

DIGEST: Proposed legislation to authorize the release of pupils from public schools for religious instruction outside the school is in violation of the Wisconsin State Constitution. Any released time plan which uses school regulations to facilitate attendance for religious instruction, whether such instruction is on or off school property, is of doubtful validity. Similarly, any released time plan under which school authorities cooperate with religious groups by releasing the children for religious instruction is of doubtful validity if the children remain under the technical jurisdiction and discipline of the public school.

On June 24, 1959, Attorney General John W. Reynolds, of the State of Wisconsin, directed a ruling to the members of the 1959 Wisconsin State Assembly, with respect to the constitutionality of Bill No. 281, A., relating to released time from public schools for religious instruction.

The bill would amend the compulsory school attendance laws by adding a provision which would permit local school boards to allow pupils with written permission of their parents to be absent from school up to one hour per week during required school periods, to obtain religious instruction outside the schools under a qualified instructor. The bill provides that the supervisor of such religious instruction must report monthly to the principal of the public school the names of the pupils who attended these religious instruction classes. The bill also provides that the released time hour shall be fixed by the school board, and that the board may deny the privilege to pupils who absent themselves from religious instruction after requesting the privilege.

The Attorney General first considered whether the proposed legislation was consonant with the Federal Constitution. After referring to the United States Supreme Court decisions in the McCollum and Zorach cases, the Attorney General concluded that on the basis of the latter case, a released time program such as that contemplated by the bill in question, does not violate any provisions of the Federal Constitution as interpreted by the United States Supreme Court.

The Attorney General next considered the bill under the provisions of the Wisconsin State Constitution governing freedom of religion. He quoted Article 1, section 18, which provides that the right of every man to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of his own conscience shall never be infringed, that no man shall be compelled to attend or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministries against his consent, and that no control of, or interference with the rights of conscience shall be permitted. The section also provides that no preference shall be given by law to any religious establishments or modes of worship, and that no money shall be drawn from the State treasury for the benefit of religious societies or religious or theological seminaries. Also cited by the Attorney General was Article 10, Section 3 of the Wisconsin State Constitution which provides that the legislature shall, by law, establish district schools, and that such schools shall be free from any sectarian instruction.

The Attorney General pointed out that "the language in the Wisconsin Constitution is more restrictive, definitive, and explicit on the question of State-Church relationship than the Federal Constitution." He noted that the Wisconsin Supreme Court and his own predecessors in office have stated that the Wisconsin Constitution provides for the strictest "separation" of state and church in the Union.

The Attorney General then reviewed several decisions of the Wisconsin Supreme Court with respect to religion in the public schools. From these decisions he concluded that the Wisconsin public schools can have nothing to do with religion in any respect whatever, for they are as completely secular as any of the other institutions of the State in which all people, alike, have equal rights and privileges.

He quoted from one decision as follows:

> "The clause that 'no sectarian instruction shall be allowed therein' was inserted ex industria to exclude everything pertaining to religion. They are called by those who wish to have not only religion, but their own religion, taught therein 'Godless schools.' They are Godless, and the education department of the government is Godless, in the same sense as the executive, legislative, and administrative departments are Godless....The only object, purpose, or use for taxation by law in this State must be exclusively secular." State ex rel. Weiss v. District Board, 76 Wis. 177, 218.

He also quoted from the same decision the statement, "the connection of church and state corrupts religion, and makes the State despotic."

Finally, the Attorney General cited a 1950 Wisconsin Supreme Court decision, Milwaukee County v. Carter, 162 Wis. 482, which unconditionally affirmed the doctrine of the McCollum case. He concluded that the McCollum rule is the one which is in accord with the Wisconsin Constitution according to the Wisconsin Supreme Court, and that that rule has in no way been modified by the Zorach case so far as the Wisconsin State Constitution is concerned.

The Attorney General then turned to the specific bill under consideration, and concluded that that bill is unconstitutional because it contemplates the use of the "police power of the state" (that is, the truant officer) for reports on the religious activities of children.

He also expressed the view that an element of compulsion is present in the released time program proposed by the bill because the plan intends that those students who do not go to religious instruction will be held in the school building even though it is impossible for them to have the normal class instruction. He indicated that this would have the desired effect of encouraging them to leave their class rooms and join their fellow students in attending religious instruction. This compulsion, he stated, would violate the provisions of Article 1 of section 18 of the Wisconsin State Constitution, which states that no man shall be compelled to attend any place of worship.

The Attorney General next turned to the provision of the proposed bill which grants the public school authorities discretion as to whether to permit pupils with written permission of a parent to be absent for religious instruction "under a qualified instructor." He noted that this provision tends to give preference to those children whose parents belong to organized religions over those who come from homes whose parents do not belong to organized religions. He noted also that the granting of discretion to the school board to release children gives the board the power to rule that pupils may be released if they go to church A but not to church B, because the board may entertain the notion that the instructor of church A is "qualified" but not the instructor of church B. He concluded that obviously the Constitution of the State of Wisconsin denies to the State such control over religion.

Finally, the Attorney General pointed out that in order for a system of released time as proposed under the bill to operate, the time of teachers and school officials, the properties and equipment of the school, and the very school system itself would be used. The teachers and supervisory personnel would have to process the written authorizations and keep records thereof, arrange and effect the departures of released pupils from the school premises, keep records and make reports with respect to attendance at religious instructions, and have additional problems and work in cases of truancy due to the program. Also, the school operation would have to be accommodated thereto by arranging or revamping the ordinary classwork, so that the unreleased pupils would not be given any instruction during the released time but would engage in some other activity lest the released pupils miss the instruction or classwork undertaken during their absence. While he acknowledged that the cost or additional expense attendant upon such a program might not be large in comparison to the total school costs, he did emphasize that there would be a use of school time and property which would involve the expenditure of public school funds for the operation of the released time program. This, he concluded, would also make the released time program objectionable.

The Attorney General ruled, therefore, that based upon the constitutional provisions of the Wisconsin Constitution, and upon the construction given those provisions by the State Supreme Court and his predecessors in office, and for the reasons stated, that the proposed bill violates the Wisconsin Constitution.

No. 267
SR/TL:ph

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

SUBJECT: Attorney General of Colorado Inspects Fair Housing Act

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Theodore Leskes

DATE: July 23, 1959

DIGEST: The Attorney General of Colorado rules that the provision of the Colorado Fair Housing Act of 1959, which exempts from its coverage sales or leases of premises maintained by the owner as the household of his family, permits an agent of such owner to negotiate a sale or lease without regard to the provisions of the Colorado law barring racial or religious discrimination in the sale or lease of housing.

On June 1st, 1959, the Attorney General of Colorado, Duke W. Dunbar, responded to a query as to whether the exclusion from the recently enacted Fair Housing Law of sales or leases of housing maintained by the owner as the household of his own family was also applicable to such sales or leases if they are negotiated by an agent of such an owner. The Attorney General ruled that under the law an agent handling such a sale or lease was exempt from the coverage of the Act.

He based his ruling on the general law of agency under which a person may do through an agent whatever he is empowered to do himself. He concluded that, since the Act excludes from its provisions premises maintained by an owner as the household of his family, the Act cannot be deemed to apply to the agent of such an owner when he acts on the owner's behalf in connection with the sale or rental of such premises. Hence, a real estate broker or salesman, although licensed by the state, would not be barred from carrying out discriminatory instructions in connection with a sale or lease of premises maintained by an owner as the household of his family.

SR:hgmb
No. 268

167

The AJC is

MOVING

on August 31st, 1959
to its new home—

the Institute of Human Relations

Please note the new address and telephone number:

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York
PLaza 1-4000

Northwest Corner
East 56 Street
At Third Avenue

The Institute of Human Relations, dedicated to man's understanding of his fellow man, will be the national headquarters of the American Jewish Committee. It will serve as a center of research and education in the field of intergroup relations, and its facilities will be available to scholars, religious and communal leaders, educators and opinion molders throughout the country.

The Institute will also serve as the new home of:

- **The New York Chapter of the American Jewish Committee**
- **American Jewish Year Book**
- **Commentary Magazine**
- **Community Relations Service**
- **National Labor Service**

RECEIVED SEP 14 1959

file

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

"SPEAKING OF PEOPLE"

Enclosed is the first issue of Speaking of People, a selection of human interest briefs which we plan to provide monthly as a public service to radio stations throughout the country.

The list we are using comprises 1500 of the "top market" (i.e., largest audience) stations. Each is being requested to return a postcard indicating desire to receive this item regularly.

When the postcards are returned, we shall be in touch with colleagues in various communities to request assistance in further promoting this program.

In the meantime, please let us have your comments and suggestions on the first issue of Speaking of People. We hope also that you will "feed" us suitable stories derived from your files and experience for inclusion in future issues.

Isaiah Terman

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speaking of people

BRIEFS FOR BROADCASTERS

from **THE INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS**
of the American Jewish Committee
165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y.

A CENTER OF STUDY AND ACTION TO IMPROVE
MAN'S UNDERSTANDING OF MAN

September 1959

Time: 1:05

Anyone looking for a new hobby? Four men from Larchmont, New York, have found a way to escape the common ailment of suburban boredom. They've joined together to assist townspeople with cash and friendship when hard luck hits. Three businessmen and a rabbi have turned their spare-time attention to the thousand and one problems that come up -- advising widows, straightening insurance tangles, getting hearing aids for the needy, hiring lawyers. The Larchmont Temple group which signs its checks R-I-E-L, Religion in Everyday Life, works anonymously when it helps people in trouble. The three businessmen explain that R.I.E.L. is better than television, golf or grousing -- their former hobbies -- because after helping others, they can enjoy the results all year.

1:40

Wounded veteran Al Freeman landed in a Las Vegas hospital. He was starving to death because he couldn't retain a bite of food. Then a nun in the hospital fod him a piece of hot buttered bread --

the first morsel he had been able to digest for days. He lived on that bread for a week, and gratefully told the nursing sister, "This is truly angel bread!" The "angel bread," Al learned later, was baked by a nun appropriately named Sister Angelita. Its recipe had been in her family in Germany for almost 100 years. Al sent loaves to friends and experts all over the country for tasting and testing. They loved it. A machine was devised to mix huge quantities of dough just like the nun's. Freeman set up the Angelita Bread Foundation in Las Vegas and soon was baking more than 2,000 loaves a week. The bread is baked in a Jewish bakery and promoted by a Catholic, a Lutheran, a Methodist, an Episcopalian, a Mormon and a Negro Baptist. Three cents from the sale of each loaf goes to the building fund for St. Rose de Lima, the hospital in which Sister Angelita baked her original bread. When that project is finished, the profits will be used to help other hospitals around the country. All of which proves how much good can come from casting one's bread upon the waters!

0:40

Author Kermit Eby was once in Korea working for the Quakers. While walking through a rice field, he noticed some Koreans putting up a scarecrow. Having been raised on a farm, Eby was interested, and went up close to take a look. This oriental scarecrow, strangely enough, had red hair, blue eyes, and the whitest possible face. Eby explains it like this: "Interesting," he says, "how we make our saints like ourselves and our devils like our opposites."

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Congressional Record

United States of America — PROCEEDINGS AND DEBATES OF THE 86th CONGRESS, FIRST SESSION

Vol. 105 — WASHINGTON, WEDNESDAY, JULY 29, 1959 — No. 128

House of Representatives

World Refugee Year

SPEECH
OF
HON. HERMAN TOLL
OF PENNSYLVANIA
IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, July 28, 1959

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H.R. 8385) making appropriations for mutual security and related agencies for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1960, and for other purposes.

Mr. TOLL. Mr. Chairman, I am glad that the House included the item for the World Refugee Year in the mutual security appropriation bill.

Among the many supporters of this program is the American Jewish Committee. I believe the committee's statement, as adopted at its 52d annual meeting in New York on April 19, 1959, is worthy of the attention of every citizen and include it below:

STATEMENT ON WORLD REFUGEE YEAR BY THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE AT 52D ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 17–19, 1959

By a resolution adopted on December 5, 1958, the General Assembly of the United Nations declared the year beginning July 1, 1959, as World Refugee Year. It laid down the following as the goals of the year: (a) To focus interest in the refugee problem and to encourage additional financial contributions from governments, voluntary agencies, and the general public for its solution; (b) to encourage additional opportunities for permanent refugee solutions, through resettlement or integration, on a humanitarian basis and in accordance with the freely expressed wishes of the refugees themselves.

It asked the member states of the United Nations and the specialized agencies to cooperate, in accordance with the national wishes and needs of each country, in promoting a World Refugee Year as a practical means of securing increased assistance for refugees throughout the world.

In issuing the call for World Refugee Year, the General Assembly directed attention to the plight of all refugees throughout the world. It sought thereby to awaken the world's conscience to the need for urgent measures to solve or alleviate the problems of 30,000 in European camps, where some have spent a whole decade; 100,000 Europeans, likewise unsettled, though not in camps; a million Palestine Arab refugees; a million refugees from the Chinese mainland in Hong Kong; 60,000 or more Chinese in Macao; 170,000 Algerians in Tunisia and Morocco; 9,500 Europeans still trying to get out of Communist China; Jewish refugees from Egypt; Chinese refugees in Thailand and Laos; Tibetan refugees in India and Nepal; and displaced millions in India, Pakistan, Korea, and Vietnam.

The whole world is heartened that the United Nations has directed attention in this dramatic way to the sufferings and problems of the homeless victims of political and social dislocations and upheavals. We pledge our support toward realizing the aims of the Year, and urge that our Government and citizens organizations throughout the country do likewise.

We are pleased by the manifestation of support in the recent formation of the U.S. Committee for Refugees. That committee has called on our Government to appropriate additional funds and allocate surplus commodities for refugee aid programs, and on voluntary agencies to raise funds for their own refugee aid programs over and above their present budgets. It has also called upon our Government to admit annually 20,000 additional refuges outside existing quotas. Preliminary press reports indicate that the Government's program will be more modest than that urged.

These proposals exemplify the kind of measures governments and voluntary organizations can undertake for implementing the goals of the year. We welcome these proposals, limited though they are, but we hope that the Government and the public will make contributions that are more generous and more significant.

We feel that only if the nations introduce fundamental changes in their immigration policies will the refugee problem near solution. Therefore, we express our regret that our own Congress has failed up to now to embody in our law revisions along the lines urged by the President of the United States and by leading Members of Congress of both parties. These recommended revisions are based on the recognition that our present immigration laws reflect an attitude of distrust toward aliens, discriminate unjustly on grounds of the racial and national origins of aliens, and impose a self-defeating rigidity on efforts to promote our foreign policy and to perform effectively our role as leader of the free world.

We reaffirm our dedication to the goals of an enlightened and liberal immigration policy, and we hope that Congress will in the near future take such action as is necessary to bring this vital aspect of our policies into consonance with traditional American ideals. This would be the wisest and most dramatic contribution our country could make to the observance of the World Refugee Year.

The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y.

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
~~386 FOURTH AVENUE NEW YORK 16, N.Y.~~
165 East 56 Street - New York 22, New York

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

SUBJECT: Engel v. Vitale, New York Public School Prayer Case

FROM: Theodore Leskes and Sol Rabkin

DATE: September 30, 1959

DIGEST: The New York Supreme Court, Nassau County, holds on August 24, 1959 that a local school board resolution, directing the daily recitation in the public schools of the Regents' suggested prayer, does not violate either the State or Federal Constitutions. The matter is remanded, however, to the Board to amend its resolution to make it explicit that students were free to participate or not, that their parents were to be advised of such choice and that the schools were forbidden to comment upon student participation or non-participation.

In 1951, the New York Board of Regents adopted a statement recommending that "At the commencement of each school day, the act of allegiance to the Flag might well be joined with... reverence to God" expressed in the form of the following prayer:

> Almighty God we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers and our Country.

The Board of Education of Union Free School District No. 9, New Hyde Park, New York, accepted the Regents' recommendation and on July 8, 1958 adopted a resolution directing the school authorities under its jurisdiction to institute the daily recitation of the prayer following the salute to the flag. The practice was challenged by a group of taxpayers and parents of the children attending the public schools in the district.

On August 24, 1959, Mr. Justice Bernard S. Meyer, sitting at Special Term, Park I, Supreme Court, Nassau County, held that the local school Board's action did not violate either the State or the Federal Constitutions.

The Court first considers and rejects a number of procedural objections raised by the defendants such as that the petitioners had not exhausted their administrative remedies before appealing for judicial intervention, that the action was not commenced within the time prescribed by law, that the form of the action was not proper and finally that the petition did not contain the necessary allegation that the specific schools were under the jurisdiction and control of the defendant Board of Education. The Court holds that the petitioners have standing to challenge the Board's resolution under "both New York

and Federal law" and that the issue presented is the power of the local Board to adopt the resolution requiring daily prayer, unsupported by any administrative, legislative or constitutional requirement that it provide spiritual training for the children attending the public schools under its jurisdiction.

At the outset of the analysis of the legal issues the Court acknowledges that the question is "close." The Court rejects as "of no weight" the defendant's thesis that the "present rate of juvenile delinquency evidences the need for prayer in the schools." Similarly, the opinion rejects the argument "that the appointment of chaplains by the Congress in 1791 represents a practical construction by the Congress responsible for the First Amendment of its meaning" since no citizen-taxpayer has standing to challenge appropriation acts of Congress in the courts. The opinion also rejects the spectre of "Godless" schools raised by the defendants "if the prayer herein involved is not sanctioned."

Mr. Justice Meyer accepts the "religious nature of prayer" and points out that the use of prayer cannot be justified because "this is a religious nation" or because the prayer is to be said "in conjunction with the pledge of allegiance." There are other, equally effective, constitutionally uninhibited means of familiarizing students with our religious heritage. On the other hand, if the purpose is to inculcate in pupils a love of God, then the prayer would constitute religious instruction in violation of the "establishment" clause of the Federal Constitution.

A difficult issue is presented, however, when the prayer is considered an "integral part of our natural heritage." The Court argues that the "establishment" clause of the First Amendment was never intended to outlaw the practice of prayer or Bible reading in the schools any more than it was intended to outlaw them from the rest of public life. Turning to a consideration of "the history of the times" to determine whether the concept of separation extended to the exclusion of prayer and Bible reading as school routines when the First and Fourteenth Amendments were adopted, the Court concludes that "neither the sense of the nation, the debates, nor the individual views of the framers proscribe prayer as the ceremonial opening of a school day." The Court next takes up the relevant court decisions.

Meyer v. Nebraska (invalidating a state statute that prohibited the teaching of foreign languages below the eighth grade) and Pierce v. Society of Sisters (invalidating a state statute requiring all children to attend public schools), are cited for the proposition that the parent has primary control over the education of the child but that that control is subject to the exercise of the state's police power in appropriate cases -- "where there is a substantial nexus between the action required and the end sought to be obtained."

A whole series of U.S. Supreme Court and State Supreme Court cases dealing with the free exercise of religion are next described -- civil recognition of the decisions of church authorities on matters of church law and discipline, Watson v. Jones; the supremacy of the police power to forbid polygamy despite religious conviction, Reynolds v. U.S.; the flag saluting case, West Virginia v. Barnette; use of public streets and parks to win adherents, Cantwell v. Connecticut, Fowler v. Rhode Island; the right of the state to

insist upon compulsory education to age 16 despite objection on religious grounds, Commonwealth v. Beiler; etc. The most important decisions interpreting the "establishment" clause -- Everson, McCollum and Zorach -- are next summarized.

The opinion argues that Zorach was "a retreat from both Everson and McCollum...Zorach recognized that the Government can, without violation [of the establishment clause], accommodate all religions."

> The democratic nature of our Government precludes the imposition of sanctions in the field of religion; the religious nature of the governed sanctions the inclusion of religion in the processes of democratic life; the dividing line between permitted accommodation and proscribed compulsion is a matter of degree, to be determined anew in each new fact situation.

The Court points out that none of the Federal cases dealt directly with prayer or Bible reading in the public schools, and turns to a consideration of the state court decisions. "Prayer in the schools, either separately or together with the Bible has been upheld in ten and struck down in seven state decisions. Of the cases concerned solely with the reading of the Bible, nine have upheld and two have struck down Bible reading as a devotional exercise." Many of these cases turned on whether the Court regarded the Bible or the Lord's Prayer as sectarian. Also, many of the courts upholding these practices have pointed to the non-compulsory features of the exercise.

"Some form of prayer," the Court says, "would appear to fall within the realm of permissible accommodation" mentioned in the Zorach decision. The instant prayer -- "twenty-two words in length" -- is "devotional" and when its recitation is limited to daily exercises at the opening of school, the Court believes it should be classified as "outside McCollum's proscription of religious instruction and within Zorach's sanction as an accommodation."

Since, however, the Board's resolution is framed in mandatory terms, the Court remands the matter to the Board to modify the resolution:

> To establish a procedure whereby the parents of each child are advised of the adoption of the resolution calling for the saying of prayer, of the wording of the prayer and of the procedure to be followed when it is said and requested to indicate whether the child shall or shall not participate in the exercise.

The opinion next takes up the petitioners' argument that "subtle pressures" result from the school's apparent sanction of the prayer and considers such pressures as characteristic of the conflict between all dissenters and society. The Court refuses to raise "psychological dissent...to the level of government force" and thereby subordinate "the spiritual needs of believers to the psychological needs of non-believers."

Since the case was being remanded for revision of the Board's resolution, the Court also considers and rejects the petitioners' argument that the

proposed prayer was sectarian and hence prohibited in the public schools under the New York State Constitution.

> The fact that the prayer and the manner of its saying may not conform to all of the tenets of the Jewish, Unitarian and Ethical Culture groups, or of any other group, does not mean that the prayer is sectarian. Nor can it be said in any true sense that the granting of legislative permission to say a prayer as an opening exercise in a school is a preference of believers over non-believers when the saying of the prayer is not made compulsory. To put it shortly, since each is free to follow his own predeliction with respect to prayer, to participate in a prayer exercise or to refuse to do so, the exercise cannot be deemed preferential.

TL/SR:fbw
CVR-CRC
No. 271

MUNICIPAL LAW SERVICE LETTER

News and Comments on Local Government Law

Vol. 9, No. 1 • Section of Municipal Law • American Bar Association • September, 1959

Open Occupancy For American Cities

By Donald S. Frey of the Evanston, Illinois, Bar; Member, Section of Municipal Law

In a world in ferment and revolution, people in many metropolitan areas in America are becoming increasingly concerned over prevailing housing practices that risk America's being "pointed at as a nation of hypocrites."[1] American communities have permitted real estate agents to rent or sell to people, and bankers to finance such sales, on the basis of such people's nationality, color or religion. These practices are in large measure condoned in the belief that diversification of people in an area impairs property values and is socially undesirable.[2]

But recently a revulsion against these practices is becoming apparent, with church and civic groups pointing to minority individuals being crowded into small areas and receiving a disproportionate share of the annual new housing erected.[3] Studies have exploded "myths" that earlier supported these discriminatory practices, such as the idea that minority people could not maintain their property. The traditional fair-play attitude of Americans is challenging the whole concept of housing segregation.

A real sense of urgency is emerging in the face of segregation barriers in most cities which are actually higher today than they were fifteen years ago. Furthermore, housing desegregation is now seen necessary if school integration and other human relations goals are to be won.

What Is An Open Occupancy Ordinance?

People in various cities are, therefore, proposing "open occupancy laws," under which no owner or landlord can refuse to sell or to lease to another person, because of that person's nationality, color or religion.[4] Such laws provide a definite formal campaign against these housing practices, rather than those existing in so many areas which are vague, uncoordinated, or negative. New York City and Pittsburgh have passed such "open occupancy ordinances,"[5] and their ordinances are considered to be the long-awaited breakthrough against this most pernicious form of discrimination outside the South. The interest is accelerating at such a rapid rate that "open occupancy laws" may someday equal the fair employment legislation which exists today in nineteen states and forty cities.[6]

Owners of private property are discovering that their private interest is best served by adhering to the higher ethic of the public interest. An "open occupancy law" is in effect a simple declaration that housing is a matter of prime public interest, and, therefore, ought to conform to that public policy pervading our entire fabric of laws which requires that each of us be treated on our merits and not denied access to needed facilities because of ancient group labels or prejudices.

Courts and Legislative Action for Fair Housing

Certain court opinions have assisted groups in metropolitan areas to fight unfair housing proctices. For example, the Supreme Court of the United States held in 1917 that racial zoning laws and ordinances were invalid.[7] In 1948, the Supreme Court refused judicial enforcement of race restrictive covenants.[8] In 1954, the Court refused to review a California decision that the practice of racial segregation in public housing was prohibited.[9] Most of these decisions rested upon the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Concerned peoples in America's metropolitan areas have been assisted recently by state legislation on fair housing. To date, nine states have banned discrimination in public or publicly-assisted housing, defining "publicly-assisted" in various ways, but including in some instances housing built with loans secured by government guaranties. But up to 1959 no state had applied its ban completely to private housing, which, of course, represents the bulk of housing in all areas. In some states, the ban on "publicly-assisted housing" applies only to future housing, which again means that a large bulk of existing housing is exempt from the ban. During the year 1959 four states enacted for the first time "open occupancy" legislation applying to private housing (Colorado, Massachuetts, Oregon, and Connecticut).[10]

Human Relations Commissions

Unfair housing practices are being fought by an increasing number of voluntary citizens' groups working for racial dispersion throughout their entire communities. These volunteer groups are aided by the growth of Human Relations Commissions. To date, there are ninteen state commissions established by statute, and thirty-eight municipal commissions established by ordinance.[11]

Early experience indicates that many state legislatures may find it difficult to determine that the unfair housing practices in one or more metropolitan areas in such state are of such a nature as to threaten the peace or hamper the public welfare of the entire state, while on the other hand the legislative backer in the municipalities comprising the metropolitan areas themselves may well come to the contrary conclusion and move to enact "open occupancy" ordinances resting upon the police powers of the municipalities.

That cities are not waiting for states to take action in this serious problem can be seen from the example in Illinois. Already, for at least fourteen years, citizens of various Illinois cities and villages have been serving as members of Human Relations Commissions, established by ordinances. (There are other "semi-official" bodies existing in other municipalities such as "Councils" established by a "resolution" of the Aldermen or Trustees, or "Mayors' Commissions" appointed solely at the initiative of the Mayor.)

A study of these ordinances[12] indicates: (a) the number of such commissions is accelerating in recent years; (b) the commission members serve without compensation, although the clerical expenses of the commissions appear to be part of the municipal budgets; (c) the members of the commissions are broadly representative

of the population of the community; (d) the number of commissioners ranges from five to fifteen.

The stated justification for most such ordinances is to preserve the "peace" and protect the "public welfare." (Ordinance 3244, East St. Louis.) However, one ordinance plainly recites that it is "in support of constitutional provisions against prejudice and practice of discrimination against any individual or group because of race, color, creed, national origin, or ancestry." (Ordinance 4165, Joliet.) Several of these ordinances carry a specific declaration of policy—which declaration in effect puts the corporate authorities on record as opposed to discriminatory practices.

The functions of these officially established commissions may be classified as follows: (a) to report to city officials; (b) to investigate complaints and initiate their own investigations; (c) to conduct public hearings; (d) to provide for mediation through conference and conciliation; (e) to investigate employment opportunities; (f) to recommend legislative action deemed appropriate. The general stated aims for these commissions are: (a) to further understanding between people; (b) to promote the American ideal of equality and justice; (c) to study nature and cause of prejudice; (d) to encourage wise adjustment to social problems; (e) to cooperate with other organizations to promote tolerance (community groups and state and federal agencies); (f) to promote interfaith and interracial harmony.

But even the growth and work of these Human Relations Commissions, plus the state legislation limited to publicly-assisted housing plus the court decisions, all together, have not provided sufficient impact nor aid to stem the tide toward greater housing segregation in American cities.[13] It appears evident that open occupancy ordinances, resting on the police power of the municipality, are necessary to achieve democracy in housing, and many other human relations goals as well.

How Does An Open Occupancy Ordinance Work?

One year's experience has accumulated under New York City's Open Occupancy Ordinance.[14] Of two hundred fifty complaints filed, all but two were settled by the Commission, which appears scrupulous to stress education and mediation. Pre-enactment fears that the ordinance would prove disruptive and increase hostility between landlords and tenants have proved to be wrong. Also, fears that the ordinance would cause mortgage lenders to refuse loans to owners of apartment houses that were integrated have proved wrong.

Under this New York City Ordinance, a complaint is first filed with the Commission. If the complaint cites a practice found upon investigation to be discriminatory and in violation of the ordinance, then the Commission is directed to "conciliate and eliminate" the practice. Failing this, the matter is referred to a Fair Housing Practice Panel for a hearing. If court action is found warranted after the hearing, the case is referred to the Corporation Counsel for equitable proceedings.

Under the Pittsburgh ordinance, the complaint is filed with the Commission, which, if it finds an unlawful housing practice, seeks to eliminate it by "conciliation and persuasion." Should these measures fail, the Commission itself holds a public hearing, and may later decide to "certify the case and the entire record of the proceedings to the City Solicitor for appropriate action to secure enforcement of the Commission's order."

Both ordinances exempt housing controlled by religious organizations.

In the New York City ordinance, the only exceptions as to sale of private housing (as distinguished from housing given government aid) are one and two-family houses built in developments of not more than ten dwellings. In the Pittsburgh ordinance, the exception is lowered to not more than four dwellings under the control of one owner. The Pittsburgh ordinance goes further than the New York City ordinance in specifically declaring it an "unlawful housing practice" for real estate brokers, lending institutions, and other persons (in addition to sellers) to discriminate "because of race, color, religion, ancestry, or national origin" in connection with the sale or rental of housing."

An open occupancy ordinance declares it the public policy of the city to help create integrated neighborhoods and thus welcome residents into the community irrespective of race, religion, or national origin. An ordinance sets up some investigatory and conciliation machinery, either within an existing Human Relations Commission as in Pittsburgh, or it establishes one, as in New York, with power to investigate and negotiate in these areas of discrimination. Beyond this declaration of public policy and beyond the investigative and conciliation machinery, the open occupancy laws in operation or under contemplation contain enforcement machinery for operation against recalcitrant sellers, renters, or real estate firms. Judicial action may take the form of a cease and desist order from a municipal court judge, if the case is not dismissed through negotiation. The extreme sanction—contempt of court—has rarely been used, at least in the field of employment discrimination, but it is a deterrent which is always in the background for use in an extremity. Probably any law passed would emphasize policy more than punishment, but if we believe in a government of laws—whether on the local, national, or international level—we must believe in enforcement powers and not just pious pleas. Again The Commission on Race stated that "the great majority of discriminatory complaints have been settled by informal methods of investigation and conference . . . Nevertheless, the existence of legal sanctions in the background is considered essential . . . Commissions, to be effective, must have authority and sanctions at their disposal, even if they use them sparingly."

Neither ordinance expressly prohibits discriminatory advertising relating to housing. However, the Pittsburgh provision on "any person . . . to aid, incite . . . participate in the doing of any act declared to be an unlawful housing practice" may be held to prohibit the publication of such future advertising. New York City has another ordinance specifically condemning such discriminatory advertising practices.[15]

Is Fair Housing Legislation A Municipal Function?

It must be recognized, of course, that with respect to political subdivisions any proposed legislation must also be within the framework of the powers which the municipality may exercise under the law. While there are usually no express provisions in the state constitution or "city charter acts" for the enactment of a fair housing practices ordinance, a municipality does usually have broad general powers to enact ordinances which promote the good government and welfare of the community.[16]

Indeed, the same considerations which prompted enactment of the fair employment practices ordinances in various municipalities would support the power of these cities to adopt a fair housing practices ordinance. But most states have statutes granting specific and general powers to their municipalities sufficient to justify the en-

actment of Open Occupancy Ordinances. For example, Illinois has a Revised Cities and Villages Act which embraces all the powers granted by the Illinois State Legislature to the municipalities within the state. A number of these powers which relate to our inquiry in this paper are identified below.[17]

As is the case with most states, the long line of Illinois court opinions noted (in footnote 17) make it clear that an Illinois municipality, in view of the specific powers set forth in the state statutes, would be authorized to pass an open occupancy ordinance if the municipal council believed such ordinance to contribute to the health, welfare, and safety of the community. Municipalities are held to possess powers "necessarily incident to powers expressly granted." Ordinances relating to "the most important police power" of caring for the safety and health of a community are to be liberally construed. Private rights are subject to the exercise of this police power, as well as the right of liberty of property of an individual. (Inconvenience or loss to the individual may result.) The power to make regulations necessary or expedient for the promotion of the health of a community is said to be "inherent in a municipality and may be exercised whether expressly granted or not." It is said that anything harmful to a community may be prohibited under a city's police power.

Little litigation has developed questioning municipal power to regulate individual liberties. Municipal authority to segregate in public housing was upheld in various jurisdictions when the "separate but equal" doctrine was accepted. In the circuit court opinion in John R. Thompson Co. v. District of Columbia,[18] the majority suggested, in dictum, that the question of the power of cities to segregate is distinguishable from the question of the power of cities to enforce nondiscrimination. The distinction was said to rest on the fact that segregation laws were in accord with custom and usage, and, therefore, were valid in that they served the purpose of preserving the peace.

The reasoning pertaining to restaurants might well seem equally applicable to housing legislation, for it, too, has aspects which commend it to local treatment. Since population distribution of minority groups, their housing conditions in general, and the attitudes of the state population may be expected to vary from locality to locality, the city is perhaps best able to weigh the advantages and disadvantages that might be expected to flow from fair housing regulation. Municipal concern with the effective distribution of available housing is not unlike the considerations which give rise to city zoning powers. When conditions which bear on an area of potential government control are found to vary within a state, the very rationales which support the existence of home rule seem to argue for its regulation by the municipality. Also, there is now a growing weight of evidence that integrated housing can work to the peace and prosperity of a community.[19]

How Is The Need For Fair Housing Legislation Established?

How are community groups and their lawyers developing the evidence to present to municipal legislatures to sustain finding that open occupancy ordinances are needed to promote the health, safety and welfare of the community? The first step is to develop community wide "inventories of human relations problems," enlisting the services of volunteer civic groups under the guidance of a professional sociologist and other experts in the human relations field. Data is gathered and marshaled to support later the findings in the opening paragraphs of the ordinance, highlighting the serious impact of housing discrimination upon the municipalities, the creation of substandard dwellings, and overcrowded areas, unsanitary living conditions, the breeding places for crime and delinquency, the intergroup tensions, and other harmful results. Data is collected on the evidence of "rejection" inspired by living in separation from the rest of the community. If the municipal authorities consider that outlawing discrimination in housing will tend to ameliorate these conditions, and thus promote the peace, good government, and welfare of the municipality, the legislation appears to be within the powers granted to the municipality by law.

In the case of a municipality having practically no minority individuals living presently within its borders but which is located within a metropolitan area suffering from intergroup tensions and from overcrowding of minority people in segregated districts within the whole area, the said municipality may properly decide that this general metropolitan condition is a threat to the "peace" and "welfare" of its community.

Is There An Infringement of Private Rights?

To the argument raised by antagonistic groups that "open occupancy" ordinances unfairly limit the right of an individual to use his private property as he chooses, it should be pointed out that such ordinances as are on the books and being proposed do not intrude on the owner's legitimate right to require satisfactory credit ratings of any prospective tenant or buyer or to make certain that the applicant meets every reasonable objective test of general desirability as a tenant or buyer. The ordinance does not deprive the seller or lessor of the opportunity to transact his business. It merely requires that he sell or rent at any price satisfactory to him, but without regard to race, color, or creed of the offeree. The fact that a potential purchaser or lessee is of a particular minority group would seem to be a factor wholly irrelevant to legitimate commercial purposes, and obligatory disregard of it is not an overly severe infringement on the liberty to contract.

In our democracy, an individual's rights are severely limited for the public safety and welfare in many ways. If traffic can be controlled to save lives, why not housing discrimination? Ordinarily we Americans do not choose our neighbors. As the Commission on Race states, "A person seeking a place to live chooses a neighborhood, but other residents of the area do not normally choose him . . . In a typical (neighborhood) situation, such a right can neither be affirmed nor denied; it is merely irrelevant."[20] The real individual rights violated today are those of Negroes and other minorities who live in a society where segregation has been all but compulsory.

Private property rights have always been limited by broad public interest. A basic tenet of our legal system is that for every right there is a duty—and in this instance, the operation of specific types of private property must meet certain publicly determined standards. Precedent for equal access to shelter dates back to the Middle Ages with respect to innkeepers under Anglo-Saxon law.

What Are These Unfair Housing Practices?

Antagonistic groups argue that there really is no problem, and that previous court decisions under the Fourteenth and Fifth Amendments to the Federal Constitution should already offer sufficient protection to minority individuals seeking to find homes. The short answer

is that the need is for legal protection against private action. Existing private housing practices that invite attention here include the following:

a. Minorities are refused to be shown rental housing in "restricted areas;"

b. Minorities are prevented from openly shopping themselves for homes in "restricted areas;"

c. Discriminatory advertisements underscore public acceptance of segregated housing;

d. The bulk of rental housing and sale housing in metropolitan areas is handled efficiently by boards of real estate brokers agreeing to unwritten code not to sell properties in "restricted areas" to minorities;

e. Financing for housing for minorities in "restricted areas" is withheld;

f. Pricing for housing for minorities in "restricted areas" disproportionately high;

g. Developers of new housing sections refuse to offer homes to minorities;

h. Actual misrepresentations of true attitude of neighborhood about minorities circulated by agents and other persons;

i. Zoning ordinance amendments designed indirectly to freeze existing patterns of segregation or to force minorities from particular municipality.

It is submitted that the very existence of an open occupancy ordinance discourages such practices. The Supreme Court decisions denying judicial enforceability to restrictive covenants simply caused real estate agents to go underground. Neighborhood groups were formed to (a) make the new family feel it was not wanted; (b) bring pressure on the seller to refuse to sell; (c) conspire with banks not to make loans. Neighbors are scared into signing petitions and joining in the antagonistic activities of such groups by arguments that property values will suffer.

What Can Federal and State Governments Do?

Now, while the FHA no longer participates in the above practices, the builders, lenders, and real estate men contrive to do so in open contradiction of the principles of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments and the court decisions. The question should perhaps be asked of the courts whether, where private institutions control the access of minorities to a government agency, should not they be subject to the same requirement as is a government agency—not to deny any member of a minority group equal rights (Fourteenth Amendment) and not to withdraw the privileges of citizenship from any person without due process of law (Fifth Amendment)? A reexamination of this whole field of law would seem to be in order in the face of our changing times and practices and the increasing public conscience.

It has been assumed that since the powers of the U. S. Congress are limited to those specifically delegated to it by the Constitution, Congress does not have authority to forbid discrimination in the sale of ordinary private housing. On the other hand, it has been recognized that since a state may take any action not expressly forbidden by a provision of the Federal Constitution or the Constitution of the state, the state as a civil rights matter under its police power might prohibit racial and religious discrimination and segregation in any housing, public, publicly-assisted, or private.[21]

State statutes similar to the Federal Civil Rights Law could be enacted declaring the right to own, lease, or occupy property without regard to race, color, religion, or national origin as a civil right. While such law would have no immediate effect, it would serve to establish a statutory policy of opposition to the type of discriminatory practices in housing set forth above. It might even be argued that the absence of such action by the state in the light of existing unfair practices was state action in reverse, actually failing to protect the equal rights of minority individuals and thus falling within the condemnation of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Can We Discriminate With Private Housing?

The individual owner of a house or apartment building has felt generally free to discriminate in selling or leasing. Nevertheless, when government and private individuals combine in the production of housing facilities, the question of whether the accommodations may be disposed of on a discriminatory basis is not settled. The Fourteenth and Fifth Amendments, by their terms, direct their commandments to the states and Congress alone, while jointly-produced property is generally in the hands of private individuals by the time of lease or sale. But the concept of "state action" has been significantly expanded to apply the Constitution's proscriptions to the conduct of private persons, who, because of their powerful community position or because of the relationship of themselves or their activities to the government, "can be fairly said"[22] to be acting for or as the state.

With particular significance to the housing question, it has been said that persons who have been aided by the power of the state to perform an activity cannot use methods prohibited to the government itself. In Shelley v. Kraemer[23] where the Supreme Court declared that restrictive covenants entered into by private persons were unenforceable, the Court noted that in Buchanan v. Warley[24] the Court had held that the states might not indirectly achieve that end through the medium of a zoning ordinance.

This attitude against indirection by the state in participating in discrimination was more fully expressed in a concurring opinion in the case of Steele v. Louisville & Nashville R. R.[25] The issue presented to the Court was whether a union, statutorily recognized as the bargaining agent of a group of employees by the Railroad Labor Act, might validly bargain with the employer for a hiring and promotion program designed to eliminate Negroes from the working force. A majority of the Court held the provisions of the collective bargaining agreement invalid, basing its decision on an interpretation of the Railway Labor Act as requiring the recognized union to represent all employees in its unit fairly and equally and to refrain from bargaining for provisions which served only discriminatory purposes. Justice Murphy, concurring, found the case to be governed, not merely by the statute involved, but also by the principle that the union, having gained its power and position by force of the federal government, was constitutionally constrained to conduct itself as the Government must.[26] Subsequently, a majority of the Court in American Communications Ass'n. v. Douds[27] alluding to the Steele decision, stated: "But power is never without responsibility. And when authority derives in part from the Government's thumb on the scales, the exercise of that power by private persons becomes closely akin, in some respects, to its exercise by Government itself."

There may well be limits to the freedom of an individual to discriminatorily sell or lease property acquired without any form of governmental assistance whatsoever. Private owners of housing developments and large apartment projects might be constrained by law, from disposing of their accommodations on a nondiscriminatory basis. The Supreme Court, in Marsh v. Alabama[28] suggested that

a private person who has gained a position of significant societal power and is performing the functions usually performed by the government itself is subject to the proscriptions of the Fourteenth Amendment.

Preventing Real Estate Agents From Unfair Practices

We have noted that the Pittsburgh Open Occupancy Ordinance specifically brings the real estate agent under control. An analysis of some of the state statutes on unfair housing practices is interesting in this respect. For example, a New Jersey statute regulates all real estate owners regardless of the non-commercial nature of the holdings and only indirect government assistance is necessary.[29] A Connecticut statute[30] does not predicate its application upon any specific form of government assistance, providing that "all persons within the jurisdiction of this state shall be entitled to full and equal accommodations in every place of public accommodation . . ." A "place of public accommodation" is defined as "any establishment, including, but not limited to, public housing projects and all other forms of publicly assisted housing, which caters or offers its services or facilities or goods to the general public." The Connecticut Commission on Civil Rights has ruled that even a real estate agent who operates an establishment which offers its services to the general public is subject to the statute.[31] Were this interpretation to be accepted by the courts, it would seem that apartment house owners and project developers are also within the purview of the enactment.

Most, if not all, states license real estate brokers and salesmen. There are strict requirements for such licenses and they may be forfeited if the broker or salesman commits a serious violation. A state could properly include among these requirements a provision that brokers may not refuse to sell or lease property to any persons for reasons of race, religion or national origin. In the absence of such state legislation, there would seem to be no reason why a municipality could not do the same in the exercise of its police power.

Banks And Unfair Housing Practices

The Pittsburgh open occupancy ordinance also singles out lending institutions for control. Willingness of the housing supplier is often not sufficient alone to enable minority group members to acquire private housing. Financial assistance for a purchase in a "restricted area" may also be discriminately withheld. New Jersey, by amendment of its Savings and Loan Act and its Banking Act,[32] has expressly provided that the granting of mortgage loans shall be without regard to race, creed, color, national ancestry, or origin, nor shall there be discrimination as to the terms of such loans.

Zoning Ordinances and Open Occupancy

In the light of existing housing practices, it is submitted that certain zoning ordinances in American cities today might be challenged as in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment, where an open occupancy ordinance is not enacted by the said municipality. For example, a zoning ordinance amendment shown to be in accord with a known discriminatory policy of depriving minority people of multiple housing is in effect "zoning racially" —and thus government aid is being used discriminatorily —lending this government aid to enforced, unwritten, but nevertheless understood, race restrictive covenants— empowering private persons to do what the government itself cannot do—use the criterion of race.

As communities throughout the nation are planning and initiating redevelopment projects to replace slum areas, it is particularly important that the public be alerted to the danger of freezing segregated housing patterns for years to come. While urban redevelopment is properly heralded by housing experts as the key to the future development of American cities, it also presents a potentially grave problem for the future of intergroup relations in this country. Properly planned and administered, the urban redevelopment provisions of the Federal Housing Act of 1949 could aid materially in realizing the stated objective of the law to provide "a decent home and suitable living environment for every American Family." Improperly implemented, however, these provisions can permanently impose a pattern of segregated living in the United States.

In the last few years, the courts of this country have handed municipalities enormously increased authority to procceed with planning and zoning. This had gone hand-in-hand with startling new planning techniques. This new authority and this new power mean an increased control and regulation over private property. This control is vested—in its entirety—in each of a thousand local bodies. If we are to concede to government these additional powers in the name of better living, surely they must be accompanied by standards which will permit the exercise of those powers, fairly, decently, and without prejudice.

The Police Power of State and Municipality

The zoning power of a municipality is rooted in the police power of the state. This police power, the least limitable of state powers, extends to the enactment of all legislation that is reasonably necessary for the public health, safety, morals and general welfare. The trend of Supreme Court decisions has been to extend the definition of "general welfare" so that today there is hardly a public need of any sort which may not serve to justify state legislative action, or municipal action.

An open occupancy ordinance may be said to have a double-edged purpose: (a) to open up a new, and needed, market for homes to members of minority groups who are able to afford them, and (b) to wage a frontal attack against slum areas that are caused in part by the inability of great numbers of persons to purchase or rent elsewhere. Both these purposes are justified by the police power.

Open occupancy ordinances may be attacked with the question of whether a state or municipality may limit the scope of its enactment to a particular group of property owners. Ironically, the two problems in this area which are presented by the state laws are (a) the differentiation in treatment which the ordinances accord "commercial" property owners and individual home owners, and (b) the differentiation between those who receive government aid and those who do not. The doctrinal approach of the courts is that a particular classification is not violative of the "equal protection" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment so long as the characteristics of the classes are such that the variations in treatment have some relation to the desired ends of the law.[33] The question of justified classifications is not as important when the police power approach is used to support fair housing laws as when the civil rights approach is used.

Restricting operation of an anti-discrimination law to owners of multiple dwellings and project developers appears to meet this minimal standard. While it may not be supposed that such persons discriminate to any greater degree than uncontrolled property owners, the states might nonetheless reaonably consider the need for regulation of this class to be greater.

When presented with this classification quetion in State Comm'n Against Discrimination v. Pelham Hall Apartments, the New York Supreme Court justified the classification on the basis of the "step-at-a-time" rule formulated by the United States Supreme Court in Williamson v. Lee Optical Co.[34] This doctrine recognizes the right of a state to carve out of a group of persons, similarly situated, a class whose activities or numbers are such as to create a greater need for immediate regulation than the balance of the group. "(R)eform may take one step at a time, addressing itself to the phase of the problem which seems most acute to the legislative mind."

"Controlled Occupancy" or "Quotas"

To meet the fallacious argument that "open occupancy" might bring floods of minority people into formerly "restricted neighborhoods," some people have suggested a quota plan for each neighborhood roughly in accord with the population proportions. It is submitted that a quota plan is not necessary if the governmental units in an entire metropolitan area should adopt open occupancy ordinances at about the same time and honestly enforce them. Furthermore, it is doubtful whether any quota plan could be enforced or even administered in a practical manner. Finally, the legality of a quota plan for private housing would be most doubtful, as the use of a quota has not even been sustained in public housing.[35] Actually, enforced quotas have been practiced on a voluntary basis in the private housing field as evidenced by increasing incidence of successfully planned interracial developments.[36]

Conclusion

To conclude our analysis of "Open Occupancy Ordinances," we all realize that prejudice and discrimination are two different things. Prejudice is a preconceived opinion, usually thought to be unreasonable, existing only in the mind, while discrimination is an overt act of treating someone favorably or unfavorably as compared with others, whether or not as a result of prejudice. The idea that prejudice causes all discrimination is too simple, for many persons conform to discriminatory patterns of behavior not because they are prejudiced but because they lack the strength to resist the group's demand for conformity. Discrimination, in some situations, is the easiest way out. Official declarations for fair practices help these people take the right step.[37]

Even the prejudiced person does not always take the next step and discriminate. Opinions do not flower automatically into behavior. Whether or not the prejudiced person acts in accordance with his beliefs depends on many circumstances, not the least of these is his community's expression of what is right and proper, such as can be embodied in an open occupancy ordinance.

The expression by ordinances and statutes of what is considered right and proper conduct is a practice that has existed in this country since its beginning. The Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Sherman Act and the Sunday "blue" laws all embody our ideas of what is right. Anti-bias legislation, as an attempt to lead the community toward a practical application of our basic ideals, has had a similar history. In the field of employment bias, city and state laws have appreciably lessened discriminatory employment practices in less than a decade.

Law is never the total answer to changing human habit patterns. Law should, however, not be considered an alternative to education, but as a complementary method to achieve greater equality. We believe in accident prevention education, but we also have traffic laws to prevent reckless driving. We believe in discrimination prevention education, but we should not be afraid to enact anti-discrimination laws to prevent reckless human relations patterns. As will the courts in sustaining later legislation, the councilmen, aldermen, or trustees of all municipal bodies will be impressed with factual data showing that both the majority and the minority suffer from these unfair housing practices, and that the police powers of the corporate public entity should be exercised—as well as the Fourteenth Amendment and the Federal Constitution extended to its realistic limit—to prohibit these practices with their resultant overcrowding, crime-breeding slums, cancroid ghettos, destructive resentments and indignities, and failures in human understanding and communication. Then, like the psalmist of old,[38]

"That glory may dwell in our land.
Mercy and truth are met together:
Righteousness and peace have kissed
each other."

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1. See Guide To Changing Neighborhoods (1956), Nat. Com. Relations Advisory Council (extensive bibliography); "Social Program, Residential Desegregation—The Church's New Frontier" (Sept. 1958) Bd. of Christian Educ. of the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; "They Say That You Say—The Challenge of Houses and Race" (Amer. Friends Svc. Com.) (1955).
2. See generally, Abercrombia, How To Buy Or Build Your Home Wisely, pages 14-18 (1941); May, The Valuation of Residential Real Estate 75 (1942); The New "Gresham's Law of Neighborhoods" Fact or Fiction (From Appraisal Journal, July 1951); Who's My Neighbor? (A. G. Black) Public Office Pamphlet #273.
3. See (particularly 1958 and 1959) all issues of "Trends In Housing" (pub. bi-monthly by Natl. Com. Against Discrimination in Housing.) Laurenti, Effects of Nonwhite Purchases on Market Prices of Residences (1952); Morgan, Values in Transition Areas: Some New Concepts 6 (1956); Abrams, Forbidden Neighbors 229-30 (1955); Inventory of Human Relations In Evanston (Oct. 1953—Evanston Interracial Council).
4. See Annual Report of Evanston, Illinois, Human Relations Council, June 15, 1959; a proposal has been circulated in Chicago, Ill.; See "Housing Opportunities Program" (Council for Civic Unity of San Francisco); See copies of "Trends In Housing" referred to in footnote 3.
5. New York, N. Y. Admin. Code Sec. X 41-1.0 (Sup. 1958) Pittsburgh Sec. 1-9 (June 1, 1959 became effective—enacted Dec. 8, 1958). See also "Discrimination In FHA Guaranteed Home Financing" (Warren W. Lehman) Ill. Bar Journal 1959, pages 375-379. See pamphlet about NYC law entitled "Fair Play In Housing For Everyone."
6. See general report of the Commission on Race and Housing entitled, "Where Shall We Live" (1958). See also page 8 of May-June issue of Trends In Housing.
7. Buchanan v. Warley, 245 U.S. 60 (1917), held that 14th Amendment was a bar to state enactment of racial zoning regulations.
8. Shelly v. Kraemer, 334 U.S. — (1948).
9. Plessy v. Ferguson. 163 U.S. 537 (1896) established the "separate but equal" doctrine and appeared to allow the states to employ segregation policies in public housing. However, after the decision of the Shelly case, states began rejecting the use of "separate but equal" housing facilities; See Banks v. Housing Authority, 120 Cal. App. 21, 260 P. 2d 668 (Dist. Ct. App. 1953), cert. den. 347 U.S. 974 (1954). See also Dorsey v. Stuyvesant Town Corp. 299 N.Y. 512, 87 N.E. 2d 541 (1949), cert. den. 339 U.S. 981 (1950), where admission to Negroes to a low rental housing project was refused, and Ming v. Horgan, 3 Race Rel. L Rep. 693 (1958) Col. Sup. Ct. where admission was granted; See also State Comm. v. Pelham Hall Apts., 10 Misc., 2 334, 170 N.Y. S2 750 (Sup. Ct. 1958) where a state anti-discrimination law was unsuccessfully attacked by the owner of a multiple dwelling who had obtained FHA guaranty of his mortgage loan.
10. U.S. Housing & Home Finance Agency, Nondiscriminating Clauses In Regard To Public Housing, Private Housing, Urban Redevelopment Undertakings. (1957). Colorado Open Occupancy Statute (House Bill No. 259, approved by Governor April 10, 1959; Chap. 239 of the 1959 Acts of Mass. Leg. (Section 1 of Chap. 151B of General Laws) Amended Statute to make unlawful discrimination in sale, lease or rental

of multiple dwellings, and of contiguously located housing accommodations. Citation to Connecticut and Oregon laws not available.

11. One may write Evanston Human Relations Council, 1609 Sherman Ave., Evanston, Ill., for names and addresses of all state, county, and city Human Relations Commissions in the United States.
12. In studying the powers and functions of each of these Human Relations Commissions, as authorized by the corporate authority of the municipality, we list the following eight municipalities—date, enactment, and title of body formed:
    Rockford (Jan. '45) Ordinance—Rockford Interracial Com.
    Chicago (Dec. '47) Ordinance—Commission on Human Relations
    Springfield (June '54) Resolution—
    Joliet (Feb. '56) Ordinance—Commission on Human Relations (Ord. No. 4165)
    East St. Louis (?) Ordinance—Commission on Human Relations (Ord. No. 3244)
    Galesburg (Apr. '56) Resolution—Commission on Human Rel.
    Alton (May '58) Ordinance—Commission on Human Relations (Ord. No. 2714)
    Champaign (Oct. '58) Ordinance—Advisory Commission on Human Relations (Ord. No. 35)
13. A Special Report on Interracial Justice (Reprint from Apostolic Perspectives) 31 pages. Report of proceedings of First National Catholic Conference on Inter-racial Justice in Chicago, August, 1958; Housing Discrimination in Chicago, pages 337-343 from June-July, 1959, issue of Crisis (NAACP magazine) Carl A. Fuqua; Human Relations in Evanston (Report of proceedings of inventory) 66 pages, Oct., 1953; Negroes in Five New York Cities (A Study of Problems, Achievements and Trends) N. Y. State Commission against Discrimination (Aug., 1958) 113 pages; Metropolitan Segregation, Morton Gradzians, Scientific American, Oct., 1957; Open Occupancy Housing, 8-page article from April, 1955 issue of magazine House & Home.
14. City Law Hailed on Housing Bias, article in March 11, 1959, issue of New York Times.
15. N. Y. Executive Law Sec. 296.
16. McBain, The Law and Practice of Municipal Home Rule 379 (1916); see John R. Thompson Co. v. District of Columbia, 213 F2 579,590 (D. C. Cir.).
17. Revised Cities & Villages Act, Chap. 24, Art. 1-87, Ill. Revised Stats. carries the following provisions:
    Art. 23, Sec 1 provides—"The corporate authorities of a municipality shall have the powers enumerated in Sec 23-2 to 23-113 inclusive. Among these Sections are the following:
    Sec 23-61—"to define, prevent and abate nuisances.
    Sec 23-81—"to do all acts and make all regulations which may be necessary or expedient for the promotion of health or the suppression of diseases . . .
    Sec 23-103—"to acquire by purchase, condemnation or otherwise any improved or unimproved real property the acquisition of which is necessary or appropriate for the rehabilitation or redevelopment of any blighted or slum area . . .
    Sec 23-105—"to pass and enforce all necessary police ordinances.
    Sec. 71-1—Special licensing power for "any projected tenement, lodging house or other place of habitation."
    Sec 72-1—Special zoning powers—"that congestion in public streets may be lessened or avoided, and that the public health, safety, comfort, morals and welfare may otherwise be promoted."
    The Ill. court opinions sustaining the summary set forth in the text above are:
    Chgo. Cosmetic Co. v. Chgo., 374 Ill. 384, 29 N.E. 2d 495 (1940).
    Wms. v. Chgo., 266 Ill. 267, 107 N.E. 599 (1914).
    Elsenaw v. Chgo., 334 Ill. 78, 165 N.E. 129 (1929).
    Biffer v. Chgo., 278 Ill. 562, 116 N.E. 182 (1917).
    Koy v. Chgo., 263 Ill. 122, 104 N.E. 1104 (1914).
    Cleaners Guild of Chgo. v. Chgo., 312 Ill., App. 102 (1941).
    Chgo. v. Clark, 359 Ill. 374, 194 N.E. 537 (1935).
    People v. Thompson, 283 Ill. 87, 119 N.E. 41 (1918).
    Chgo. v. Pittsburgh C. C. Stl. Ry. Co. 244 Ill. 220, 91 N.E. 422 (1910).
    Vil. of Kincaid v. Vecchi, 332 Ill. 586, 164 N.E. 199 (1928).
    Chgo. v. Wash. Home of Chgo., 289 Ill. 206, 124 N.E. 416 (1919).
    Jones v. Chgo., 348 Ill. App. 310, 108 N.E. 2d 802 (1952).
    Blue Island v. Kozue, 379 Ill. 511, 41 N.E. 2d 515 (1942).
    Merrill v. Wheaton, 379 Ill. 504, 41 N.E. 2d 508 (1942).
    Dube v. Chgo., 7 Ill. 2d 313, 131, N.E. 2d 9 (1956).
    Peterson v. Naperville, 9 Ill. 2d 233, 137 N.E. 2d 371 (1956).
    Schneider v. Ottawa, 402 Ill. 536, 84 N.E. 2d 428 (1949).
    Father Basie's Lodge v. Chgo., 393 Ill. 246, 65 N.E. 2d 805 (1946).
    Support for municipal open occupancy ordinances may sometimes be found in state constitutions laying down fundamental civil rights to prevail within the state. New York is an example of a state having such a provision. (Art. 1, Sec. 11) Illinois does not. The Illinois Constitution does contain the equivalent to the 5th Amendment to the Federal Constitution, namely Art II Sec. 2 reads—"no person shall be deprived of life, liberty or property, without due process of law."
18. John A. Thompson Co. v. D. C., 346 U.S. 100 (1953) The Circuit Court opinion is found at 203 F 2d 579, 590.
19. See generally, Prejudice Won't Make Us Sell Our House", five-page reprint from July, 1959, issue of Coronet magazine. Ralph Bass; A Study of Racial Attitudes In Neighborhoods Infiltrated by Non-whites (School of Social Welfare, University of California) September, 1959, 3 pages; Labor and Civil Rights (Report of 4th Labor Conference on Civil Rights) Jewish Labor Committee of Chicago (1959) 23 pages; Suburb Where Everyone's Welcome, 3-page reprint from Presbyterian Life, Concord Park Homes, 3601 Powelton Ave., Philadelphia 36, Pa.; Integrated Housing in York Center (Chicago) Gospel Messenger, Dec., 1959.
20. Quotation from Race Commission. See "Where Shall We Live" (Report of Com. on Race and Housing" p 43.)
21. See also reported announcement by Norman P. Mason (Federal Housing Chief) on Aug. 14, 1959, that government is abandoning system of racial quotas in connection with Section 221 relocation housing (from July-Aug., 1959, issue of Trends In Housing).
22. See Shelly v. Kramer, 334 U.S. 1, 13 (1948), also Shanks, "State Action and the Gerard Estate Case" 105 U. Pa. L. Rev. 213 (1956); See also Railway Mail Assoc. v. Corsi 326 U.S. 88 (1945) upholding anti-discrimination statute as applying to labor union.
23. 334 U.S. 1 (1948) In Hurd v. Hodges, 334 U.S. 24 (1948), the same restriction applied to federal court action. See also Barrows v. Jackson, 346 U.S. 249 (1953) denying damage claim.
24. 245 U.S. 60 (1917).
25. 323 U.S. 192 (1944).
26. 323 U.S. at 208-09.
27. 339 U.S. 382 (1950); See also Kerr v. Enoch Pratt Free Pub. Library, 149 F. 2d 212 (4th Cir.) cert. den. 326 U.S. 721 (1945); and City & County of San Francisco v. Ron, 44 Cal. 2d 52, 279 F. 2d 529 (1955).
28. 326 U.S. 501 (1946). See also Terry v. Adams, 345 U.S. 461 (1953); Smith v. Allwright, 321 U.S. 649 (1944); Johnson v. Levitt & Sons Inc., 131 F. Supp. 114 (1955).
29. N.J. Stat. Ann. Sec. 18; 25-5 (Supp, 1958).
30. Conn. Gen. Stat. Sec 2464 C (Supp. 1953).
31. See U.S. Housing & Home Finance Agency, Nondiscrimination Clauses in Regard to Public Housing, Private Housing and Urban Redevelopment Undertakings. 16 (rev. ed. 1957).
32. N.J. Stat. Ann. Sec 17; 9A-69 (Supp. 1958).
    N.J. Stat. Ann. Sec 17; 12A-78 (Supp. 1958).
33. See discussion on pages 530-533 of Vol. 107 Univ. of Pa. L. Rev., note entitled "Racial Discrimination in Housing."
34. 348 U.S. 483 (1955).
35. Banks v. Housing Authority, 120 Cal. App. 2d 1, 260 P. 2d 668 (1953).
    See also Hughes v. Superior Ct. 339 U.S. 460 (1950); Cassie v. Texas, 339 U.S. 282 (1950), stating that "since there can be no exclusion of Negroes as a race and no discrimination because of color, proportional limitation is not permissible. That conclusion is compelled by the United States Code, Title 18, Sec 243, based on Sec 4 of the Civil Rights Act of 1875."; See also Brown v. Allen, 344 U.S. 443 (1953); Hernandez v. Texas, 374 U.S. 475 (1954): The school segregation cases (Brown v. Bd. of Ed.) 347 U.S. 483 (1954), Ballang v. Sharp, 347 U.S. 497 (1954); Holmes v. Atlanta, 223 F. 2d 93 (5th Cir) Aff. per curiam 350 U.S. 879 (1955) (public golf courses), Dawson v. Mayor, 220 F. 2d 386 (4th Cir.) Aff. per curiam 350 U.S. 877 (1955) (swimming pool); New Orleans City Park Improvement Association v. Detuge, 252 F. 2d 122 (5th Cir.) Aff. per curiam, 79 S. Ct. 99 (1958) (park); Cayle v. Browden, 142 F. Supp. 707 Aff. per curiam 352 U.S. 903 (local transportation); Sharp v. Lucky, 252 F. 2d 910 (5th Cir. 1958) (govt. facilities); Henderson v. U.S. 339 U.S. 816 (1950) (dining car facilities).
36. See Note 19, supra.
37. See Berger Equality By Statute, Legal Controls Over Group Discrimination (1952).
38. 85th Psalm, 9-10 verses.

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 EAST 56th STREET • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

SUBJECT: Operation of Public School Athletic Activities on Discriminatory Basis

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Theodore Leskes

DATE: November 8, 1959

DIGEST: Attorney General of California rules that a public school may not legally have a swimming team whose only facilities for practice are at a privately owned swimming pool which refuses admittance to members of the Negro race thus preventing Negroes from trying to become members of the school swimming team.

On September 17, 1959 Attorney General Stanley Mosk of California responded to a request for an opinion from the Honorable S. C. Masterson, Assemblyman of the 11th Assembly District of California on the legality of a public school having a swimming team whose only facilities for practice are at a privately owned swimming pool where admittance is refused to members of the Negro race.

The request for the Attorney General's opinion arose from the following factual situation. A public high school in California has a swimming team but not a swimming pool. The members of the team practice in the pool of a privately owned men's residence and social club, the rules of which provide that only members may use the pool. Students of the public high school signing up for the team are required to obtain membership in the club which permits white students to become junior members but refuses to grant membership to Negroes. The result is to deny to Negroes the opportunity to participate in the school's swimming program.

The question put by the Assemblyman to the Attorney General is whether the public school may constitutionally maintain an organized swimming program on the basis described above.

The opinion of the Attorney General referred to the Supreme Court decisions in the case of Brown vs. Board of Education, Bolling vs. Sharpe and Cooper vs. Aaron which held racial segregation in the public schools unconstitutional. He noted that the Brown case represents the final step to date in the evolution of the rights of colored students and that the principle announced by the Court in that case must therefore be applied in determining whether any specific act of racial discrimination in the public schools is prohibited by the Fourteenth Amendment. Applying this principle the Attorney General concluded that the swimming team arrangement in question effectively bars Negro students from access to a particular school-sponsored, school-supported athletic activity. He noted, "Whatever motivation explains the action, the net result is discrimination against Negro students on account of their race," and concluded that the swimming team arrangement was illegal and a violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment.

CVR-CRC
No. 276

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 EAST 56th STREET • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

SUBJECT: Perry v. School District No. 81, Spokane, Washington - Released Time

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Theodore Leskes

DATE: November 12, 1959

DIGEST: On October 8th, 1959 the Supreme Court of the State of Washington unanimously ruled that a released time program in operation in Spokane did not violate the provisions of the State or Federal Constitution requiring separation of church and state. It did, however, rule that certain practices in the Spokane, Washington released time program were improper, the distribution of consent cards for participation in the program to children in the public school classrooms and the making of announcements as to the existence of the program by representatives of religious groups or school instructors in the classrooms or on school premises.

On October 8th, 1959 the Supreme Court of the State of Washington ruled that the released time program carried on in the public schools of Spokane, Washington was constitutional. The program in question had been in operation since 1938. A group of Protestant denominations and one parish of the Roman Catholic Church participated.

The consent cards requesting student participation in the released time religious classes were made available to the principal of each school by representatives of religious groups early in the school year. The cards were then distributed to students either by representatives of the religious groups or by the individual teachers, depending upon the preference of the school principal involved. The children were told of the availability of religious instruction and directed to take the cards home to their parents. At the time set for religious instruction, those children whose parents had signed the request cards and caused them to be returned were released from their regular classroom activities. They were met at the school by an escort provided by the religious group and taken to the religious instruction classroom off the school premises. At the end of the religious instruction, the children were returned to their public school classrooms by the escort from the religious group.

The children whose parents had not requested their release remained in the classroom and continued public school activities. In most instances, where only a few children remained, the regular group instruction ceased and the children were kept occupied with special projects, additional individual help or some other school activity depending upon the discretion of the classroom teacher.

The school district exercised no control over the religious instructors or the material they used. There was no report by the released time instructors to the school as to attendance or the child's performance in the released time classes. As the Court sums it up, the function of the school district is to

facilitate the distribution of the request cards and thereafter to note which children are to be released.

The foregoing record was established by the pleadings, depositions and admissions. There was no actual testimony taken at the trial.

The lower court ruled that the released time program in question was constitutional and the plaintiffs appealed. The Washington Supreme Court speaking through Judge Munter noted that released time in public schools is a question not passed upon in the State of Washington. The Court then discussed other decisions in the federal courts and in other state courts dealing with the same general problem. It concluded that the released time program in itself has never been held to be in contravention of the doctrine of separation of church and state and that it is only the manner in which it has been practiced that may have constituted a violation. It noted that each case is determined by its own facts.

The Court reviewed the decisions in the McCollum case and in the Zorach case pointing out that the arguments of those attacking released time in the Zorach case are similar to those advanced against the program in the case under consideration.

The Court concluded that the significant difference in the facts of the Zorach case and the instant case was that in the instant case the school board permitted the distribution of consent cards and the making of announcements by representatives of religious groups or teachers relative to the program in the classrooms or on school premises. The Court pointed out that this practice was present in the McCollum case but was absent in the Zorach case. This practice, the Court stated, "has the further effect of influencing the pupils, while assembled in the classrooms, as a 'captive audience' to participate in a religious program, contrary to the express provisions of Article IX, Section 4 of our state constitution: 'All schools maintained or supported wholly or in part by the public funds shall be forever free from sectarian control or influence' (Italics ours)."

The Court specifically rejected the argument that the released time program disrupts the instruction of the children remaining in the classroom to their detriment and that the compulsory school attendance laws are violated by the released time program. The Court noted that children remaining in school are assigned to special projects and receive the advantage of individual instruction during the released time periods and that the children released are allowed to go upon their parents' request. Such release of the children, the Court found, constitutes an exercise by the superintendent of schools of the statutory discretion vested in him to excuse pupils "for any other sufficient reason".

The Court went on to note that it was "never the intention that our constitution should be construed in any manner indicating any hostility toward religion".

The Court concluded by affirming the judgment of the trial court except that it held improper the practice of distributing "cards in the public schools, or the making of announcements or explanations for the purpose of obtaining the parents' consent for their children's participation in the released-time program, by representatives of religious groups or instructors in the schools".

In a brief concurring opinion Chief Justice Weaver pointed out that Article IX, Section 4 of the Washington State Constitution contains the following language: "all schools maintained or supported wholly or in part by the public funds shall be forever free from sectarian control or influence".

He added that this language "is more proscriptive than the other constitutional provisions discussed in the opinion" and that the Washington State Constitutional Convention of 1899, in adopting this provision, had specifically rejected a proposed amendment to strike the words "or influence" from the section.

SR/TI:hmg
No. 277
CVR-CRC

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 EAST 56th STREET • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

SUBJECT: Erickson v. Sunset Memorial Park Association, Inc.

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Theodore Leskes

DATE: November 13, 1959

DIGEST: The District Court of Hennepin County, Minnesota, rules that the married purchasers of a cemetery lot, one of whom is of Indian origin and therefore not a Caucasian, are entitled to use the lot for their burial despite the fact that the lot they purchased was covered by a covenant limiting its use to members of the Caucasian race.

On July 23, 1959 District Court Judge William D. Gunn of the Fourth Judicial District of Minnesota ruled in favor of the plaintiffs in the case of Erickson v. Sunset Memorial Park Association, Inc. The plaintiffs were a married couple; the husband a Caucasian and the wife a full-blooded American Indian, and hence not deemed a member of the Caucasian race. The defendant, Sunset Memorial Park Association, Inc., was organized in 1899 as a private corporation for profit, limited by its charter to the business of procuring and holding land to be used exclusively for a cemetery. The defendant cemetery, known as Sunset Memorial Park, has been located in Hennepin County since 1927. All deeds and contracts for deeds, executed and delivered by the defendant to the purchasers of burial lots in Sunset Memorial Park have contained a covenant limiting the use of the burial property for interment of persons of the Caucasian race.

On August 26, 1955 the plaintiffs purchased a lot from the defendant and received a warranty deed containing the standard restriction against burial of non-Caucasians. On April 18, 1958, the defendant advised the plaintiff, Mrs. Erickson, that she could not be buried in her lot because of the restrictive covenant.

Upon receipt of the letter, the plaintiffs brought an action to compel the defendant to permit the burial of Mrs. Erickson in their plot. The defendant raised the racial covenant as a defense and sought rescission of the sale of the lot to the plaintiffs. The case came before the court on a motion for judgment on the pleadings. The court found that the only question of fact in the case was whether the plaintiffs, when they signed the purchase application, knew that it contained a representation on their part that they were both of the Caucasian race. If they were so aware, the defendant argued, the plaintiffs had used fraud to induce the contract. If they were not aware, there was an innocent mistake on both sides. In either case, according to the defendant, it had the right to seek rescission of the contract.

The court found that it was the established policy of the State of Minnesota to prohibit discrimination on the basis of race in the sale of public cemetery lots and interment therein. It referred to Minnesota's statute barring restrictive covenants in real estate deeds, mortgages and other instruments.

Whether or not the plaintiffs "knew" that they were misrepresenting that they were both of the Caucasian race, the court found that this question was not a "material fact" in the making of the contract and that therefore no right of rescission existed based on either mistake or fraud. The court also said that a person does not suffer any legal damage where "he is fraudulently induced to do something which he is under a legal obligation to do."

Noting that the question was not directly presented, the court went on to say that if the positions of the parties were reversed and the defendant were suing for cancellation or rescission, the question might then be raised as to whether or not the court, by granting such relief to the cemetery association, would be engaging in "state action" which violates the guarantee of the Fourteenth Amendment as interpreted in Shelley v. Kramer.

In discussing "public policy" the court first noted that a Minnesota statute adopted in 1953 bars restrictive covenants affecting real estate based on race, creed or color. The court also noted that the 1957 Minnesota FEP law contained a general declaration by the Legislature that practices of discrimination against any of its inhabitants because of race, color, creed, religion, national origin or ancestry are a matter of state concern and are against the public policy of the state.

The court rejected the defendant's contention that the right of interment is a "special property right," pointing out that the conveyance here of the cemetery lot was like any other conveyance of real estate. The court acknowledged that a different question might be presented if the cemetery association were affiliated with a religious corporation and sought to restrict burial on the grounds of religion, but it pointed out that the defendant was not so affiliated. In discussing this, the court emphasized that the "decision here is not intended to even suggest that religious groups may not continue the practice of limiting interment in cemeteries affiliated with such groups to persons of a designated religious persuasion." On the other hand, the court pointed out that a public cemetery operated for profit without any religious affiliation may not engage in racial or religious discrimination.

The court concluded that Minnesota law indicated a public policy contrary to the defendant's position. The court specifically cited two decisions in California and Iowa which reached a contrary conclusion, but noted that in those cases there were no statutory enactments which clearly established state public policy against such restrictive provisions.

Having decided the matter on the basis of the public policy of the state as embodied in applicable statutes, the court concluded that the Fourteenth Amendment had no application to the case since "state action" was not involved. To the extent that the action taken by the court could be construed as "state action," the opinion noted that it "prohibits, rather than fosters, discrimination." The court also indicated that it saw no need to make a determination of the issue of "common law public policy" which had been raised by both parties since in Minnesota "the Legislature had spoken" on the subject.

The court concluded, "Plaintiff, Ramona Erickson is a descendant of those who not so long ago were the proud owners of all our land. Defendant is a corporation operated for profit....It would be a poor policy to deny to such the right to have their mortal remains lie together in this land in a public cemetery merely because of Mrs. Erickson's descent."

CVR-CRC
No. 275

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 EAST 56th STREET • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

SUBJECT: Canadian Provincial Legislation Against Discrimination

FROM: Theodore Leskes and Paul Hartman

DATE: November 19, 1959

DIGEST: The Canadian provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick have passed fair accommodation practices laws. The provinces of Saskatchewan and Nova Scotia have strengthened their fair employment practices laws.

Earlier this year the Canadian provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick passed fair accommodation practices laws. With these enactments the number of provinces with statutes barring discrimination in public places has risen to four. (Ontario adopted such a law in 1954 and Saskatchewan in 1956 -- see Joint Memoranda #68 and #158.)

Like the previous statutes, the newly enacted laws of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick prohibit anyone from denying to any person or class of persons, because of race, color, religion or national origin, the accommodations, services or facilities available "in any place to which the public is customarily admitted." These laws also prohibit publication or display of notices or signs indicating discrimination or an intent to discriminate "for any purpose." The laws provide administrative machinery for their enforcement. In addition, they authorize criminal prosecution of violators, with maximum fines of $400 and $100 in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick respectively.

The number of provinces having fair accommodation practices laws may soon rise to five. The last session of the Manitoba Legislature adopted a resolution recommending "that the Government give favorable consideration to the introduction of a measure similar to measures enforced in some other provinces to prohibit any person from denying to any other person the accommodation, services or facilities available in any place to which the public is customarily admitted because of race, creed, color, nationality, ancestry or place of origin of that other person."

****

Two provincial FEPC laws -- those of Nova Scotia and Saskatchewan -- were strengthened in 1959. The original Nova Scotia FEP act, adopted in 1955, applied only to employers of five or more persons. The 1959 amendment extends coverage to all employers, even those with just a single employee.

The amendment to the Saskatchewan FEP act of 1956 expressly prohibits questions or requests on employment application forms "for particulars as to race, religion, religious creed, color or ethnic or national origin of an applicant for employment unless a question or request for particulars is based upon a bona fide occupational qualification." This amendment was adopted because doubts had arisen in the administration of the original FEP measure as to whether such a prohibition was implicit in the provisions of the act.

No. 278
CVR-CRC

File

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

The AJC's new home in New York is called the Institute of Human Relations.

Watchdog of the Rights of Man

The American Jewish Committee will dedicate its new permanent headquarters in New York in January. To mark the occasion, WORLD OVER presents this article, another in its series of stories behind great American Jewish organizations.

by JACK LURIA

"MIKOYAN Denies Exiling of Jews" ran the headline on page 1 of *The New York Times* one day last January. The leaders of the American Jewish Committee had just met with the First Deputy Premier of the Soviet Union, then on an official visit to this country. The AJC had information that the Russians were planning to force Jews to settle in an area in Siberia called Birobidzhan. Was this true? Mr. Mikoyan said no. Did the Soviet government discriminate against its Jewish citizens? The First Deputy tugged at his mustache and protested, "I have many friends who are Jews." The Committee leaders said they were "gratified." (They were even more gratified a few weeks later when it became plain that the Soviet government was backing up its First Deputy on the matter of Birobidzhan.)

The meeting with Mikoyan, the only one he had with representatives of a Jewish organization, is but one example of the constant alertness of the American Jewish Committee. For over half a century it has been in the forefront of the struggle for the rights, not only of Jews, but of men everywhere. Today, with over 26,000 members in 600 communities, its influence is more widespread than ever in its lively history.

American Jewish Committee leaders meet with Russian representatives in New York to discuss Jewish problems in the Soviet Union. Left to right: Mikhail A. Menshikov, Soviet Ambassador to U. S., former Senator Herbert H. Lehman; Anastas I. Mikoyan, Soviet First Deputy Premier; Irving M. Engel, AJC president; and Jacob Blaustein, honorary president.

The American Jewish Committee came into being fifty-three years ago when a handful of distinguished American Jews came together to discuss matters of importance not only to Jews but to the world. Included in the group were some of the most famous men of their time: Jacob H. Schiff, a business leader and philanthropist; Louis Marshall, an outstanding lawyer; Cyrus Adler, a distinguished scholar who was secretary of the Smithsonian Institution; and Adolph Ochs, the publisher of *The New York Times*. Outrages like the Dreyfus Case and the mass murder of Jews in the Russian city of Kishinev stirred their hearts. In 1906, organized as the American Jewish Committee, they began to take action. They pledged themselves to do all they could to gain equality for their fellow Jews everywhere and to give relief to the victims of persecution and other disasters. The oldest Jewish organization in America devoted to civil liberties was on its way!

For a long time the Committee continued as a small group of Jewish leaders. Its members worked quietly, using reason and discussion to correct injustices. Sometimes this was not possible and they had to arouse public opinion to get action. Yet even though the Committee consisted of only fifty members as recently as 1936, its first thirty years were marked by some notable achievements. For much of this period the towering personality of Louis Marshall dominated the Committee's work. (See *Attorney for His People*, WORLD OVER, November 25, 1957).

Under Marshall's leadership the AJC encouraged the U.S. to do away with our commercial treaty with Russia because the Czar refused to honor the passports of American Jews. It strongly opposed laws which held immigration to a tiny trickle. It successfully defeated an Oregon law which challenged the right of parents to send their children to Catholic schools. It defended Mendel Beilis, a Russian Jewish watchman smeared with the old anti-Semitic charge of murdering children to use their blood. It spoke up for the American Leo M. Frank, the victim of similar anti-Jewish prejudice in Georgia.

Challenged by the terrible situation in which refugees found themselves after World War I, the Committee helped found the Joint Distribution Committee, which raised millions of dollars for Jewish overseas relief. After the war, AJC delegates at Versailles insisted that the rights of minorities be spelled out clearly in the peace treaties. While the Committee has always described itself as non-Zionist, it has long and continuously been concerned with the welfare of Palestine and later of Israel. It endorsed the Balfour declaration in 1918 and has always fought for the right of those Jews who wished or needed to go there to settle in our ancient homeland.

Standing proudly for democracy, the Committee has always sounded the alarm against dictatorship, both Fascist and Communist. Within weeks after Hitler took power in Germany, the AJC published the facts about the persecution of German Jews; 80,000 copies of *The Jews in Nazi Germany* helped to alert the world to the Nazi menace. The Committee continued its fight against Nazism by supporting the Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League, which united people of all faiths, by helping German refugees to enter the United States, and by asking the League of Nations to take action against Hitler. Throughout World War II, the Committee took the lead in exposing the vicious cruelty of the Nazis and in giving relief to Jews who escaped the German murderers.

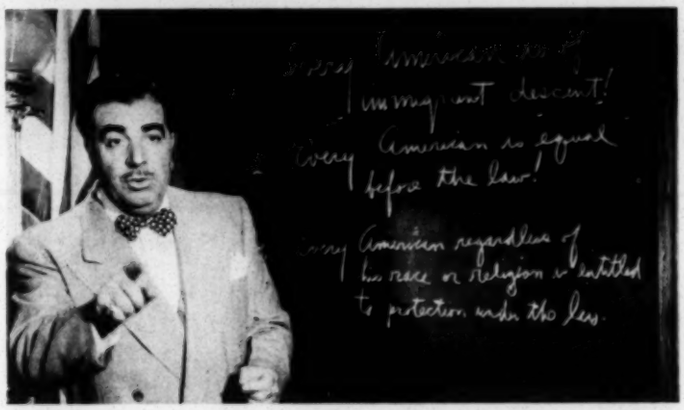
Not long after the victory against Fascism, the Committee began to recognize that human rights were endangered by tyranny from another direction —Communism. In the last ten years the AJC has published a number of carefully detailed reports on the condition of Jews and other minorities behind the Iron Curtain. Though Communists for years claimed that these eye-witness accounts were lies, Premier Khrushchev himself in his speech of February 1956 revealed that the charges made by the Committee were true.

The activities and interests of the American Jewish Committee have expanded boldly in recent years. It is no longer content simply with protesting injustices and trying to bring about laws which will spread equality among people. Today the Committee is even more concerned with reaching into the minds and hearts of people. It is discovering why hatred grows and how it can be replaced by love and understanding.

For example, in 1944 the Committee set a large staff of scholars to work on a scientific study of prejudice. The findings of these scholars, since published as a series of books called *Studies in Prejudice*, have had tremendous importance among teachers, social workers and psychologists—in fact, among everyone concerned with the way people get along with one another. Among other things, *Studies in Prejudice* showed that unprejudiced people were mentally healthier than others. In 1954 the Supreme Court backed up its famous decision for school integration by quoting from the *Studies* to show how children were harmed by being segregated.

In all ways possible to it the Committee has tried to educate people to work together to improve our democratic society. The AJC has bureaus in New York, London, Paris, and South America. Through special committees it carries its ideas to many groups—working people, college students, church members and veterans. It works with the U. S. Congress, the State Department, the UN, and interfaith groups. It publishes the highly respected monthly magazine, *Commentary*, and the *American Jewish Yearbook*, a kind of annual encyclopedia of Jewish progress and achievement. It uses every modern method to spread its message—pamphlets in all languages distributed by the thousands, radio, TV and motion pictures. One AJC film, *Make Way for Youth*, has already been seen by 30 million people.

Always the American Jewish Committee has its eyes on its goals: to help people live at peace with themselves and with each other, to protect all our rights and freedoms, to make the promise of American opportunity come true for everyone, and to make it possible for all men—Jews among the rest—to walk with heads lifted high.



Scene from *Make Way for Youth*, a film produced by the AJC and seen by millions of Americans.

AJC delegation in Washington, December 11, 1911, to give testimony on the 1832 treaty with Russia, included important Jewish leaders. *L. to r.:* Louis Marshall, Herbert Friedenwald, Judge Mayer Sulzberger (AJC president), Harry Cutler, Oscar S. Straus (former U. S. Ambassador to Turkey), Judge Leon Sanders, Rep. Henry M. Goldfogle, Samuel Dorf, Leon Kamaiky.

Reprinted with permission from *WORLD OVER*, November 6, 1959

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street New York 22, N. Y.

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NEWS

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
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- **This is the American Jewish Committee:**
- Founded in 1906.
- Pioneer American organization combating bigotry, protecting the civil and religious rights of Jews here and abroad, and advancing the cause of human rights everywhere.
- Chapters in 44 principal cities; members in more than 550 American communities.

HAROLD STEINBERG
Director of Press Relations

FOR RELEASE THURSDAY DEC.10 AMs & PMs AND AFTER

New York, Dec. 9 ... The American Jewish Committee is initiating a long range series of studies, financed by a $250,000 foundation grant, to explore the effects of prejudice and discrimination upon the nation's economy and its manpower resources and other aspects of human relations.

The quarter of a million dollar grant was given by the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation of Pittsburgh and the research project will be known as the Maurice Falk Studies.

Waste in manpower, morale and productivity resulting from discrimination costs American industry some $30 billion dollars a year, according to a recent report of the President's Committee on Contract Compliance.

Dr. John Slawson, Executive Vice President of the Committee, announced the broad-gauged research program as the first major study project of the Committee's new Institute of Human Relations. The Institute, a modern eight-story structure

- more -

on 56th Street and Third Avenue, is a center of research and education in the field of human relations and serves also as the new national headquarters of the 53-year-old American Jewish Committee.

Dr. Slawson, executive head of the Committee, announced the research program at a luncheon honoring Samuel J. Bloomingdale, who was an early participant in the development of the Institute of Human Relations. The Institute is on the site of the original Bloomingdale store which was opened in the Spring of 1872 by Mr. Bloomingdale's father, Lyman G. Bloomingdale. Samuel J. Bloomingdale was born on June 17,1873, in an apartment above that original store.

At a special ceremony, Mr. Bloomingdale unveiled a plaque on the Third Avenue side of the Institute (originally 938 Third Avenue) to mark the site of the modest Bloomingdale beginnings.

In a statement at the luncheon, Mr. Bloomingdale, approaching his 86th birthday, pointed out that New York City's lanndmarks and historic sites are "rapidly disappearing." He called upon "our city's leaders in business, industry, the arts and public life, to set a fashion of putting up plaques on important historic sites in New York. In this way, our grandchildren and future generations will come to understand how a great city grows out of human hope, energy and dedication." (Photo of Mr. Bloomingdale and plaque unveiling attached.)

Dr. Slawson, outlining the purpose and scope of the Maurice Falk Studies, stressed that "there is no greater challenge before the American people today than the effective utilization of its human resources." He cited recent studies of managerial requirements in American industry, projected over the next twenty years which predicted "acute shortages of essential high talent." This would come about unless established practices in the field of executive selection and development are focused "increasingly upon the worth of the individual" rather than his ethnic or religious affiliation.

The Maurice Falk Studies program, Dr. Slawson declared, will be unique in their interdisciplinary character. "Heretofore, studies probing our human resources have been regarded as the special province of economists or educators. With this new program, planned and coordinated by the AJC, the studies will utilize individuals trained in industrial management, political science, education, sociology, and psychology, who will constitute study and research teams," Dr.Slawson said.

One of the areas for study will be the field of executive recruitment and development in American corporate enterprise. This would be joined with campus

studies of occupational interests and choices of students — Christian and Jewish, White and Negro. The campus studies would investigate: the students' estimate of opportunity of advancement in their chosen or preferred field; the extent to which occupational choices of the members of minority groups appear to differ from those of the majority and the reasons for the difference, the influence of the family, the fear of discrimination and other factors affecting occupational choice.

The impact of discrimination on the economics of housing will also be an important area of research for the Maurice Falk Studies. To be explored are the effects of both segregated and integrated housing on land values, and on the economy of local communities. Dr. Slawson said that available studies in this area "are highly contradictory" and that objective material "is sorely needed as a basis for intelligent citizen action."

Citizenship duties and responsibilities as affected by economic discrimination will be another major emphasis in the study program. Barriers to full-fledged participation by minorities in the political areas of national life would be investigated, as would the responsibility of members of minority groups "to participate fully and constructively in the political and communal life of the community, state and nation."

The Committee anticipates, Dr. Slawson declared, that the results of the campus, community and industry studies would provide "substantial raw, factual data for systematic consideration by educators, industrialists and civic leaders." He added:

"One such conference would seek to involve educators and practitioners in business administration, as well as personnel directors and management executives of major corporations. They would consider such issues as the degree to which the market for potential executives is currently being tapped, and the loss of such potential due to ethnic, racial and religious exclusionary policies and the economic cost to the nation of discrimination against members of these groups."

In the last two decades there has arisen an increased awareness of the "tragic human waste resulting from racial and religious discrimination in employment." Since the end of World War II, Dr. Slawson said, action on the part of private employers and government has produced a situation in which employment without regard to race or religion, particularly at the rank and file job level, is becoming increasingly the standard of American business and industry." However, he added, "this is not true of employment at the higher echelons of American industry."

Frederick F. Greenman, Chairman of the Committee's Executive Board, who presided at the luncheon, declared that human relations problems, particularly those involving racial and religious prejudice, can be "the most explosive evil of our time."

He stressed that "government on all levels — city, state and federal — have a primary duty to initiate, encourage and support research and function in many diverse areas of human relations." He declared that voluntary agencies alone cannot handle this extremely complex problem.

The Falk Foundation, established in 1929, makes grants primarily for research studies of economic problems affecting the domestic economy of the United States and for projects and programs to further the efforts of American colleges and universities to prepare their students for avocational participation in politics as a responsibility of American citizenship.

Leon Falk, Jr., is Chairman of the Foundation and Dr.J. Steele Gow is Executive Director.

The 53-year-old American Jewish Committee is the pioneer human relations agency in this country combating bigotry, protecting civil and religious rights of Jews and advancing the cause of human rights everywhere. It has especially pioneered in the use of science to study prejudice and discrimination and has produced the well-known five-volume Studies in Prejudice as a major work in the field.

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GREATER MIAMI CHAPTER

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

SATELLITE

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Year Ends on High Note

Annual Meeting Huge Success

President Rood Reports

'59 IN RETROSPECT—LOOK AT '60

As the year comes to a close, Col. Nathan B. Rood, president of our AJC Chapter, has written a fine summary and projection. We believe that he should be commended for its preparation—this report surely exemplifies the strong leadership that Col. Rood has exerted since his assuming the presidency a year ago.

During the last 12 months, many matters arose, engaging the attention of the American Jewish Committee—matters of international, national and local import.

1. Jews Behind the Iron Curtain:

The meeting of the A.J.C. leaders with Soviet Deputy Premier, Anastas Mikoyan, on his visit to this country resulted in a formal statement by the Soviet authorities that they did not intend to revive the Jewish settlement in Biro-Bidzhan.

Jacob Blaustein, an Honorary President of the Committee, was sent on a government mission to Poland to study the economic and community needs of that country.

2. Jews of West Germany:

The Committee called attention to the growing Anti-Semitism in West Germany. In April this resulted in

(Continued on page 2)

An Outstanding Event in Chapter's History

GREAT PLANS FOR '60

Under the able leadership of Alvin Cassel, with the cooperation of scores of members who worked untiring at their assignment, with the imaginative direction of the Workshop by Jack I. Green, culminated by a dramatic and spirited speech by Morris Abram of Atlanta, this year's Annual Workshop and Meeting has won the praise of all the membership. Such laurels are well deserved by all those who masterminded the event.

Who but Jack Green would come up with (1) tape recorded conversations with youngsters all over Greater Miami, who unhesitatingly presented youth's ideas on its own problems, and (2) a filmed summary of the Workshop only 90 minutes after it was concluded (with sound, yet!)?

Well attended, the adult members of AJC were especially impressed with the Workshop's youthful but highly preceptive resource people, who all hold positions of responsibility in the University of Miami's student body. Those who fired the imagination of the participants were Jay B. Hess, Henry Edgar, Steve Slepin, David Yellen and Stuart Fabric.

We all owe Jack, his own staff, and all the Workshop workers a debt of gratitude. They truly sparked a clear "Spotlight on Youth."

Moving on to the Annual Meeting, every one who had a hand in the arrangements and the hundreds of details that are taken care of behind the scenes blended their interest and abilities to create an outstanding eveing. Of course, the highlight was the return of Morris Abram, who two years ago set the membership back on its heels and who once again challenged us and moved us with amazing ease. Here certainly is one of the most intelligent statesman in the South today.

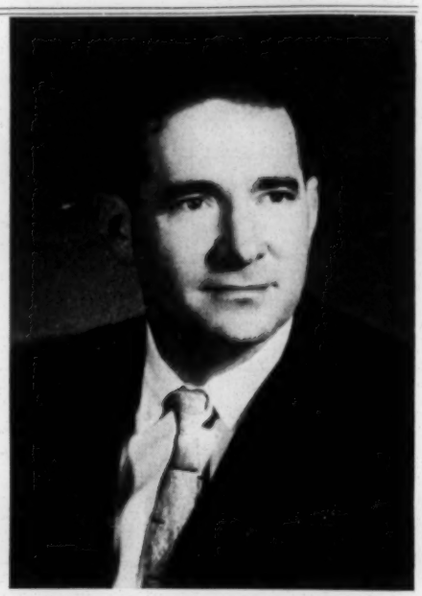
Picking up points as he dropped them across the stage with a determined zeal, we gleaned this summary from Leo Mindlin of the Jewish Floridian: Juvenile crime represents a major challenge to the survival of the nation's great cities as centers where decent people can live . . . .

He denied that the statistically low rate of teen-age delinquency reduces its significance it impact on contemporary civilization . . . . Problems of the young among us mirror those of the adult world.

He charged that the majority no longer cares about the third among us who are ill-clothed, ill-housed and ill-fed. He said that these had champions in the '30's; today there is silence . . . .

But it is this third of our popula-

(Continued on page 2)



Out of a host of dedicated people, here are the three that pulled the team together to make our annual Workshop-Meeting such a huge success. They are (left to right) Alvin Cassel, overall chairman of the event; Jack I. Green, creative chairman of the workshop; and Morris Abram, dynamic speaker and statesman.

YEAR ENDS ON HIGH NOTE

(Continued from page 1)

tion that is slowly taking over our cities, while the privileged flee.

We seek status quo . . . . youth need not look for jobs; jobs seek youth . . . "Among college students today, I find more interest in Freud than in economics."

He discussed rehabilitation and capital punishment and the need for the extensive re-evaluation of our laws and our methods of detections "which must be more scientific than a $300-a-month policeman — frequently a social misfit—can bring to the task."

What are the principal characters of the juvenile offender? The normal youngster testing the limit of his power in normal environments; the youngster made abnormal by abnormal environment; the disturbed, neurotic, psychotic child . . .

Blaming adults for creating circumstances which upset the equilibrium of youth, with special emphasis on material things today, "these children ultimately deduce freedom to be acquisitive. This is crime in its essence, with youthful wrongdoers infiltrating the cities to make of them giant jungles.

"We are permitting new barbarians, who don't want to be barbarians, to sack all our Romes."

The solution? We must approach this indictment of ourselves "with new flights of imagination."

The man, the meeting . . . the whole day . . . SENSATIONAL!

'59 IN RETROSPECT—LOOK AT '60

(Continued from page 1)

our receiving assurances from the German Federal Republic that that subject would receive serious attention at a forthcoming conference of Ministers of Education.

3. Latin-American Jewry:

Our delegation to Latin America covered an area and approximately 600,000 Jews living in a Catholic-dominated culture. In addition, consideration is being given to a Miami Chapter proposal that a special sociological study be made of Jewish Life in Mexico.

4. Jewish Life in Europe:

The Committee continued its program in collaboration with the Alliance Israelite Universelle and the Anglo-Jewish Association, of further support for the development of religious and cultural lives of various Jewish communities in West Europe.

The close ties between the Committee and the Pro Deo Institute in Rome were further cemented during the past year.

5. Middle East Affairs:

The problem of Jews in North Africa and their interests in the Middle East continued to be our active concern during the past year. In Miami, the Chapter sponsored, in conjunction with other organizations, a special study of Middle East conditions held recently at the University of Miami.

6. Activities in the South:

The problems of integration and segregation, the position of the Jews in the South, the rise of Anti-Semitism,—all received increased attention during the past year.

7. Youth Problems:

Our concern with the problems of youth needs little further elaboration. The Committee is actively engaged in the research of and preparation for the coming Youth Conference called by President Eisenhower for the Spring of 1960. Our Chapter has been responsible for some of the key recommendations which will be made by the Florida State delegation to the National Conference.

8. Scientific Research:

The American Jewish Committee continued its never ending scientific approach towards the solution of social problems.

9. Improving Inter-Group Understanding:

Believing that a harmonious community can best solve its general problems, A. J. C. has continued its work with other agencies such as the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the National Education Association, The American Association for the United Nations, the Y.M. and Y.M.C.A. and many others, both sectarian and non-sectarian, in promoting inter-group understanding.

10. Teaching of Religion in Schools:

With a continuing sensitivity for the need to handle the Church-State problems with a minimum of dislocation in community relations, we have endeavored to seek the elimination of religious activities from the public schools.

11. Jewish Attitude Studies in Miami:

Long aware that the way in which people regard themselves affects the way others regard them, we have instituted surveys of Jewish attitudes in key communities of the United States. One of the most ambitious of these studies has been undertaken by us in Miami and will be completed during the coming year.

Our primary interest is not so much with the problems themselves, but also with their causes—not so much with individual incidents as they arise, but with the hidden sparks that cause them to generate. We are concerned not so much with what is happening to us, but what may happen to our children. We "dig" deeply to ascertain these causes and we design our programs to eliminate or prevent these causes. We gear ourselves to long range programs designed to promote better understanding between peoples, groups and cultures; designed to eliminate discrimination in employment, housing, social groups and fraternities; designed to afford every American, regardless of background or belief, equality of opportunity.

Such goals may to many seem hopeless of attainment. But goals such as they have been crossed before and will continue to be crossed.

To do so we must continue to enlist the voluntary services of people dedicated to the same beliefs, willing to devote an important measure of their time and effort. We must develop leaders and thinkers who are trained to recognize the causes of group discontent and friction and who know the techniques used in the eradication of evil causes. Ours is a group movement involving people of good will who are interested in human betterment, who realize that Democracy cannot be taken for granted but must be cared for with a singular devotion in order to be preserved.

These were our aims in 1959. These will continue to be our guide posts in the future.

Specific tasks for our Chapter in 1960? Yes, just to list a few:

1. More active participation by the Advisory Board in the affairs of our Committee.

2. A study of the cultural, social and economic conditions of the Latin-American people in our area.

3. A study of Anti-Semetic undertones in the various high schools in our area.

4. Increased participation of our membership in committee functions, in our discussion groups, and in our humanitarian concerns.

5. Continued insistence in the creation of an official County Community Relations Agency.

6. Greater activity toward the elimination of discrimination in housing, employment, social groups, fraternities, et cetera.

7. Amelioration of the many problems of our migrant labor population.

Election Summary

OFFICERS, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE NAMED

As a traditional part of the Annual Meeting, the membership elects the AJC leadership for the coming year.

The complete slate of officers is found on the masthead of this issue. Among those named to the Executive Committee, following the recommendation of the Nominating Committee headed by Charlie Finkelstein, were: Alvin Cassel, Leo A. Chaiken, Mrs. Charles Finkelstein, Allen I. Freehling, Melvyn B. Frumkes, William E. Gladstone and Mr. and Mrs. Charles Goldstein.

Also, Jack I. Green, Jerome G. Greene, James R. Katzman, Irvin Korach, Mrs. Jane B. Leeds, Raymond Lewis, Seymour B. Liebman, Ernest J. London, Robert Macht and Herbert L. Markow.

And, Mrs. A. Herbert Mathes, Van Myers, Rabbi Joseph R. Narot, Lee Ruwitch, Admiral H. R. Sobel (Ret.), Mrs. Bernard R. Stevens and Richard Wolfson.

The Executive Committee convenes once a month and many of its meetings are open to the general membership. Those wishing to attend should contact the office for further details.

Plan to Attend One

Workshop Set—Religion In Public Schools

Audrey (Mrs. Charles) Finkelstein, chairman of the education committee, who was recently elected president of Dade County Girl Scout Council, has announced that January 11th should be saved by all of us for an important event.

On that evening, there will be three concurrent workshops on "Religion in the Public Schools" in which speakers and panelists will appear from AJCommittee, AJCongress and the ADL.

Sponsored by the Joint Advisory Committee, the 8 o'clock sessions will be held at Temple Beth Sholem on Miami Beach, Beth David Congregation in southwest Miami and Congregation of Monticello Park in North Miami Beach.

"Members," says Audrey, "especially parents of children in our Dade County schools, are urged to attend the workshop in their neighborhoods. I cannot overstress the importance of this meeting."

Now's Your Chance to Work

COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN APPOINTED

AJC President Nathan B. Rood has announced the names of committee chairmen, who will serve during the new year.

In announcing these appointments, Col Rood urges all the membership to give serious consideration as to which committee seems most interesting; then contact the office and volunteer to serve.

Every committee needs your help —the chairmen can't do the job assigned to them without strong backing and support.

Here's a resume of the appointments: David R. Hochberg, budget; Melvyn B. Frumkes, civil liberties; Mrs. Nathan B. Rood, discussion groups; Mrs. Charles Finkelstein, education; Irvin Korach, housing; and Charles Finkelstein, Jewish Attitudes Survey and social discrimination.

Also Mrs. Bernard Stevens, Jewish communal affairs; Lee Ruwitch, mass media; Mrs. David P. Catsman and Mrs. James R. Katzman, program; Mrs. Louis F. Rogel, telephone; and James R. Katzman, youth; Mr. Seymour Liebman, international affairs; Mr. Stuart Simon, church-state affairs; Mrs. Peritz Scheinberg, annual meeting arrangements; Mr. Allen Freehling, Satellite; Mr. Herbert L. Markow, fact-finding.

Basic Education

With all the current fuss about "frills" versus basic education in this country, it's interesting to learn what Eskimo youngsters in Thule, Greenland, are studying these days. They're learning the three R's, of course, reports the **National Parent-Teacher.** But in addition, they study kayak building, dog-team driving, harpooning, the use of firearms, and the sewing of skins.

And we thought "life-adjustment classes were only for "higher" civilizations.

Charles Finkelstein Reports

Jewish Attitudes Survey

The survey of Jewish attitudes, under discussion for over a year, has emerged from the planning stages and is now actually under way.

Charles Finkelstein, Chairman of the Survey Committee, reports that interviewers are out in the field obtaining answers from several hundred Jewish residents of Dade County.

The survey here parallels a number of similar surveys conducted by AJC in other communities in other sections of the country. Our study will therefore be adding another section to the picture that AJC is gradually drawing of the attitudes, beliefs and practices of Jews throughout the United States. It will also serve as a basis for our own program planning —and that of other Dade County Jewish organizations and institutions —so it will conform to the realities of local Jewish patterns, rather than guesses or assumptions.

Mr. Finkelstein paid tribute to the intensive efforts made by the members of his committee and its various subcommittees. Mrs. Leo Ackerman headed a group which articulated the particular concerns and issues in Greater Miami which were later incorporated into the questionnaire by sociologists of the AJC national staff. Herbert Markow gathered vast amounts of population data which provided the facts upon which the sample design was evolved.

Mrs. Jean C. Lehman, recruited, and is leading the twelve captains and 65 interviewers who are conducting the interviews. Manheim Shapiro, Director of National AJC's Jewish Communial Affairs Department, conducted six two-hour training sessions for these interviewers in the last week. Mrs. Charles Leeds will head the coding operation which will convert the responses to the questionnaires into numerical terms which can then be tabulated by IBM machines.

It was predicted that the survey findings will have great significance for many organizations in the community. This has happened in other communities where such surveys were conducted. The Chapter regards the study as a service to the community and will be pleased to make relevant data available to temples and synagogues, Federation, men's and women's organizations and Jewish centers for appropriate use by them when the final tabulations and analysis are completed.

Discussion Groups Roundup

THEY'RE MEETING ALL AROUND THE TOWN

Discussion groups are "going like '60" (no pun intended) and we hope that all membership will join at least one of these informative, provocative and stimulating groups.

Knowing that it would be impossible for each member to attend every group's sessions, the chairmen are preparing reports that will be summarized in issues of the SATELLITE.

Before giving you the recap, we again urge that you call the office to find the schedule of the discussion group nearest your home. We guarantee some evenings you'll never forget!

HENDRIK BERNS COVERS "THE MIDDLE EAST AND PEACE"

Gloria Kramer reports that Hendrik Berns, well known Miami News writer, gave an in-depth summary of the Middle East today, as he served as resource for a group meeting at the home of Dr. and Mrs. Robert Hyams.

In addition to reviewing last month's Israeli elections, in which 24 parties were on the ballot, an election that was precipitated by the German-Israel arms deal, Mr. Berns guided the group in a heated discussion on Israel, its influence on peace in the Middle East and its relationship to all the world's Jewry.

JOHN B. ORR—"THE PRACTICAL AND PRACTICING LIBERAL"

Under the supervision of Dr. and Mrs. Jerome A. Kramer, who are really coming up with some tremendous programs, John B. Orr was invited to meet with a group at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Albert Beer.

Mr. Orr's definition of liberals: "people who are least resistant to change." He cited Britain as a country willing to experiment and went on to say that only in a nation where there is freedom and willingness to experiment can a sound government continue.

The former State legislator's beliefs and experiences gave rise to an unforgettable discussion in which all the group pitched in.

SUE STEVENS—"GOVERNMENT CENSORSHIP OF PUBLIC MEDIA"

Recently returned from an AJC seminar at Chattanooga, Sue (Mrs. Bernard) Stevens ably led a group discussion on "Censorship by Government of Groups of Public Media; e.g., Radio, Television, Motion Pictures and Literature." They met at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Gerard Schainuck.

The group became familiar with the problems presented by reviewing several case histories. Many members felt that there should be some supervision of the media, lest minority groups suffer. However, no one suggested the suppression of a difference of view or the presentation of a doctrine.

It was concluded by the group, which is coordinated by Mel Frumkes, that any government censorship might be bad because of the possible danger stemming from an over-zealous public official's action in doing his job as censor.

GREATER MIAMI CHAPTER
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

Subject: Housing

"OPEN OCCUPANCY FOR AMERICAN CITIES"

by Donald S. Frey

Donald S. Frey is president of the Evanston (Ill.) Human Relations Council, a lawyer and expert in Municipal Law.

His carefully documented article, "Open Occupancy for American Cities" (enclosed), is a concise and lucid presentation of factors which have led to the adoption of open occupancy laws, how the laws function, how to obtain the passage of fair housing legislation, and the roles and responsibilities of government and other agencies.

We believe you will find the article useful as a reference piece, and for orienting board members of intergroup agencies and civic leaders.

Isaiah Terman

December 17, 1959
3abde
Encl.

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

January 7, 1960

Dear Mr. Fleming:

In behalf of the American Jewish Committee I have the pleasure of extending to you a most cordial invitation to join us as our guest at a Dinner celebrating the Dedication of AJC's Institute of Human Relations. It will be held Saturday, January 23rd, 1960, in the Main Ballroom of the Hotel Roosevelt.

Our speakers on this occasion will be His Excellency R. S. S. Gunewardene, Chairman of the Human Rights Commission of the United Nations, and the Right Honorable Philip J. Noel-Baker, M. P., winner of the 1959 Nobel Peace Prize.

Because of the vital influence of your work on human relations and the salutary contributions you are making to public understanding of the issues in this field, we hope very much that you will honor us by being our guest January 23rd.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

John Slawson

John Slawson

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JAMES MARSHALL, New York, Vice-President
BARON deHIRSCH MEYER, Miami, Vice-President
A. M. SONNABEND, Boston, Vice-President

Addition to Program

We are pleased to announce that the Rt. Hon. Philip J. Noel-Baker, M.P., winner of the 1959 Nobel Peace Prize, will also be a guest speaker at the Dedication Dinner.

the officers of

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

take pleasure in inviting you

to join them at a dinner celebrating the

DEDICATION OF THE
INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS

Saturday, January 23, 1960 – 6:00 P.M.

Hotel Roosevelt, New York

dress optional

R.S.V.P.

there will be no solicitation of funds

The Institute of Human Relations owes its existence to many people. On this occasion, we will symbolically honor the many by paying tribute to a few and to one in particular,

A. M. SONNABEND

who, as National Development Chairman, helped transform a dream into reality.

GUEST SPEAKER

His Excellency R. S. S. GUNEWARDENE,
Chairman, Commission on Human Rights, United Nations

SPECIAL TELEVISION SALUTE TO THE INSTITUTE

As a tribute to the Institute of Human Relations, the National Broadcasting Company will present a one-hour dramatic television broadcast coast-to-coast on the afternoon following the Dedication Dinner. Details will be announced later.

Conceived and created by the American Jewish Committee, the Institute of Human Relations will serve as a unique, pioneering national center of research and education in the field of intergroup relations.

The Dedication Dinner will climax a week of deliberation in which distinguished Americans will participate from the fields of religion, education, social science, mass communication and public service. Among those who will enrich our program as session chairmen, panelists, or as contributors of basic discussion papers are:

DEAN EDWARD W. BARRETT, Columbia University

C. D. JACKSON, Vice-President, Time, Inc.

ERIC JOHNSTON, President, Motion Picture Assn. of America

DONALD H. MCGANNON, President, Westinghouse Broadcasting Co.

FATHER DONALD CAMPION, Associate Editor, America

DR. ABRAHAM NEWMAN, President, Dropsie College

DR. RHEINHOLD NIEBUHR, Vice-President, Union Theological Seminary

DEAN LISTON POPE, Yale Divinity School

DR. MORRIS JANOWITZ, University of Michigan

DR. OTTO KLINEBERG, Columbia University

DR. PAUL F. LAZARSFELD, Columbia University

DR. ARNOLD M. ROSE, University of Minnesota

DR. PERCY H. TANNENBAUM, University of Wisc.

DR. ROBIN M. WILLIAMS, JR., Cornell University

DR. J. MILTON YINGER, Oberlin College

JOHN G. FEILD, Former President, N.A.I.R.O.

DR. FREDERICK B. ROUTH, President, N.A.I.R.O.

DR. KENNETH BENNE, Boston University

DR. HILDA TABA, San Francisco State College

A summary of their challenging recommendations will be presented at the Dedication Dinner.

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Cordially Invites You to
A Conference on

MASS COMMUNICATION AND INTERGROUP RELATIONS

To Mark the Dedication of

The Institute of Human Relations

165 East 56 Street

New York City

Thursday, January 21, 1960

R.S.V.P.

AFTERNOON SESSION

2:30 P.M. - 5:30 P.M.

CHAIRMAN

Paul F. Lazarsfeld

Professor of Sociology, Columbia University

FINDINGS OF SOCIAL RESEARCH

The Study of the Influence of the Mass Media on Public Opinion

Arnold M. Rose

Professor of Sociology, University of Minnesota

The Variability and Variables in Communication Effects

Percy H. Tannenbaum

Director, Mass Communication Research Center
University of Wisconsin

Mass Communication and Community Relations

Morris Janowitz

Professor of Sociology, University of Michigan

Discussion

Cocktails

EVENING SESSION

8:15 P.M. - 10:45 P.M.

CHAIRMAN

C. D. Jackson

Vice-President, Time, Inc.

ROLE OF THE MASS MEDIA: PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNITIES

Paul F. Lazarsfeld

Edward W. Barrett

Dean, Graduate School of Journalism, Columbia University

Eric Johnston

President, Motion Picture Association of America, Inc.

Donald H. McGannon

President, Westinghouse Broadcasting Company, Inc.

Discussion

Refreshments

DEDICATION OF
THE INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS . . .

The American Jewish Committee has created the Institute of Human Relations as a center for research and study, a meeting place for students, scholars, opinion molders, religious and civic leaders—for all men of wisdom and good will who are concerned with "man's understanding of his fellow man."

To launch the Institute on its mission, the week of January 18, 1960, will be devoted to a series of conferences among persons of attainment in the social sciences, in religion, education, mass communication and civic affairs. They will consider how knowledge in their respective fields can best contribute to the strengthening of intergroup relations. From these deliberations the Institute will derive its guidelines for the immediate future.

GENTLEMEN:

I will attend the *Conference on Mass Communication and Intergroup Relations* on January 21, 1960.

Please send ticket for (check one or both):

☐ Afternoon Session
☐ Evening Session

Name Harold C. Fleming

Address _____

ADMISSION BY TICKET ONLY

MR. ALFRED L. BERNHEIM
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS
165 East 56 Street
New York 22, N. Y.

MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS
165 East 56th Street, New York 22, N. Y. • PLaza 1-4000

from the desk of ISAIAH TERMAN
Director of Communications and Servicing

PAV
PRV

DAVE GARROWAY "TODAY" PROGRAM

This is strictly for early risers.

Arrangements have just been completed for the appearance of Dr. John Slawson, executive vice-president of the American Jewish Committee and Prof. Paul F. Lazarsfeld, noted social scientist,* on the Dave Garroway "TODAY" NBC-TV program,

FRIDAY, JANUARY 22, 7:00 A.M. - 9:00 A.M., EST.

Dr. Slawson will give a review of progress in the field of human relations during the past decade. Prof. Lazarsfeld will offer a prognosis for the 60's in terms of research in the field of human relations.

As an NBC crew was here yesterday taking film shots of the Institute of Human Relations, you may get a glimpse of some of your friends on staff.

Regrettably, we don't yet know when the AJC segment will go on. If the information arrives sufficiently in advance, I'll send you a postcard. Do plan to go to bed early and don't forget to set the alarm clock.

Isaiah Terman

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*Chairman of the Department of Sociology at Columbia University, now on leave at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration under a Ford Foundation grant.

January 15, 1960
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MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS
165 East 56th Street, New York 22, N. Y. • PLaza 1-4000

from the desk of ISAIAH TERMAN
Director of Communications and Servicing

SPECIAL NATIONAL TV PROGRAM

MARKING THE DEDICATION OF

THE INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS

A most exceptional, "live" TV program will be telecast by the National Broadcasting Company network, in cooperation with the American Jewish Committee, during the dedication week of the Institute of Human Relations, on

SUNDAY, JANUARY 24, 2:00 to 3:00 P.M., EST

The presentation will be an adaptation of "Destiny's Tot," one of the "true psychoanalytic tales" in Dr. Robert Lindner's book, "The Fifty-Minute Hour" (which is available where paperback books are sold in a Bantam edition at 35¢). The president of the American Jewish Committee, Mr. Herbert B. Ehrmann, will deliver a message at the end of the program.

We have reason to believe that this will be one of the most distinguished productions of its type ever presented on TV. It is extremely timely in view of the current desecrations of places of worship in West Germany and elsewhere. We hope that all who have concern about these manifestations of bigotry will help obtain the widest possible audience for this unusually significant program. Please see the enclosed copy of an item which was published in today's New York Times. It contains a brief synopsis of the story.

The excellent cooperation received in publicizing our recent program, "The Children of Strangers," encourages us to repeat (with modifications) the suggestions made previously. Please --

1. Request the program director of the NBC-TV station in your community to schedule the program (or if this is impossible, to carry it on a "delayed telecast basis").

2. Ask TV editors to give it special advance notice. Place newspaper ads, under the auspices of an appropriate local organization or group of organizations, in the daily press.

3. Arrange with religious, fraternal, civic, etc. organizations to announce the program in their bulletins. National Religious and Human Relations Organizations: Please encourage the participation of your regional offices in publicizing the program. Local Religious and Human Relations Organizations: Please publicize to your members and constituent groups.

4. Urge clergy of all faiths to announce the program from their pulpits.

5. Arrange (religious and human relations organizations especially) parlor listening groups to view the program and discuss its implications for the community.

6. Mail postcard announcements to members of your organizations and others.

7. After the event, let us have your reactions to the program.

We shall greatly appreciate your cooperation.

Isaiah Terman

January 7, 1960
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Encl.

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From THE NEW YORK TIMES, THURSDAY, JANUARY 7, 1960

N.B.C. TO TELEVISE STORY BY LINDNER

Special Program Jan. 24 Will Deal With Rabble-Rouser --
Anti-Semitism is Theme
By Richard F. Shepard

"Destiny's Tot," the case history of an anti-Semitic rabble-rouser will be dramatized in a special telecast by the National Broadcasting Company on Sunday, Jan. 24.

The hour-long show, beginning at 2 P.M., will be presented by N.B.C. in cooperation with the American Jewish Committee. Dr. John Slawson, the committee's executive vice president, said it would mark the dedication of his group's new Institute of Human Relations at Third Avenue and East Fifty-sixth Street.

The story is one of those in "The Fifty-Minute Hour," written by the late Dr. Robert Lindner, who was a prison psychologist. S. Lee Pogostin is adapting it for television.

It is a study of a young man who led a storm-trooper group in this country until he was jailed during World War II. There, the prison psychologist, a Jew, learns what made him turn into the sort of person he has become and finally achieves rapport and a "cure" for the inmate.

Fielder Cook will be the director. No performers have yet been cast. Marilyn Kaemmerle is the producer for N.B.C.'s public affairs unit and Milton Krents is producer for the committee.

Dr. Lindner's book was first published by Rinehart & Co., Inc., in 1955. Another selection from it, "The Jet-Propelled Couch," was presented on the Columbia Broadcasting System's "Playhouse 90."

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 EAST 56th STREET • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

SUBJECT: Progress Development Corp. v. Mitchell
(Deerfield, Illinois, Housing Controversy)

FROM: Paul Hartman and Theodore Leskes

DATE: March 29, 1960

DIGEST: Federal District Court of Illinois dismisses an action by the sponsors of an integrated housing development in the Village of Deerfield, Illinois, charging a conspiracy of city officials and citizens' groups to oust the development from the Village and to violate plaintiffs' civil rights. The court expresses the view that the maintenance of "benign quotas" in integrated housing developments is unconstitutional.

THE FACTS

Progress Development Corp. is an Illinois corporation having as its principal purpose the development of residential areas and the construction and sale of residential housing. Its stock is fully owned by Modern Community Developers, Inc., a New Jersey corporation, specializing in investing its capital in housing development corporations such as Progress.

In April 1959 Progress acquired 22 acres of vacant land in Deerfield, a suburb of Chicago, with intention to construct thereon two housing developments consisting of 51 houses. In November 1959, when the construction was well under way, it became known that both projects were to be racially integrated with 10 to 12 of the 51 houses reserved for Negroes. This plan aroused violent opposition in the community, in which no Negroes reside. Shortly thereafter, the construction of two model homes in the development was stopped by the building authorities of Deerfield for alleged violations of the building code. Also, the area Park District started condemnation proceedings to create a public park on the land in question. An offer made to Progress by the Park District to purchase the property for $166,999.91 was rejected on the ground that it was inadequate. On December 21, 1959 the plan to create a park on the land in question was approved by a referendum of the village voters.

THE CHARGE

Progress and Modern brought an action in the Federal District Court for the Northern District of Illinois, Eastern Division, against the Village of Deerfield, its Board of Trustees, the Deerfield Park District and its Board, and a number of individuals. The action was based on the provision of the Federal Civil Rights Law authorizing a civil action for damages and for injunctive relief for deprivation of civil rights and for conspiracy to interfere with civil rights (42 USCA 1981 to 1983, 1985, 1988). The plaintiffs charged that the officials of Deerfield and of the Park District, acting

under color of law and using their offices as a cloak, conspired among themselves and with other individuals to deprive the plaintiffs of their right to hold, sell and convey real property. They charged also that the "stop orders" of the building inspector and the condemnation proceedings were resorted to by the Village and Park District officials solely for the purpose of preventing the plaintiffs from constructing a racially integrated housing development in the Village and that such acts constituted an abuse of power. The plaintiffs asked for injunctions against the Village Board of Trustees and the Park District and for damages in the sum of $750,000. The court granted a temporary restraining order against the Board of Trustees but refused to grant such an order against the Park District, which had instituted condemnation proceedings.

THE JUDGMENT

After a trial without a jury, Judge Perry dismissed the action and dissolved the temporary injunction which had been granted. In his 72-page opinion, the Court held that the plaintiffs had failed to prove any combination or conspiracy among the defendants to interfere with the plaintiffs' civil rights. He found that the interest of the park commissioners in acquiring the land for park purposes was of long standing and was not created by the plaintiffs' plan to erect an integrated housing development on the site. He found evidence that there exists a bona fide public need to acquire the area for park purposes. The Court further found that the action of the building commissioner in issuing stop orders against the plaintiff's builder was authorized by law in view of repeated violations of the building code and that such action was neither arbitrary nor discriminatory, but in conformity with the customs and practices in Deerfield. He admitted that the building inspector, in his dealings with plaintiff, displayed ill temper, was arbitrary in manner and exceeded his authority in conversation with plaintiffs' agents and employees. But the Judge added, "where discourteous conduct ... is connected with performance of official duties it is no violation of civil rights." The Court stressed that plaintiffs had failed to pursue administrative remedies against the stop orders and that a federal court was not the proper forum to complain against the legal acts of the village and park authorities.

COURT'S VIEWS ON CONTROLLED INTEGRATION PLAN

The Judge in his opinion also dealt with the racially controlled occupancy plan envisaged by the plaintiffs for the housing developments in Deerfield. He quoted the plaintiffs' statements in court that their plan called for a white-Negro ratio in each development of approximately 80 to 20, and that this ratio would be maintained by an agreement made between Progress and each purchaser, under which Progress would get the exclusive right to select a purchaser of the property in the event of a resale. Progress stated that it would resell each parcel of property to a person of the same race as the original purchaser in order to maintain the initial ratio of whites and Negroes.

Noting that this was not a "voluntary plan," as claimed by the plaintiff, but a plan controlled by the developer, the Judge expressed the view that this plan "is clearly a device to restrict the conveyance of real property to persons of a certain race." The plan, the Judge stated, was "an evident effort to circumvent the law as laid down in Shelley v. Kraemer, 334 U.S. 1, and in

Buchanan v. Warley, 245 U.S. 60." (Shelley v. Kraemer decided that racial restrictive covenants could not be enforced in the courts; Buchanan v. Warley held unconstitutional zoning ordinances using racial criteria.) Such a controlled integration plan, containing discriminatory restrictions, amounted to a quota system of housing and was unenforceable by any court, in the Judge's opinion. He quoted as authority the Supreme Court decision in Hughes v. Superior Court, 339 U.S. 460. In that case the Supreme Court upheld an injunction issued by a California court against picketing of a retail store by Negroes to compel the store owner so to hire his employees that they would be in proportion to the racial origin of his customers. The Supreme Court agreed with the California court that a quota system such as that advocated by the picketers in the Hughes case, requiring as it did employment on racial lines, was inherently discriminatory.

The Judge concluded his comments on the controlled integration plan by stating that "if a quota of 80 to 20 , founded upon unrecorded restrictive agreements is constitutional, then a quota of 50 to 50 or 99 to 1, or even 100 to 0, would be constitutional, and Shelley v. Kraemer, supra, would be circumvented."

On the basis of these considerations, the Judge in his specific conclusions of law, stated that the "controlled occupancy pattern which the plaintiff planned to use was racial discrimination in violation of the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments to the U.S. Constitution and in violation of the Federal Civil Rights Law and therefore unenforceable in any court of the United States. The power of a federal court could not be invoked to impose any percentage quota of Negroes or Caucasians, nor could state powers be constitutionally employed to control either the original or subsequent use or occupancy of realty on a quota basis.

NOTE: This is, so far as we know, the first decision of a Federal court indicating that a so-called "benign quota" in a housing development is unconstitutional as a violation of the Fourteenth Amendment's requirement of equal protection of the laws. (A "benign quota" is a system under which a fixed ratio is established in terms of race or ethnic origin for the occupancy of a housing development, for the purpose of achieving and maintaining integration. By means of such a quota on occupancy by members of minority groups, this system seeks to avoid the danger that projects, to which members of minority groups are admitted without limitation, often become occupied almost exclusively by members of such groups.)

Although this holding by Judge Perry was unnecessary to support the dismissal of the complaint in the present case, and may therefore be considered mere dictum, nevertheless it will have impact on future discussions of the legality, propriety and desirability of a "benign quota" system.

PH/TL: cf
No. 291

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 EAST 56th STREET • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

SUBJECT: Massachusetts Law Against Discrimination in the Granting of Mortgage Loans

FROM: Paul Hartman and Theodore Leskes

DATE: April 15, 1960

Digest: Massachusetts amends its law against discrimination to make discrimination in the granting of mortgage loans an "unlawful practice."

On March 7, 1960 Governor Foster Furcolo of Massachusetts signed into law a bill prohibiting any person engaged in the business of granting mortgage loans from discriminating against any person in the granting of such a loan because of his race, color, religious creed, national origin or ancestry. The law mentions, by way of example, discrimination in the interest rate or in the terms or duration of the mortgage loan as falling under the ban.

The power to enforce the prohibition is vested in the Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination, which administers the other anti-bias laws of the Commonwealth.

NOTE: Similar laws against discrimination in the granting of mortgage loans were enacted in 1955 in New Jersey and in 1957 in the State of Washington.

No. 292
PH/TL:mwr

167

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
165 EAST 56th STREET • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

SUBJECT: New York City's Fair Housing Ordinance Upheld

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Theodore Leskes

DATE: April 20, 1960

DIGEST: The New York City Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs ordinance, against discrimination in privately owned multiple dwellings and individual homes built in units of ten or more, is held constitutional.

On April 5, 1960, Mr. Justice Aron Steuer of the New York State Supreme Court, New York County, upheld the constitutionality of the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs ordinance directed against discrimination based on race, color or religion in privately owned and operated multiple dwellings. The action arose when a real estate operator in Greenwich Village announced his intention to defy the ordinance and brought an action for a declaratory judgment that the ordinance was unconstitutional.

Mr. Justice Steuer pointed out that the plaintiff's complaint against the statute is that it is an unjustified interference with his property rights in his business. The plaintiff claims that a vital element of success in his real estate business is the selection of tenants and that any regulation which hampers the exercise of his judgment in this phase of his business is beyond the power of the state. The Court pointed out that all that the ordinance does is to say that "because a man is a negro (sic.) he is not, ipso facto, an undesirable tenant." The Judge added that it has long been recognized that the state has the power to make many regulations in regard to rental housing. He said, "It is now believed that many of our problems arising from the diverse nature of our population will be brought nearer solution by integration." He noted that New York has state laws forbidding racial discrimination in hiring and that "These have been found constitutionally unobjectionable."

The Judge next referred to the plaintiff's claim that many landlords do what the plaintiff claims the right to do, but they do it by stealth and indirection, which he scorns. Acknowledging that the plaintiff is probably right, the Court concluded that the fact that some evade the statutory prohibition is no reason for nullifying the statute.

Referring to the plaintiff's argument that Negro tenants would "in one way or another eventually lessen his rental income," the Court said, "Obviously, if the purposes of the statute are effected, this cannot be true." The Court concluded that whether or not it is ture, "it is an additional instance where the individual must yield to what legislative authority deems is for the common good."

The Court, therefore, found the ordinance constitutional.

TL/SR:cf
No. 293

167

Is the suburb becoming a "gilded ghetto"?

BY ALBERT I. GORDON

WITH AN INTRODUCTION BY OSCAR HANDLIN

REVEALED IN DETAIL . . .

THE SUBURBS OF

BOSTON

NEW YORK

WASHINGTON

CHICAGO

CLEVELAND

MINNEAPOLIS

LOS ANGELES

In all the flood of books and articles about the biggest mass migration in recent history—the American tidal wave into suburban living — there has been no authoritative, detailed discussion of the effect of suburbia on the Jewish community, or of the effect of the Jews upon suburbia. According to Harvard's noted Pulitzer Prize historian, Oscar Handlin, Jews in Suburbia is "the first effort to look seriously into the heart of this phenomenon in search of a meaning." Two-thirds of America's Jews "live in or adjacent to ten of America's largest cities," as Rabbi Gordon points out.

The author pulls no punches. He asks, "Is the suburb in danger of becoming a gilded ghetto?" Jews of the older generation, the immigrant generation, sought out each other for security and thus created their own ghettos, he reminds us, but the American Jew of today is no longer a citizen by sufferance; he is a citizen by right of birth — and no responsible Jewish leader wants to see a segregated suburbia. Yet the tendency in that direction, vexing though it may be, cannot be ignored. "Ghettos tend to be created unwittingly; they are seldom deliberate creations," Rabbi Gordon says. "For example, the increasing present tendency to develop 'residential club' communities closed to Jews, as is true in certain suburbs of Newark, forces Jews into other suburbs in greater numbers . . ."

Jews in Suburbia answers such questions as these: "How are Jews faring in suburbia? What is happening to their family life, their children, their religious values and practices? How do they relate to their Christian neighbors, and how do these in turn relate to the Jews? Do Jews have a will to live as Jews? Why do Jews move into suburbia? Are ritual and ceremony on the way out?"

Writing with the candor of a sociologist, and with the vigor and clarity of a journalist, Rabbi Gordon, who has an M.A. in sociology and a Ph.D. in anthropology, probes deeply into the life of the Jews and their Christian neighbors in the suburbs. He specifically names 89 such suburbs — from Alhambra, California, to White Plains, New York—which he has visited and studied personally.

This book is not a dry, factual report for the archives; it is full of factual, detailed case reports on the ghetto problem; family patterns, quotations from residents of suburbia, there is indignation in it, and hope, and living drama.

REVEALED IN DETAIL . . .

THE SUBURBS OF

BOSTON

NEW YORK

WASHINGTON

CHICAGO

CLEVELAND

MINNEAPOLIS

LOS ANGELES

OSCAR HANDLIN: "Rabbi Gordon's work is the first effort to look seriously into the heart of this phenomenon in search of a meaning. It treats the Jews involved dispassionately and yet sympathetically. It raises important questions about their development as a group and as a significant segment of American society."

Says DR. LOUIS FINKLESTEIN of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America: "This study of Jewish suburban life has long been overdue, and I am glad that it is now being handled so competently."

HARRY GOLDEN, author of Only in America, says: "Jews in Suburbia describes more than the problems, victories, and happiness of an urban ethnic group moving out to the country. It is the story of a huge change, a change that will rival the Renaissance. Rabbi Gordon's book does justice to Jews, and to suburbia . . . Also a profound contribution to the sociology of the church-state relationship."

Says OSCAR COHEN of the Anti-Defamation League: "Jews in Suburbia is a major contribution to knowledge about present-day Jewish life in America . . . Highly recommended for the individual reader, as well as for use by discussion groups . . . Of great value to scholars . . . Eminently readable . . ."

DAVID GELLER, of the Combined Jewish Appeal, says: "Contains information vital to anyone concerned with Jewish community organization. Professional personnel as well as lay participants in community life will find Jews in Suburbia stimulating, enlightening, and helpful."

THE AUTHOR: Albert I. Gordon has had 30 years' experience in the rabbinate and holds graduate degrees in sociology and anthropology. He is the author of Jews in Transition, former Executive Director of the United Synagogue of America, and an extensive traveler and lecturer; has been a famous labor arbitrator; and is currently Rabbi of Temple Emanuel in Newton, Massachusetts.

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The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York, New York -
PLaza 1-4000

Date 12/12

FROM: RABBI MARC H. TANENBAUM
TO: Mr Leslie Dunbar

_____ Please circulate to:

_____

_____

_____ For Approval

✓ For your information

_____ Please handle

_____ Please talk to me

_____ Read and return

_____ Returned as requested _____ Per your request

_____ Telephone me

_____ Your comments, please

To be taken up at next scheduled mtg Dec 17th at A.J.C.

REMARKS:

_____

WORKSHOP PROCESS

Recommendations or Areas for Discussion:

1. A technical team be set up to handle planning, orientation training, task accomplishment and other aspects that will improve the productivity of the workshop experience.
2. Define specific workshop tasks.
3. Determine exact leadership roles.
4. Develop pre-conference preparation of participants.
5. Orientation meeting for workshop leadership.
6. Substitute workshop leaders' group.
7. Agreement on efficient structure to accomplish workshop objectives.
8. Evaluation of workshop experience.

NOTE: Harold Hunton has discussed the workshop program with several people in the field and has specific proposals for our consideration related to each of the above items.

Fear + Prejudice

cc: and copy of incoming to JC

February 1, 1957

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

I was glad to see the Public Affairs Pamphlet based on Selma Hirsh's book. We thought very highly of the book when it was published and distributed some copies of it at that time. I should think that the pamphlet might get good program use.

If you can send us enough copies to circularize our main state people -- anything from a dozen to a hundred -- we can help make its availability known in the South.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

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January 23, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The enclosed pamphlet -- Fear and Prejudice by Selma Hirsh -- is about to be published by the Public Affairs Committee. It is really a condensation of The Fears Men Live By, by the same author, which in turn was based upon the American Jewish Committee's Studies in Prejudice.

We would have a small quantity available for you, should you have any need for them.

My warm personal regards.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig
enc.

ANNIVERSARY 50th OBSERVANCE
APRIL 10-14, 1957 THE WALDORF-ASTORIA, N. Y. C.
148-2-56

March 7, 1957

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

The help you gave me last week was an act of pure friendship, and the Southern Regional Council and I are both grateful.

I will be following up with the Rosenwalds. As I think I told you, I saw both Ben Herzberg and Richard Maas, both of whom indicated that they would help. Mr. Herzberg, in particular, suggested the possibility of arranging substantial aid, along with his associate Mr. Sklar. Herzberg spoke of you in the highest terms, and if the occasion arises I know you can help the matter along invaluably.

It now appears that I will be in New York again around March 27-28-29. Do you think it might be possible at that time for me to talk with Mr. Jack Kaplan or others that I missed out on? As soon as my schedule is final, I will call -- in advance of my coming.

With appreciation and warm regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 5-0181

RECEIVED APR 3 1957

April 1, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I tried to reach you at the Roosevelt on Friday, to learn how you made out with Mr. Levin and Adele Levy. Drop me a note when you have the time.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

261 153-8-55

Sincerely,

May 14, 1957

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
165/Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

The Eldon Edwards interview received no great notice here, though it was carried in Atlanta as well as in many other Southern cities. The people I have talked to (mostly the thoughtful sort) thought Edwards cut an unbelievable figure. I thought so myself and would suspect that he did nothing but add discredit to himself and the Klan among people of any degree of education or sophistication. What effect the interview had on the Klan's constituency is hard to determine. Even among that group, I should think that Edwards did not help himself very much. Wallace so clearly had him off balance that even his followers must have felt that, however unjustly, Edwards got the short end.

I hear that you are going to be in our fair city at the end of the week. I hope that I will have an opportunity to see you then. Meanwhile, best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

May 14, 1957

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

The Eldon Edwards interview received no great notice here, though it was carried in Atlanta as well as in many other Southern states. The people I have talked to (mostly the thoughtful sort) thought Edwards got a believable figure. I thought so myself and would suspect that he did nothing but add discredit to himself and the Klan among people of any substantial amount of education or sophistication. What effect the interview had on the Klan's active constituancy is hard to determine. Even among that group, I should think that Edwards did not help himself very much. Even from a bigoted point of view, I don't think he showed up very well as an advocate. Wallace so clearly had him off balance that even his followers must have felt that, however unjustly, Edwards got the short end.

I hear that you are going to be in our fair city at the end of the week. I hope that I will have an opportunity to see you then. Meanwhile, best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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May 7, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

As you know, Eldon Edwards, the Imperial Wizard of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, was interviewed by Mike Wallace on the ABC network last Sunday night at 10:00 P.M. It may have been broadcast at a different hour in your area.

We would appreciate your advising us what reactions the televised interview evoked -- both from among thoughtful and liberal people, as well as from others.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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June 7, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am delighted to learn that Adele Levy and Marion Ascoli came through so generously. The grants should be most helpful.

I hope I shall something of you soon. Meanwhile, my warm regards.

Sincerely,

Ted

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

June 4, 1957

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

We were cheered no end by the generous grant recently approved by the New York Fund for Children. They are giving us $10,000 this year and diminishing amounts for the next two years. I, of course, have written letters of heartfelt thanks to Adel Levy and Marion Ascoli.

This, together with the recently approved grant from the Fund for the Republic, puts us one-third of the way towards our budgetary needs for the coming three years.

I don't have to tell you that I am lastingly grateful for all that you have done to help in a very trying period.

It was good to see you at the AJC dinner recently, and I hope that we will find ourselves together again soon.

With warm regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

June 18, 1957

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

I have read Mrs. Record's article in the American Scholar with great interest. I think it would have a helpful effect on a substantial audience in the South - namely, those who are receptive to the idea of desegregation but have been disturbed by the constant propaganda linking desegregation with Communist. I don't think it would be helpful in changing the opinions of emotionally committed segregationists. We could reach some hundreds of the kind of people I am talking about, and other agencies such as the church groups could reach more. I dare say there are Northern uses too, but you can assess those better than I can.

Let me know what you decide. If reprint money is a factor, perhaps we could come in for a modest share of the cost.

I am enclosing a couple of items that you might find of passing interest. I trust you will feel appropriately rebuked by the comments of the American Mercury or perhaps, like us, you will feel complimented.

Best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED JUN 14 1957

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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June 13, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I would appreciate your getting access to the summer issue of the American Scholar. In it you will find an excellent article, entitled: "The Red-Tagging of Negro Protest," by Jane Cassels Record (pp. 325-333).

After reading it, would you let me have your opinion as to whether reprints of this piece would be helpful and, if so, the type of audience toward whom you would want to target it?

My warm regards.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

June 28, 1957

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

Some months ago, SRC commissioned Phil Hammer's agency to do a study of new industries locating in the South during the ten post-war years. Our object was to learn how many plants by size, type, and county had located in the South during this period. We thought that on the basis of this information it would be possible to see more clearly the relationships between industrialization and race relations and thus to focus our interest in that field more sharply.

The study was duly completed and laid the base for two projects in which the N.P.A.'s Committee on Southern Development is deeply interested. One of these has to do with the impact of the new industry generally on the Southern economy, political system and human resources. The other is concerned specifically with a project on the South's manpower needs in the next decade. Obviously, both of these have strong positive implications in terms of racial practices.

We agreed with N.P.A. that if they would properly take on these two projects we would make no public use of the initial findings. The problem, as you would suspect, is the slow pace of which the N.P.A. is moving. We are still holding to our part of the agreement, though our impatience is mounting.

Other than this, our interest in the economic angle has been limited to collecting newspaper reports and other evidence on the interrelationship between racial tension and the economy. I believe Harry Fleischman has everything we have to date on this.

I am strongly convinced that if we can figure out how to get hold of it there is important leverage in this area. Please share with me any ideas which may occur to you, and I will do likewise.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. I know I needn't tell you that our negotiations with N.P.A. should be regarded as confidential.

RECEIVED JUN 25 1957

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June 24, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Is my recollection correct that SRC was involved in some phase of a study of the affect of tensions upon the economic expansion of the South?

If not, who is doing that study? If so, what is its current status?

I trust all goes well with you.

Regards

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

148-2-56

Hubaux, Ed

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June 28, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thanks for your letter of June 18, to which I did not respond earlier because I had not formulated a plan, until today, concerning the use to which we would want to put the Record article in The American Scholar.

We are making use of it in the following fashion:

1. We are trying to induce the United Church Women, or some other such group, to attach their imprimatur to a reprint of the article itself, for strategic distribution in the South, keeping in mind your own suggestion that perhaps it should be targeted at those Southerners who, though receptive to the idea of desegregation, are disturbed by the "Communist" label.

2. As a result of a shameful linking by Cong. Abernethy of Miss. of desegregation and Communism (tinged somewhat by some rather anti-Semitic references to an alleged Communist named Israel Cohen), we are arranging for the insertion of The American Scholar piece into the Congressional Record some time next week, hopefully. We are then planning to order several thousand copies of the Congressional Record insert, and will make them available to the CCD agencies.

If and when both of these plans are executed, you might want to indicate to us how many of each version you would want. Harry Fleischman will be in touch with you at the approprate time.

I read with interest the items you sent to me. The American Mercury is rapidly deteriorating into a vicious anti-Negro and anti-Semitic journal. I must say that

the transition from Menken to Maguire (the Mercury's present publisher) has been both eventful and shameful.

My warm regards.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

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July 25, 1957

Dr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am sorry that it has taken me so long to reply to your letter of June 28 but I have just returned to the office after a three-week absence.

I can well imagine how impatient you must be with NPA; I don't recall when I have last had an experience as exasperating as the one through which we are still struggling.

The only suggestion I have to offer is that you deal with the individual members of NPA's Committee on Southern Development; in any event, in connection with our own project, that is privately what we are undertaking to do, in order to move NPA more quickly along the road toward action of some kind. Meanwhile, I share your own feeling of discouragement.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:feb

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July 25, 1957

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I appreciate your sharing with me the semi-annual report of the Southern Regional Council's activities for the period ending June 30.

I will read it with great interest.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:feb

August 28, 1957

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

I am glad you found our recent memo useful and I am enclosing the twelve additional copies you requested.

I hope I will see you at the forthcoming CCD meeting in Washington.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 12 copies of "Anticipated Public School Desegregation..."

RECEIVED AUG 28 1957

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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August 26, 1957

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I would appreciate your sending to me, if you can spare them, about a dozen extra copies of the memorandum dated August 22, entitled, "Anticipated Public School Desegregation in Southern and Border States."

I could make good use of this item.

Warm regards.

Cordially,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL/sr

See page 12 cc-reg

File

Call Morris

August 29, 1957

Mr. Morris B. Abram
Healey Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Morris:

I have just read a remarkable piece by Lillian Smith, which appears in the August 26th issue of The New Leader. A copy of that issue is enclosed herewith (see page 12). As you see, it echoes the theme that you have developed, namely, that so long as the leadership in the South is seized by irresponsible groups, to the exclusion of competition from the civic and spiritual leaders, a species of mob rule will continue to prevail. I believe the Smith piece is a forthright and eloquent plea to the thoughtful citizens of the South who formerly occupied prominent positions of leadership in many areas of Southern life but who, in the current situation, have forfeited their positions.

Would you regard it as profitable to have reprints of the Smith article made and distributed strategically to carefully selected people in the South (especially the deep South)? Involved in such a decision, naturally, is the problem of Lillian Smith's current standing among thoughtful citizens in the South today, as well as the fact that the article is carried by The New Leader, an avowedly liberal, New York-based journal.

All these things considered, I would appreciate your advice. I am taking the liberty of sending a copy of this letter to Harold Fleming, Seymour Samet, and Samuel Lubin, inviting their reactions as well.

I trust all goes well with you. My best to Jane and to yourself.

Cordially,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL/sr
Enclosure
CC: Mr. Harold Fleming
Mr. Samuel Lubin
Mr. Seymour Samet

the new Leader

THIRTY-FOURTH YEAR OF PUBLICATION

LILLIAN SMITH

A Challenge to the South

CAMPAIGN FUNDS IN WEST GERMANY

F. R. Allemann

MEXICO CITY AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE

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THE REVOLT OF THE MOSCOW WRITERS

George Gibian

Teamsters' Jimmy Hoffa: Threatens . . .

THE FUTURE OF LABOR

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

AUGUST 26, 1957

20 cents

BETWEEN ISSUES

A NEW LEADER article played a major role in the recent Congressional struggle over civil rights legislation. The article was "Jury Trials and Civil Rights: A New Proposal," by Carl A. Auerbach, which appeared with little fanfare in our April 29 issue.

As far as we can tell, this was the first article to urge Federal use of civil-contempt proceedings to protect civil rights. Noting the split among liberals on jury trials for criminal contempt, Mr. Auerbach, who is professor of law at the University of Wisconsin, argued that the split was unnecessary, that the broad use of civil-contempt actions (as in the John L. Lewis case a decade ago and others) would permit significant enforcement of voting rights. In a civil-contempt proceeding, a registrar or other official denying the right to vote could be jailed by a judge without jury trial—but could end the sentence himself by complying with the court's order. Flexible use by the Attorney General of the power to bring civil proceedings would, Professor Auerbach argued, induce compliance in many cases.

When the civil-rights bill reached the Senate a few weeks later, Hubert H. Humphrey, Minnesota Democrat, quickly wrote Professor Auerbach for 100 copies of his article, which were soon distributed and discussed. Meanwhile, a group of experienced legislative draftsmen including NEW LEADER contributor Benjamin A. Cohen were working on an amendment which would distinguish civil-contempt from criminal-contempt actions. This effort bore fruit in the O'Mahoney-Kefauver-Church amendment, which guaranteed a jury trial for criminal-contempt actions (thus mollifying a number of eminent civil libertarians as well as Southern and many Western Democrats) but provided the Attorney General with broad and flexible powers to obtain injunctions which, if defied, could lead to imprisonment or fines for civil contempt.

On July 29, Senator Frank Church, Idaho Democrat and one of the co-sponsors of this amendment, inserted Professor Auerbach's article in the *Congressional Record*, declaring that its recommendations were essentially those embodied in the amendment. On Wednesday, August 7, Senator Church again said on the floor of the Senate that the article "contributed to the genesis of the jury-trial amendment" which was finally passed by the Senate.

Meanwhile, however, the Senate had struck out Part III of the bill after President Eisenhower had expressed doubts about its meaning and validity at a press conference. This section would have given the Attorney General the power to use the civil-contempt proceeding in all denials of civil rights—not just restriction of the right to vote, but maintenance of segregation in public schools and other facilities. "The tragedy of the civil-rights fight," writes Professor Auerbach from Madison, "is not the jury-trial amendment to Part IV of the bill, but Eisenhower's scuttling of Part III."

One other item should be mentioned in this account of THE NEW LEADER in Washington. In our August 5 issue, Tris Coffin described how Majority Leader Lyndon Johnson had engineered the various compromises which permitted the final bill to pass the Senate without a filibuster. On August 6, Senator Johnson wrote Coffin: "I want to thank you for making it clear to the readers of THE NEW LEADER that I wanted a bill and wanted a record for constructive legislation. Whatever 'genius for persuasion' I may have will be exercised toward securing a significant bill, and I am glad to know that you understand that."

the new Leader

MONDAY, AUGUST 26, 1957

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Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the views of The New Leader. We welcome a variety of opinions consistent with our democratic policy.

VOLUME XL, NUMBER 34

NIEBUHR

By Reinhold Niebuhr

The Teamsters *and* Labor's Future

JIMMY HOFFA, the redoubtable ninth vice-president of the Teamsters Union, having been cleared by a jury in the Federal Court of a charge of bribery, immediately announced his candidacy for the office of president of the Teamsters, vacated by the venal Dave Beck. It becomes increasingly apparent that, practically unopposed, he will be the next head of this great union. Hoffa has a long record of partnership with gangsters, including the nefarious Johnny Dio. He is undoubtedly abler and even more ambitious than Dave Beck. He has a tremendous itch for power which probably dominates his not inconsiderable greed. Thus his character is similar to Beck's except that power rather than self is first in his hierarchy of values. He is more "honest" than Beck only in the sense that he will steal for the union but not from the union.

That such a man should have such bright prospects of heading a great union, so recently humiliated by the Beck exposures, proves that the union is suffering from a deeper corruption than the unique moral defections of Beck. It also reveals that trade unionism as a whole, despite the laudable efforts of George Meany, Jim Carey, Walter Reuther and Dave Dubinsky to eliminate corruption as they previously eliminated Communism, faces a more fundamental problem than the low standards of morals in some unions, the Teamsters being the most conspicuous example.

In analyzing this problem, we ought to establish two basic presuppositions in regard to the life of trade unionism in our technical culture. The first is that the organized power of labor has done more to increase the health of both our economic and political life than any other factor. It has provided that equilibrium of power without which justice is unattainable. It set organized power against organized power, which is the prerequisite of justice in a highly organized technical society.

The necessity of trade-union power in the economy of justice makes the weakening of the unions, as is intended by the "right to work" laws adopted or pending in many state legislatures, dangerous to the health of our country. Significantly, these laws are proposed not in the Congress but in the states, many of the legislatures of which have built-in conservative majorities in which the countryside has constitutional advantages over the great urban centers.

In these legislatures, the anachronistic individualism of local business leaders, who have not come to terms with the social facts of modern society, can find alliance with the individualism of the farmers, to whom the collective pressures and counter-pressures of industrial society are mysterious and dangerous mechanisms. But this kind of individualism is too anachronistic and too tendentious to prevail in the nation as a whole. The more mature portions of the nation, of whatever economic class or interest, have accepted the realities of both big business and big labor as ineluctable facts of our economy and our democracy.

But this brings us to the second basic presupposition in dealing with the problems made vivid by the Teamsters' low standards. That presupposition is that both big business and big labor have acquired semi-governmental functions. They must, therefore, conform to the moral and political standards of our political system or our whole system is imperiled.

We have outgrown the old liberal society in which government supposedly was the only power and it dealt with individuals. This theory was partly based on illusion. Even in Adam Smith's day the big corporation loomed, and Smith rightly suspected that it did not conform to his picture of a self-regulating market economy of fairly matched individual enterprises. A century of history has passed, and the subordinate sovereignties of business and labor have grown. If labor had not grown to become a fairly even match with big business, the injustices of early industrialism, which gave the Marxist creed such a plausibility in the latter part of the 19th century, would have also made for the realization of the gloomy Marxist prophecies of catastrophe. The Western democracies righted their imbalances and regained new health by many strategies of justice. Of these, the rise of the labor movement was the most important.

Significantly, our own nation did

not catch up with the general standards of Western democracy until a quarter century ago. Arthur Schlesinger Jr. points out, in his first volume on the "Age of Roosevelt," that FDR was not fully conscious of the importance of the Wagner National Labor Relations Act. But he supported it, and the boost which this act gave to the organization of labor may have been more important than any New Deal achievement.

In short, the two great giants are fairly evenly balanced. That solves the over-all problem of justice; but it does not solve the subordinate problem of assuring justice in these subordinate centers of authority which have, in Hobbes's phrase, acquired "chips of the block of sovereignty." Let us put aside, for the moment, the problem of the giant corporation with its combination of prestige and power, its right to hire and fire, which certainly makes big business a part of government. The problem of the big corporation is too great to be solved merely by the enforcement of the Sherman Anti-Trust Act and the Clayton Act. But it is not the problem which concerns us here. The problem is "big labor," which has become a sovereignty so great that, with big business, our society has features which are as similar to the old feudalism as they are to the old liberalism.

James Hoffa and Dave Beck have moral and political standards which remind us of what we should not have forgotten: that is, that the original passion for justice among leaders of a group which was defrauded of justice does not guarantee their probity in the use of the power which they have acquired in the struggle for justice. It is significant that Beck and Hoffa have used their original services to what were then "poor" teamsters as a source of prestige and, therefore, power, much as the Communist leaders in Russia used the memory of imprisonment in Siberia as the source of their prestige. In neither case did this guarantee the right use of their power. In both cases extreme partisanship is one of the causes of moral decay.

The Teamsters seemed not to be bothered by Hoffa's standards any more than they were by Beck's, and they regard Hoffa as superior to Beck because he did not steal from the widow of a labor friend, which was obviously Beck's crowning offense in the Teamster moral code. Until that disclosure, he thought he could brave it out. Whenever this kind of partisanship dominates a group, we approach the standards of Communism, no matter how explicitly the creed of Communism is disavowed. There is no cure for this partisanship, except perhaps that the same relaxation of heroic polemics which brought about the moral decay will also bring about a relaxation of the partisanship, and persuade the Teamsters to judge their leaders by the general standards of the society of which they are a part. "My country, right or wrong" is always an amoral principle whether applied to nations, classes or unions.

We cannot merely rely on the general relaxation of the mood of partisanship, just as labor was wrong in relying too much upon the mood of "idealism" which had presumably actuated the first exertions of labor leaders in the hazardous days of organization but did not guarantee their probity in the easier days of power. Incidentally, it may be significant that of the most respected union leaders today many have been trained in the school of an idealistic 19th-century socialism—Walter Reuther and David Dubinsky, for instance.

But the exercise of power requires more than the inner restraints of a social tradition or a moral mood. It requires constitutional restraints. The liberal devotion to labor ought not to obscure the fact that even the best unions are defective in the constitutional safeguards against the misuse of power. They have no independent judiciary for one thing, no court to which a member may appeal which is completely independent of the current union leadership.

A more important defect is that there is no separation of powers. In theory, the only legislative power rests in the annual convention. There is no representative legislature. But an even more significant defect is that in many unions the executive committee is composed of members who are dependent for their own positions upon the president of the union. There is, in short, no balance of power in many unions. The late J. B. S. Hardman, who made this problem a life-long concern, reported how in the days of the late Sidney Hillman his proposal to make an alliance with the Communists in the now defunct American Labor party, though Communists were rigorously excluded in his own union, was secretly opposed but openly supported by many members of the union oligarchy who did not dare show open opposition.

The problem of any democracy is how to make the oligarchy responsible to the democracy. For, contrary to the old liberal theory, democracies must and do have oligarchies which wield actual power and whose power must be made responsible. In the case of the Teamsters, we do not know what the members think of Hoffa. We only know that a powerful portion of the oligarchy has declared for him and that, consequently, his election is almost a foregone conclusion.

The enemies of labor will try to make the Teamsters' picture appear typical for unionism as a whole, and that would obscure the virtues, the honesty and the devotion to the general welfare which characterize union leadership as a whole. But the friends of labor cannot deny that the trade-union movement faces a more general problem than the venality of particular leaders when the Federation, under George Meany's leadership, failed to win over the corrupt Longshoremen's union which it had ousted but which was still able to win elections against the Federation-sponsored union. It may even face

the defiance of a Hoffa who not only promises to take over the Teamsters but to make industrial union raids upon the old craft unions and thus enlarge his dominion either inside or outside the Federation.

One additional problem of union democracy must be mentioned, which cannot be solved by a constitutional separation of powers. It is a problem created by the peculiar conditions of union democracy. It is the problem of "one-party" government. This problem is created by the fact that the means of communication in a union are all controlled by the official leadership of the union. There is no room for a "loyal opposition" because there is no economic base for an opposition press. Unions are not totalitarian in intent; but they approach the totalitarian status because of the peculiar difficulties in organizing parties which will appeal to the general membership rather than to a section of the oligarchy. This matter is important, because in Western democracy many nations have not benefited from the explicit "separation of powers" of our Constitution. But no democracy has maintained its vitality if only one party could function and if the wielders of power were not under the constant scrutiny of an alternative government.

I am not wise enough to suggest even a tentative answer to these problems. But I think I know enough, as an outside but friendly observer of trade unionism, to say that they are problems which must be solved before one of the great subordinate sovereignties of modern life can approach the standards of the ultimate sovereignty in our scheme of government. It is worth observing that the constitutional safeguards in the trade-union movement are not strong enough to have guaranteed the relative probity of the leadership which the unions have enjoyed. Inner restraints must have operated in maintaining these relatively high standards. But ultimately all government, including the sub-government of business and labor, cannot rely too much on human nature. It must guard against the abuse of power by proper checks and balances. The Dave Becks, Jimmy Hoffas and their like may have performed a negative function in proving that the labor movement may have to re-examine its constitutional checks upon human nature.

GERMAN ELECTION FUNDS

By F. R. Allemann

Adenauer's party has more than all others combined

BONN

ACCORDING to Article 21 of West Germany's Basic Law, political parties "must publicly account for the source of their funds." However, Paragraph 3 of this article states simply: "Further details are regulated by Federal laws." These laws have not yet made their appearance, nor are they likely to so long as the present Government coalition remains in power. For the parties which back Chancellor Konrad Adenauer are not in the least interested in transforming this legal requirement into reality. Their financing is the most obscure of all the German parties.

It is scarcely an exaggeration to set the total cost of the current *Bundestag* election campaign at a minimum of 50 million marks ($12.5 million)—probably more when one considers not only the immediate expenses for posters, leaflets, films, automobiles, meetings halls, etc., but also the personnel required to maintain the campaign from headquarters in Bonn down to the local election districts. One should also include the various indirect services available to the parties, *e.g.*, the well-endowed Government publicity apparatus, which in effect makes propaganda for the Adenauer forces, and the efforts of certain ostensibly non-party groups, such as the apparently affluent "Working Association of Democratic Circles," a vote-getting instrument for the coalition.

The monetary value of such services cannot be estimated. But the 50 million marks cited above is itself a huge sum, and the collections made at election rallies make up less than a tenth of it. What about the rest? Who really supplies the funds, and how much is available to the various parties?

Financing methods and sources—direct and indirect—differ from one party to another. The problem is least complicated in the case of the Social Democratic party (SPD). With its more than 600,000 dues-paying members (compared with the 250,000 of Adenauer's Christian Democratic Union), who are assessed according to income, the SPD boasts a solid organizational foundation, which makes it largely independent of outside aid. Another source of strength is the volunteer party election workers, who distribute leaflets, paste up stickers, guard meetings, etc. without pay. The Government parties are forced to pay for similar services. For these reasons, the SPD not only can afford to be remarkably frank at party congresses about the sources, extent and use of its funds; it can also count on achieving more, mark for mark, than its opponents with their vastly greater resources.

This difference is noticeable—to

cite one small example—even at the party congresses. The SPD ushers are ordinary party members, ranging from blue-uniformed "falcons" of the Socialist Workers' Youth to gray-haired party veterans. The CDU and Free Democratic party (FDP), on the other hand, employ the paid services of students—or even, as at the CDU's Stuttgart congress, attractive dress models.

Yet, the SPD, too, has various circuitous ways of helping to finance its campaign. To be sure, it receives no direct contributions from the labor unions, which are pledged to nonpartisanship by their constitutions. But the unions, for example, own large printing plants. When the latter print Social Democratic campaign material at very favorable prices, with long-term payments, it is just as effective as a cash contribution. Another source of aid is loans on easy terms by union-controlled finance companies.

As a result of all this, the SPD will have an election fund estimated at 5 million marks. The Government parties, particularly the Christian Democrats, have far greater funds, though the assertion that industrial and financial interests have placed 100 million marks at their disposal is surely an exaggeration. They are almost completely dependent on wealthy backers, mobilized by the public-relations groups maintained by various big-business associations.

According to well-informed sources, Adenauer's CDU has some 30 million marks available for the campaign—more than all the other parties together. The German party (DP), Adenauer's small but faithful coalition partner, has received 6-7 million as its share of the kitty—a huge amount for a party which in 1953 received less than 900,000 votes. The DP owes its current prosperity chiefly to the experienced politicians with strong business backing who joined its ranks after deserting the Free Democrats early in 1956 when the latter pulled out of the Adenauer Government. The big industrial associations are clearly supporting the DP in order to strengthen the right wing of the Government coalition.

For several months after their withdrawal from the Government, the Free Democrats were cut off from all industry funds. They are still viewed with suspicion, but their passionate defense of free enterprise and propaganda against socialism have been rewarded with some 3 million marks. The FDP has, moreover, created its own circle of patrons in small and medium industry (especially in the Ruhr).

Even the Refugee party (BHE), whose election prospects are dim at best, has received nearly 1.5 million marks from business benefactors. This probably explains why the BHE, which two years ago joined the opposition to Adenauer, has recently been steering more of a pro-Government course. The BHE is the only party that can compete with the Social Democrats in tight organization, its 200,000 members compare favorably with the CDU's 250,000, and it receives political aid from the powerful "Association of German Expellees," which is nominally nonpartisan but inevitably works closely with the BHE.

When one adds these various sums of money, one arrives at a total of 40 million marks pumped into the treasuries of the "bourgeois" parties by industrial firms and associations. The parties that benefit from this largess have devised an effective means of encouraging continued generosity: Under the recent tax reform, contributions to "civic" causes (which specifically includes political parties) are exempt from both income and corporation taxes. Thus, contributions have been even heavier this year than in 1953.

The Socialist-led Hessian State Government, encouraged by a recent decision of the Federal Constitutional Court, has launched an effort to deprive the SPD's political foes of this powerful weapon. In a complaint to the Constitutional Court, it has challenged the constitutionality of the tax-deduction provision. Should this move succeed, which seems somewhat dubious, the munificent West German captains of industry will have to pay up their back taxes. A judicial decision will be rendered after the elections.

Serious concern has been expressed about this whole system. This concern has, indeed, found expression in the provisions of the Constitution, which declares the financial behavior of political parties to be a public matter. Thus far, however, this has remained no more than a pious wish, blatantly ignored by the forces that dominate political life in West Germany.

TERMINAL

I met a traveler from Suburbia
Who said: "Today,
Coming back to work from my vacation,
I saw a monster at the station:
A ballistic missile on display.

"Perhaps the men who chose to put it there
Had hoped I might—
Standing in its shadow for a minute—
Feel some pride or pleasure in it:
I was horror-stricken at the sight.

"And quickly heading for the nearest door
I went outside,
Looking eastward toward the sun at Forty-second
And the river as I reckoned:
Man or missile—which will be the guide?"

—Gene Sosin

By Boris I. Nicolaevsky *(Fifth of a series)*

The Surprise of the 20th Congress

FROM THE TIME Nikita Khrushchev re-entered the Secretariat of the Soviet Communist party after Stalin's death, he waged a formidable struggle against numerous powerful adversaries. In July 1953, he helped bring about the fall of Lavrenti Beria; in February 1955, he succeeded in ousting Georgi Malenkov from the Premiership; at the Central Committee's plenary meeting in July 1955, he scored a decisive victory over Vyacheslav Molotov on the question of relations with Tito. Yet all these activities were only preliminary to the grand offensive launched by Khrushchev in the fall of 1955.

First, Khrushchev advanced the scheduling of the 20th Party Congress, moving it up from October 1956 to February 1956, and at the same time dismissed the old Central Committee plenum, which had been chosen under Malenkov's aegis. Then he began energetically to pack the forthcoming congress.

In the Ukraine, some 20 per cent of the secretaries of Party cells were removed in the months before the Congress; and the Ukraine, which for nearly two decades has been virtually Khrushchev's special patrimony, was by no means hardest hit. In the Uzbek Republic, for example, the percentage of dismissals was 36. For the whole country, the dismissals probably amounted to 25 per cent—which means that, of a total of more than 300,000 Party cells, some 75,000 saw their secretaries removed.

The shake-up was even more drastic in higher Party organizations. In a number of provinces, the dismissals of regional-committee secretaries reached 100 per cent—the entire leadership was changed. Only with the first secretaries of provincial and territorial committees was Khrushchev somewhat more cautious, for they were all either members or candidate-members of the Central Committee. Yet, even among them there were quite a few dismissals, including the first secretaries of the provincial committees of Gorki, Sverdlovsk and Saratov.

This shake-up not only eliminated those who were not completely reliable in the eyes of Khrushchev and his aides. It also raised *en masse* in the Party hierarchy a large group of new people who based their hopes of a career on Khrushchev. Of a total of 1,356 voting delegates at the 20th Congress, some 500, or 37 per cent, owed their advancement to Khrushchev.

This organizational shake-up of the Party apparatus (directed by Averki B. Aristov of the Secretariat's cadre section) was linked with an ideological "tightening up" directed by Pyotr N. Pospelov, Central Committee secretary for agit-prop. One sign of this "tightening up" was the policy of rehabilitating Stalin.

After Beria's April 1953 report to the Central Committee, Stalin's name had virtually disappeared from the Soviet press. This went so far that in the May 1953 issue of the magazine *Smena*, a work by the poet Lugovsky which glorified Stalin had been blacked out and replaced by a revised version which made no mention of him. Systematic rehabilitation of Stalin started immediately after the July 1955 plenum, forming part of Khrushchev's preparations for the 20th Congress.

This policy of the Khrushchev-dominated Secretariat becomes clear if we compare the reaction of the Soviet press to Stalin's birthday in 1955 with that in 1954. The latter was a jubilee year—the 75th anniversary of Stalin's birth—and yet not one of the major newspapers marked it in any way. 1955 was not a jubilee year, but all Soviet organs marked the anniversary with prominent articles. Stalin's name was blazoned across the entire press, and a slogan describing the Soviet Communist party as "the Party of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin" was widely displayed.

In January 1956, too, it was announced in the *Literary Gazette* that the 14th volume of Stalin's collected works would shortly be published. This volume was to include articles for the years 1934-39—the period of the *Yezhovshchina*, when several million people were wiped out, including some 500,000 Party members and three-quarters of the Central Committee. The volume had been ready for publication while Stalin was still alive, but it had been held up on the latter's orders, obviously because the "father of peoples" might strike the reader as a little too bloodthirsty in its pages. Pospelov, who had joined the editorial staff preparing the *Works*, saw no need to pay any attention to this.

Although the 20th Party Congress was carefully prepared both organizationally and ideologically, to a considerable degree Khrushchev's hopes for complete victory were dashed. Khrushchev banked primarily in his ideological work on returning to the traditions of consistent Stalinism. Yet, in the interests of his struggle against Malenkov, he had staged the trial of Deputy State Security Chief Abakumov, thus opening up one of the many pages of the book of Stalinist terror. True, he tried to load all the responsibility onto Beria, but when, in theaters throughout the Soviet Union, the heroes of Alexander Korneichuk's play *Wings* proclaimed their indictment of the organizers of merciless repression, everyone understood that not just Beria was in-

volved. Against this background, the articles lauding Stalin could not but produce revulsion among Soviet readers, including Party workers.

Another contradiction was evident in Khrushchev's policy toward the satellites. In his struggle against Molotov, Khrushchev had attacked the activity of Soviet diplomats—for whom Molotov bore official responsibility—in the satellites, but said nothing about the even worse behavior of representatives of the Soviet Army, police and Party. Such speeches, insofar as they became known in the satellite parties, hurt not just Molotov but the Soviet regime as a whole. In his speeches before Party meetings in Warsaw in 1955, Khrushchev had denounced "national Communist" sentiments in Poland, but his fight against Molotov provided the "national Communists" with new ammunition.

The 20th Party Congress, the first since Stalin, could not but hold the center of attention among Communists throughout the world. Formally, it followed the program Khrushchev had laid out; the main events were his report on the activity of the Central Committee and Bulganin's on the new Five-Year Plan. These reports were adopted by a solid majority. But this external discipline at the Congress by no means reflected what was happening behind the scenes. Early in 1954, A. A. Andreyev, chairman of the Party Control Commission, had launched an investigation of the bloody repression of the Stalin era. When Andreyev was elected chairman of a similar commission under the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, his investigation had become both a Party and a Government affair. As early as the summer of 1954, the press began to announce the presentation of awards to "old Bolsheviks" who had vanished without a trace 15 or more years before.

After creation of the commission under the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the number of purge victims returning to their families rose rapidly. This type of character—the man who nearly two decades earlier had fallen victim to false denunciations and was punished for no just cause—has now appeared in Soviet literature, showing us the tremendous effect the returnees' accounts have had on the Soviet public.

Many threads from this terrible past led to the 20th Congress. From I. Boitsov's article in the magazine *Kommunist* (No. 8, 1956) we know that the Congress received statements from an enormous number of purged Communists, disclosing the treatment they had received and requesting a review of their cases. Even more important, a wave of similar statements arrived from the "fraternal parties" in the satellites, especially from Poland and Hungary. The leaders of these parties, forced to flee from persecution at home to the Soviet Union, were there mercilessly annihilated during the *Yezhovshchina*. The 20th Congress was attended by large delegations from the satellite parties, and they all brought demands for rehabilitation of those who had been liquidated and liberation of those who survived.

It was impossible not to take these demands into consideration. By February 17-19, the very first days of the Congress, statements were appearing in the press showing that the dead Polish and Hungarian Communists had already been rehabilitated. Once the foreign victims of the *Yezhovshchina* had been rehabilitated, there was no way of avoiding rehabilitation of the Soviet victims—particularly since the Andreyev commissions had already prepared lengthy reports, the Presidium was already familiar with them, and rumors about their existence were beginning to circulate among the Congress delegates. The question was raised of hearing Andreyev's report at a closed session of the Congress. This demand was hinted at in the speeches of some Presidium members, notably Anastas Mikoyan.

In these circumstances, only a Stalinist idealist, ready to jeopardize his whole career in order to defend the honor of his mentor, could continue to glorify the dead dictator. Khrushchev had no desire to play the gallant knight, perishing in defense of his father's honor. Hence, at the very last minute, he decided to change course—probably after becoming convinced that otherwise the report would be read by Andreyev, who would have presented quite a different picture.

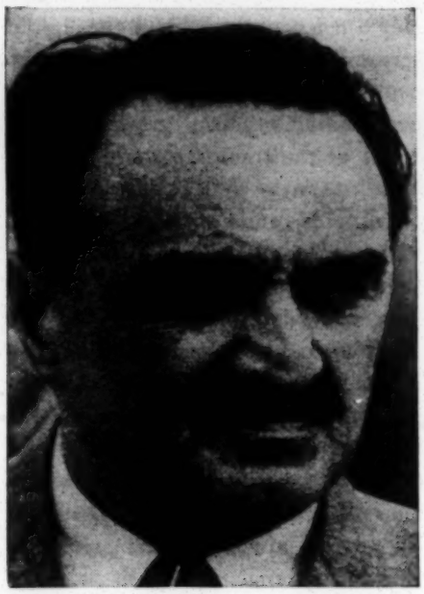
Making use of the material gathered by Andreyev's commissions, Khrushchev not only unscrupulously doctored it in his "secret report," but utilized it to settle scores with his own foes in the Presidium. Khrushchev managed in one way or another to imply complicity in the worst of Stalin's crimes on the part of all those Presidium members who are now, in 1957, included in the "anti-Party group." Naturally, all of them—Molotov, Kaganovich and Molotov alike—bear considerable responsibility for the Stalinist crimes. But an equal measure of responsibility lies with Khrushchev himself and his present allies, whom he depicted not as Stalin's accomplices but as people who themselves escaped falling victim to Stalin only by a miracle.

The report also contained a good many concealed attempts to defend Stalin, whose well-thought-out, skilful campaigns to destroy his political foes were portrayed by Khrushchev as the actions of a sick man, suffering from a persecution complex. Essentially, the report contained the necessary basis for a future defense of Stalin as a mentally ill man who fell under the influence of various political scoundrels from some "anti-Party group." At any rate, it provided no material for a principled critique of Stalinism as an evil, socially dangerous system.

Khrushchev's report, though its picture of Stalin's crimes was not even remotely coherent in a political sense, was nevertheless filled with colorful incidents which made a powerful impression on the 1,300-odd delegates. It made an even greater impression on rank-and-file Party

members, to whom, by decision of the Congress, the content of the report was systematically made known; and greater yet abroad, where news of the report, and then its text, quickly made its way. Many people, on the basis of the "secret report," proclaimed Khrushchev as the leader of the anti-Stalinist wing in the Kremlin, forgetting all his activities until the very eve of the Congress.

This was exactly what Khrushchev wanted in the extremely difficult situation which had arisen. For he had gone into the Congress intending to settle scores with all his opponents, but the situation had proved unfavorable. A number of the speeches at the Congress contained anti-Khrushchev notes. Especially interesting was the speech by the crafty Mikoyan—a kind of warning to Khrushchev not to attempt to defend Stalin, lest the whole story of the *Yezhovshchina* in the Ukraine, for which Khrushchev was largely responsible, be publicized.



MIKOYAN: A CRAFTY WARNING

After the 20th Congress, a wave of anti-Stalinist sentiment rolled over both the Soviet Union and the satellites. Broad sections of the population and rank-and-file Party members gave Khrushchev credit for this development. But Khrushchev's attitude in no sense corresponded to the legends which formed about his role. Almost immediately after the Congress, his apparatus launched a struggle against those press organs and writers who tried to put anti-Stalinist sentiment on a solid foundation. His chief instrument was *Partiinaya Zhizn* ("Party Life"), organ of the Secretariat, whose editors had been selected by Pospelov. This journal launched the campaign against *Voprosy Istorii* ("Problems of History") for its attempts to start accurately portraying Stalin's role in the Bolshevik movement and the Revolution. The campaign ended with the removal of the entire editorial staff of *Voprosy Istorii.* Ye. Bugayev, the contributor to *Partiinaya Zhizn* who launched its fight against *Voprosy Istorii,* has recently been named editor-in-chief of a new magazine, *Voprosy Istorii KPSS* ("Problems of the History of the CPSU"), which is to become the authoritative official source on the history of the Communist movement.

In preceding years, Khrushchev had opposed every attempt to clear the way for free inquiry in literature, science and art. On his instructions in 1954, a campaign was launched against Pomerantsev, Shcheglov and other writers for the magazine *Novy Mir* ("New World"), who had preached "sincerity" in literature. The campaign ended with the removal as editor-in-chief of Alexander Tvardovsky, who had been linked with Malenkov since his student days.

On Khrushchev's instructions, too, new campaigns have more recently been organized against "revisionists" in literature and science, against *Voprosy Istorii,* against *Voprosy Filosofii* ("Problems of Philosophy"), against *Literaturnaya Moskva* ("Literary Moscow"), against Konstantin Simonov and *Novy Mir,* etc. [See "The Revolt of the Moscow Writers," page 18.] To Khrushchev, as Party First Secretary, lead the threads of all the slanderous campaigns being conducted in *Literaturnaya Gazeta* ("Literary Gazette") and *Pravda* against authors who show the slightest independence. In post-Stalinist Russia, there has been only one center of stubborn resistance to cultural de-Stalinization—the Central Committee Secretariat, headed by Khrushchev.

Khrushchev's role is essentially the same in regard to the satellites. Since 1953, several attempts have been made to ease the latter's position. Seweryn Bialer, who observed these events as a well-informed Polish Communist, wrote in the July 29 NEW LEADER that Malenkov's policy was the most liberal toward the satellites. Malenkov picked Imre Nagy to be Premier of Hungary in July 1953, and Nagy was removed shortly after Malenkov's deposition. When the whole policy of "thaw" was liquidated in Hungary, the Central Committee Secretariat, *i.e.,* Khrushchev, circulated a special letter among Communist organizations, arguing that the policy which Nagy had pursued with Malenkov's support had been dangerous to the satellites and to the Soviet Union. Nagy's fall was followed by the return of Matyas Rakosi and Erno Gerö, who had been responsible for the worst acts of terror in Communist Hungary.

Furthermore, the United Nations report on the Hungarian Revolution has established that the outbreak of violence in Budapest was the result of *deliberate provocation.* As early as October 21-22, *i.e.,* before the beginning of the student demonstrations, Soviet troops in Hungary were placed in a state of battle readiness. Gerö and the Stalinists in Moscow who backed him were preparing a bloodbath for all the Hungarian anti-Stalinist groups, the "revisionist" Communists as well as the non-Party intelligentsia. A similar plot was being prepared in Warsaw. Edward Ochab, then First Secretary of the Polish Communist party, has reported that several days before the critical events of October 19-23 he was approached by Marshal Konstantin Rokossovsky with the proposal to stage a putsch in Poland.

Rokossovsky would take such a step only on Moscow's orders.

Who were the Moscow Stalinists who could give orders to the Soviet commanders in both Hungary and Poland? Only Khrushchev or someone acting for him could have done this. To be sure, during the fall of 1956 opposition to Khrushchev in the Presidium was great, but none of the leaders of this opposition had any connection with the executive organs either of the Party (the Secretariat) or of the Government. Khrushchev controlled the executive authority in both. Instructions from Moscow to organize coups in Hungary and Poland could emanate only from these executive organs.

This is confirmed by our information about the negotiations conducted by Khrushchev and other delegates of the Presidium with the Polish Communist leaders. This delegation, which flew into Warsaw on October 19, consisted of Khrushchev, Mikoyan and two "oppositionists," Molotov and Kaganovich. The make-up of the delegation reflected the Presidium's unwillingness to let Khrushchev act on his own authority. We know that at these negotiations the most irreconcilable was Khrushchev. It was he who would not agree to Gomulka's return as First Secretary and who tried to deliver an ultimatum about Rokossovsky, whose recall was demanded by the Polish Communists. Only the efforts of the other three members of the Moscow delegation averted an open break; and there is no doubt that it was the pressure of a majority of the Presidium that forced Khrushchev, after his return to Moscow, to telephone Gomulka and apologize.

The die-hard Stalinists who opposed every attempt at de-Stalinization in the Soviet Union and the satellites were, above all, the group around Khrushchev. It was this group that resorted to provocation in order to check the successes of the "revisionists" in Hungary and Poland.

(Continued next week)

Architects' reputations revised

MEXICO CITY AFTER THE QUAKE

By Victor Alba

MEXICO CITY

A LADY I KNOW described the July 27 earthquake here—the most severe in modern times—in the following words:

"I woke up with a feeling of nausea and heartburn, and I thought, 'Good God, I'm pregnant again.'"

An American student wrote to her family that "the trees were dancing the *cha-cha*."

In actual fact, the people of Mexico City are so accustomed to seeing quakes neutralized by the spongy subsoil on which this capital is built that they were not particularly alarmed. True, there were a good many broken dishes and windowpanes, and cases of beds sliding across the room. But it was not until the following morning, upon reading the newspapers, that the people realized that they had lived through a serious earthquake which would have caused a catastrophe had the city been built on firm ground. As a result of the tremor, several modern buildings were left temporarily uninhabitable and another collapsed, with the loss of some 30 lives. The Independence Monument lost its "angel," which toppled over and was decapitated in the process.

Mexico City rests on a porous subsoil, and water had to be pumped out before any building was possible. The result is that the land is sinking at the rate of a foot-and-a-half annually. The streets are uneven, and when a new building is put up the smaller

PRESIDENT RUIZ CORTINES (WITH HAT) INSPECTING QUAKE DAMAGE

structures alongside it tend to rise and develop cracks under the pressure. Certain buildings, such as the Palace of Fine Arts—a ghastly marble-and-bronze monstrosity from the beginning of this century—have sunk so far that half of the first floor is below ground level.

The subsoil problem and the constant expansion and population growth of the city (from 500,000 in 1910 to 4 million in 1957) have forced architects and engineers to seek new solutions. Some are trying to halt the settling of existing buildings by pumping water into the subsoil, while others are looking for methods of preventing new construction from sinking.

Recently, some skyscrapers have been constructed on enormous hydraulic jacks which raise or lower them in accordance with the ground level. When there is an earthquake, the building rocks to and fro, but without collapsing or cracking. Buildings like the new *Torre de la Latino-Americana* and the National Lottery (a monument in stone to the importance of gambling in Mexican life) survived the recent quake intact, while others, not built on jacks, cracked from top to bottom and will have to be torn down.

The earthquake has also raised some interesting questions in another field. For the past several decades, Mexico City has been the victim of a colossal artistic fraud. A group of artists, chiefly painters, have dominated the market and imposed their point of view. They have promoted the careers of mediocre artists who could pose no threat to their own position, and condemned to silence, neglect and loneliness those talented people who refused to submit to their sterile standards.

With the passage of years and the saturation of the market by their works, this monopolistic group has lost ground. In order to recoup, they have had to resort to various tricks in the search for new material. They have taken to speaking about "plastic integration" and mingling sculpture and painting in the same work of art —a procedure that would be permissible in expressing something which required this fusion but instead has served to lend an appearance of novelty to utterly banal works.

This movement has also gained control of architecture. By definition, an architect is supposed to concern himself above all with the safety of the structures he is erecting. Mexican architects, however, have in recent years been adorning the fronts of buildings with mosaics, cement slabs, etc.—an application to their field of so-called "plastic integration." The result: After the earthquake, the streets of this city were littered with the debris of these ornaments. Had the quake hit during the daytime, when the streets were filled with people, the casualties inflicted by "plastic integration" would have been considerable.

One striking aspect of the earthquake was the difference in behavior between the wealthy classes—including American tourists—and the poor. The latter, as always in such cases, went out in the street. They did so not to protect themselves but to pray and to submit to what the deeply religious Mexican lower classes call the "will of God"—which, in reality, means to them the will of vast forces which they cannot comprehend. The rich, on the other hand, remained indoors in an effort to protect themselves. The tourists, for example, stayed in their hotel corridors, sleeping on sofas and armchairs, during the three nights following the tremor. The difference was significant. To the average impoverished Mexican, life obviously seemed a far less valuable possession than to the relatively limited class of the well-to-do.

All in all, if the Mexican earthquake was not a material catastrophe, it was a spiritual catastrophe for those who pondered its lessons. The inadequate safety precautions and the artistic charlatanism which it revealed are discouraging evidence that human wisdom does not keep pace with technological progress. Indeed, even the use of hydraulic jacks in tall buildings was due to economic considerations (the rise in the price of land caused a trend to skyscrapers, which could not be built unless the problem of land settling was solved) and not to a desire to minimize earthquake damage.

The basic need here, as perhaps in contemporary civilization as a whole, is for a greater concern by technologists for the basic needs of human beings.

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By Lillian Smith

The Winner Names the Age

A CHALLENGE TO SOUTHERN DECENCY

OURS IS an age that has no name. Nor will it soon have one. It has often been called "the Age of Anxiety," but it will not, I think, be known in history as that. For the winners would not call it so, and the winners do the naming.

Sometimes we forget that an age is always named for its triumphs, for the big ideas that add stature to the human being. A brief glance at any great age will remind us how true this is.

We call the 18th century the Age of Reason, of Enlightenment, of the Rights of Man. And yet, the Age of Enlightenment was an age when most Western men could not read or write. The Age of the Rights of Man was a time when a new slavery was sending deep roots into American soil and a new colonialism was beginning to lay its greedy paws on Asia and Africa. This great Age of Reason was a time when educated Europeans were deeply concerned about ghosts. The Oxford University magazines were full of discussions of ghosts, in which Samuel Johnson took part. Witches, too, were still a hot topic. This Age of Reason was an age when the blind and crippled were persecuted and half starved; when the mentally ill were chained and some were whipped to death; when epileptics were hidden away; when men looked on tuberculosis and cancer as punishments from God.

This great intellectual era, which gave us Rousseau's and Locke's writings, Voltaire's bold, sharp, ironic questions, Thomas Paine's books, and Jefferson's word on liberty and human freedom, gave us also a curious best-seller which swept Europe like wildfire. It was translated into English, French and German and was read by the intelligentsia. Parents were deeply impressed by it and shaped their methods of child guidance on it; clergymen preached on the morality it implied; doctors based their therapies on it and continued to do so, some of them until the 20th century. The book was called *L'Onanisme* and was written by a physician named Tissot. It was concerned with the secret sins that children commit. According to this expert, those sins caused most of the diseases known to man, from fits to diarrhœa, from insanity to blindness, deafness, muteness, cerebral palsy, rheumatism, anemia, liver upsets, etc.

All this came out of the great Age of Reason. Yet, though the 18th century was chock-full of hysteria and superstition and irrationality, we are right to call it the Age of Enlightenment. For the germinal ideas it brought to life, the vision of man's possibilities which it communicated to the future in impassioned words and symbolic acts, are, today, a part of the human heritage.

There is always a dark underside to every age: a festering, ill-smelling slum where man's enemies and errors breed. But an age is remembered not for its enemies and errors but for those qualities it dramatized which enlarge horizons and give a fine ambience to man himself. Malraux was right when he said: "Always, however brutal an age may actually have been, its style transmits its music only."

We can paint our picture, but we cannot name our age; the winner will do that. What we *can* do is pick the winner.

Because we can, I would like to take a look at the conditions, the ordeals out of which the winning ideas, the triumphant attitudes and techniques will come:

We are faced with three which men have never had to deal with before. Each holds high potentials for good and evil, life and death. Each affects the others. All three are concerned with new forms of power, and all will shape the earth's future.

The first can be described quite simply: It is the new power of world opinion. Walls are down; distance has been obliterated. Communication lines are strung everywhere. There is no longer a place for secrets. We cannot, as nations, gossip about each other without being heard. We cannot trick each other without being found out. We cannot hold, for ourselves alone, either new things made or new knowledge gained. We can try, but world opinion is powerful and will have its say about it.

This is a totally new thing. Suddenly the earth is stripped of its old insulated silence, its slow comeback, and is transformed into a sensitive instrument which responds with electronic speed to whatever is said and

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done: A few tactless words spoken by an official of one country can upset the government or economy of another. A stupid act today can bring on a world crisis tomorrow. A GI shoots a trespassing Japanese woman, and half the earth shivers. Another GI shoots an alleged peeping Tom in Formosa, a riot takes place in which the American Embassy is left a shambles, and, suddenly, everybody everywhere is either glad or sorry.

It is obvious that we have not yet developed an earth-size courtesy and tact. Nor have we yet found the new concern and new morality and new objectivity to match the new publicity and the new intimacy.

Our second ordeal is in everybody's mind: atomic energy and how to control it. We know that nuclear power has fabulous possibilities for future good, but what troubles people everywhere is its danger to us right now. We are anxious and concerned not only because the bombs can bring quick and total destruction in war, but because peacetime testing of bombs has already brought unknown damage to the human race. We are concerned that radioactive fallout has already affected the genes of a percentage of our young people everywhere. What percentage? We are not sure. How many of their children will be defective and malformed? We do not yet know. But we want to know, and we are afraid of politicians and atomic committees that try to keep secret the scientists' warnings.

World opinion alone can compel governments to use nuclear energy in the right way. Will it? That is our decision.

Our third ordeal is living in a world with hundreds of millions of free people. This is a new thing. A fabulous time of greatness can come out of it, but it is also dangerous, because *free people have power*—more power than a half-dozen H-bombs.

They are not likely to blow up the earth with their power, but in their ignorance and inexperience they may blow up civilization. They can destroy art and music and poetry and books and criticism; they can tear up laboratories and libraries; they can jail scientists and intellectuals and artists; they already decide what can be shown on TV and in the movies; they already dictate to the mass magazines; they can even dynamite churches. They can, when out of control, do all these terrifying things because freedom gives them strength. A free man with the vote, and with wages that give him purchasing power, is armed with some hefty weapons.

This problem of free people and their new and amazing power has thus far disturbed Communist countries less than democracies. Democracies—and we are trying to turn the whole world into democracies—cannot have uncontrolled free people around. Controls are necessary. But controls must be democratic; they must function without taking away the essential civil liberties of all men. What controls are valid?

A powerful control is constitutional law. But it will work only if the people believe in law and respect its processes.

The two strongest and best controls come from within a free man's own mind: his conscience and his reason. Both of these—to stay healthy—must be nourished on civilization's great and germinal ideas:

- The idea that every child has a right to grow.
- The idea that everyone in the community has a right to be protected from violence.
- The idea that all people can speak out and say what they think.
- The idea that a man has a right to be different in looks, beliefs, interests and talents if he does not injure others.
- The idea that truth is a search that must never stop, that both reason and imagination are necessary to that search, that scientific method is necessary, too, and cannot be interfered with except when human life is jeopardized or profound human values cheapened.
- The idea that the way a thing is done, the means used, is as important as the end sought.
- The basic idea: that God is the Ultimate Concern beyond all men, the supreme symbol—not the white race, not the Communist party, not capitalism, not any authoritarian group—and that his laws of love and brotherhood and mercy and compassion must be obeyed.

When men stop believing in these great ideas, when they silence their conscience and trample their reason, when they make their own image their god—or their economic or political beliefs their god—then we are in for trouble. For then they hold even constitutional law cheap. They sneer at the high courts of their government; indeed, they say they obey only the laws they want to.

When this happens, the free people, with their limitless potentials for growth and for good, will metamorphose into the mob. Because it *is* happening in our country, especially down here in the deep South where we live, I want to talk about the mob in more detail:

There are three kinds of mobs. Mob Number 1 is the mob on the street, usually dressed in ordinary clothes, sometimes in pillowcases and sheets. This is the mob that dynamites a church or a home, burns the cross, writes anonymous letters, makes anonymous phone calls, threatens and sometimes kills. This mob is made up of the delinquents and criminals of a community.

Mob Number 2 is far more dangerous because it holds more power and prestige. We might call it the mob in the gray flannel suit. Certainly many of its members are chairmen of boards of big business; others are trustees of school, church, hospital; some are directors of banks or presidents of insurance companies; others are professional men. In the South, members of Mob Number 2 often belong to the White Citizens Council.

This mob's strength lies in the fact that it hires people and sells goods. Its members use this strength to hurt

those who deviate from their beliefs. They are the ones who fire the teacher who speaks up, who fire the young minister who bows to God instead of to White Supremacy; they are the ones who refuse the bank loan to the Negro who works for his civil rights and refuse the loan to the white man who tries to help the Negro secure his civil rights. They are the men who refuse to sell to those whose opinions they don't like, who refuse to insure some of those they don't like. They put the pressure on.

Mob Number 2 also gives its protection to Mob Number 1. Without that protection, Mob Number 1 would be in jail and would be kept there.

Mob Number 2's enormous power is given it by Mob Number 3, and Mob Number 3 is invisible. It lives inside men's minds. It burns a cross before a man's conscience, dynamites his reason, threatens his sense of security, sends anonymous phone calls to old memories, old fears that are sleeping in peace. This kind of thing leaves a man anxious and hating, wanting to hurt something—he doesn't know what or why.

This mob-thinking pushes Mob Number 1 out on the streets, and it condones Mob Number 2's vicious boycott and pressures and leaves its members still thinking of themselves as good men. For every violent act committed, every threat and effort at boycott and intimidation, every hate word said, there are thousands of minds thinking mob thoughts. Enough to paralyze the police force, the courts, the judges, the juries, and all law-enforcement machinery. Enough, also, to completely paralyze public opinion—and sometimes enough even to paralyze the Christian church.

Here is the crux of the matter: In a democracy, enlightened, civilized public opinion must prevail; not mob opinion, but the opinion of millions of individuals who have held on to their reason and conscience, and their belief in the free, growing human being. The only way this public opinion can prevail is for people to stand up and speak out. Those who believe violence is wrong must say so. Those who believe a man has a right to be different must say so. Those who believe a clergyman should preach according to his religious conscience should say so. Those who believe school teachers must not be asked to take a loyalty oath defending segregation or the "Southern way of life" or capitalism or any other form of idolatry must say so. Those who believe that our artists and writers must be left free to create their dreams and ideas into paintings and books must say so. Those who believe survival is more important than security must say this, too. For otherwise democracy cannot survive, nor, I think, can civilization survive. For the mob's power can destroy our freedom as completely as can any Communist dictator.

The power of free people has to be controlled, channeled, disciplined by values and knowledge and law—or it can be more dangerous to us than nuclear energy out of control. I consider the demagogue the greatest enemy a democracy has. Not the dictator; that is Communism's problem. Our problem is the demagogue, the man who deliberately betrays the people, the man who scares them, calling "Fire! Fire!" when there is no fire, who tells the people they are free to break the law, free to trample other people's rights, free to slough off their conscience and their reason to behave like madmen when they want to. This is the Number 1 subversive in our culture; this man is the people's real enemy. For he deliberately breaks down the controls of the church, of conscience, of civilization, of the courts to get the people under his control.

What can we do about it? The answer lies first in leadership, second in the determined efforts of each individual to take his stand, to speak up and try to create a climate of courage and hope and faith. Without the second, we cannot have the first: We need leaders, not martyrs. We cannot have leaders unless the best people stand by these leaders.

For fifty years, the South has had no great leader from the white race. Demagogues by the bushel but not one great leader. This, too, is part of the price we have paid for our silence and for walling ourselves away from the great ideas of our age.

We could have had great leaders: There were men in our South with the intelligence, the integrity, the vision to become great leaders, but we, the people, did not give them our support. We gave that support, every time, to the cheap, foul-mouthed demagogue who appealed not to our reason and conscience but to our anxiety; who begged us to return with him to the past, a past that never actually existed, instead of going on with the rest of mankind into the future. We let down our leaders by not building them up. A leader cannot be built up unless the people, the best people of a region, build him.

It is not too late. We can still do it. The Negro group is searching far and finding its good leaders and is beginning to give these leaders their support. What men some of them are! If the white group could only find a young leader to match the brains and heart, the integrity and vision, the courage, the energy and imagination of young Martin Luther King. For young Dr. King knows what every leader of stature must learn: that the way is as important as the goal we seek. And he has chosen the good way of non-violence, of intelligence and compassion and good will. A young white leader working shoulder to shoulder with Martin Luther King could do much to transform our South, to turn the mob spirit into the civilized Christian spirit that we should have down here.

We must, it seems to me, combine our efforts to see to it that the great ideas of our age have a chance to be acted out, to become strong enough to win over the irrational, evil enemies and errors of our age. We won't do the naming, but we will pick the winner. Shall we commit ourselves, deeply and completely, not to neurotic security but to the survival of man on this earth?

BOHN

THE HOME FRONT

By William E. Bohn

The Lake on Top Of a Volcano

LAST WEEK I wrote that California's Yosemite Valley is unlike any other place on earth. I may sound fickle this week when I proclaim that Oregon's Crater Lake is surpassingly beautiful and completely unique. There may be some body of water like it in some far place of Asia or Africa, but if there is I have never heard of it. The most exceptional thing about this lake is not that—six miles wide and 2,000 feet deep—it lies on the top of a mountain completely cut off from outside water except for rain and snow. Its main distinction is not even the fact that it lies in the crater of an extinct volcano and is completely surrounded by lava cliffs rising from 500 to 2,000 feet above the water level. Its real distinction is its breathtaking beauty.

As I sit in my room in the lodge of Crater Lake National Park, I look down upon a surface of heavenly blue which all of the ladies in solid phalanx assembled have tried in vain to describe. They have called it delphinium blue, Maxfield Parrish blue, purple blue, Mediterranean blue—and finally have acknowledged their defeat by describing it as Crater Lake blue. The water immediately below me has a color which is so intense that it seems to be impregnated with some deep, deep dye. Farther off, toward the opposite shore, it turns to a lighter, gayer, more skylike hue. All viewers of this waterscape agree that they have never seen anything distantly resembling it. It gives the onlooker a sense of infinite elevation, perhaps because this vision is beyond reach. The gazing beholder cannot swim in this water, cannot even touch it.

The average visitor says almost automatically that the inexpressible color is produced by reflection of the sky. In a sense and to a certain extent, this is true. The real fact is said to be that the rays of the sun are separated by refraction from the unusually pure water much as they would be by a prismatic glass. And the blue shade, being singled out and sent up from the surface of the lake, gives the effect of a deep blue body of water.

The untechnical, rough-and-ready way of explaining how a fine lake could come into existence on the top of a mountain is to say that the mountain blew its top and then the rain and the snow filled the resulting cavity with water. What actually happened is so complex and interesting that Howell Williams, professor of geology at the University of California, has published a detailed book on it. What especially fascinates me is his account of the great, jagged rim which hems in the sheet of water. The rocks which compose it are of different sorts and have come to rest at various angles. Basing their calculations on the positions of these masses and on the glacial scratches on their surfaces, the scientists can determine the height and shape of the original peak.

My interest right now is centered in another man named Williams, Thomas J. Williams, the superintendent of this exceptionally interesting park. He came from a dirty little mining town in the East and found the West big and clean and hospitable. In the National Park Service, he has had a chance to help preserve and expand the features of the country he loves. "The job has a romantic side," he said to me. "We are trying to make people better by giving them a feeling for a mountain or a range of mountains. We have the opportunity to live in an ideal environment and to preserve and improve it. I really feel ashamed to take my pay."

The first purpose of the Park Service, Superintendent Williams explained, is to preserve the beauties of these regions which have been set aside by Congress. The second is to provide enjoyment and recreation for millions of people who have paid for these areas and who own them. The third is to increase their intelligence painlessly while they are having fun. "These three purposes," Mr. Williams drawled as we sat before the great log fire in the camp lodge, "are not separate. Through education and appreciation you secure wise usage which results in preservation. You can't get anywhere by playing the policeman. Put over the idea that the parks belong to the people and they will help to defend them."

Crater Lake impressed me as being an especially lovely place to spend a vacation. Wild flowers cover the meadows and play an especially prominent part in the community life. On this mountaintop, the evening air is too cool for the campfire talks which are a leading feature of activity in other national parks. Instead, there are talks in the Sinnott Memorial, a fine stone structure halfway down the great rim. This place allows the speaker to point out the rocky features of his environment as he goes along. Then, every evening in the lobby of the lodge there is an informal talk on some feature of the region. The cheerful tone of the occasion is set by short and amusing programs given by young college people, who do a good deal of the work about the camp. There is about the whole project a feeling of hearty enjoyment as of people come together for a good time in their own home.

WRITERS and WRITING

Churchill's Chief of Staff

The Turn of the Tide: 1939-43.
By Arthur Bryant.
Doubleday. 624 pp. $6.95.

Reviewed by Trumbull Higgins
Assistant professor of history,
Hofstra College

IN THE first of his two-volume study of Field Marshal Sir Alan Brooke's war-time career—a study based upon the diaries and more recent observations of Brooke himself —Sir Arthur Bryant has undertaken a task beyond his capacities. Best known for his popular and patriotic surveys of Great Britain during the Napoleonic Wars, Bryant has attempted a defense of Brooke in the vastly more complex field of the Second World War without fully understanding the military implications of his subject. As a result, he not merely has done injustice to the American position on the Second Front issue, he is often taken in by Brooke's weaker arguments while ignoring those in which the British Chief of the Imperial General Staff was strong.

Brooke's fundamental position in strategy from the time of his appointment as CIGS in late 1941, succeeding Sir John Dill, appears in his advocacy of an invasion of the Western Mediterranean in 1942-43. According to Bryant's interpretation today, Brooke favored this in order to gain merchant shipping and to tie the Germans down in Southern Europe. Only in such a way, Bryant maintains in common with the usual postwar British argument, could the Allies hope to cross the English Channel in 1944 and successfully attack the fortified coast of France.

During the war, however, Brooke was too much of a military professional not to weaken this argument on behalf of what Bryant calls a "concentric" approach to the Axis with his frequent complaints regarding the incorrigible tendencies of Winston Churchill toward a similar dispersion of British strength — in Norway, in coastal raids, in short, in any type of operation which could not seriously hurt the enemy. But Bryant stresses that Brooke himself was primarily responsible for the basic Allied decision to invade French North Africa in 1942 rather than Normandy in 1943, as was so earnestly desired by the U.S. Army.

Despite Sir Alan's eventual grudging acceptance of the Combined Chiefs of Staff as an organizational device through which Churchill, in particular, could be controlled by the military, given his own conservative views on strategy the CIGS naturally thought little of the judgment of Generals Marshall and Eisenhower on this issue. And, in addition to the customary British dismissal of Eisenhower as an inadequate tactician, rather more surprisingly Brooke condemns Marshall for not understanding logistics.

Evidently Brooke reached this last conclusion because Marshall disagreed with him on the problem of obtaining shipping for a second front. The U.S. Chief of Staff felt that the net losses in tonnage incurred in opening a new Mediterranean campaign would greatly outweigh the shipping savings resulting from the shortness of this route to Suez and India. Here Marshall was on strong ground. In the First World War, the grossly uneconomical employment of shipping to sustain deadlocked British campaigns in the Mediterranean had seriously delayed the conveyance of the American Expeditionary Force to the decisive French theater; the same situation would recur in World War II.

As far as Bryant's charges on the closely related issue of landing craft are concerned, the chief reason Brooke's *bête noire*, the U.S. Chief of Naval Operations, Admiral Ernest J. King, sent so many landing craft to the Pacific theater in 1943 was the success of Brooke's own strategy in entering the Mediterranean in 1942-43 and the consequent postponement of a second front with its need for large numbers of landing craft until 1944.

Winston Churchill, of course, was Brooke's chief problem. The Prime Minister's furious impatience, his unfairness to the British Army resulting from his own previous unhappy experiences with it, his interference in all levels of operations, his last-minute changes of plan and his refusal to make choices between alternative lines of conduct—these burdens of Brooke recall the refrain of many previous commanders who had worked with Churchill in the First World War. The most interesting revelation made by Brooke and Bryant in this connection is the Prime Minister's heretofore unknown switchover to favor a second front in France in 1943 just after the North African landings of November 1942 had finally nailed the door shut on any such possibility. Moreover, the new hero of El Alamein, General Sir Bernard Montgomery, backed the Prime Minister on this matter. No

wonder his Mediterranean-minded CIGS found Churchill "the most difficult man to serve" that he had ever met.

Something of Brooke's own rather obstinate and not always very pleasant personality comes out in the argument within the British military over landing in Sicily as opposed to Sardinia; the former led to Italy and the latter, to Brooke's distress, to France. If naturally somewhat reluctant to describe Sir Alan as a man too directly, on the other hand Bryant does propagandize rather baldly on behalf of Brooke's strategy. He uses editorial devices, such as quoting from *The Goebbels Diaries* on the damaging effect of British bombing of German cities without citing the many official Allied surveys showing the disappointing results of this bombing campaign between 1941 and 1943.

In general, indeed, although Bryant reflects some awareness of the fine U.S. Army histories, he does not care to consider their conclusions, conclusions so often fundamentally opposed to his own or those of Sir Alan Brooke.

Nevertheless, despite often unfavorable reviews in Britain and America—mostly by the semi-official U.S. naval historian, Admiral Samuel Eliot Morison—Sir Arthur Bryant's volume constitutes the first serious modification of the normally hostile American and adulatory British accounts of Churchill's conduct of the war. Thus, this first volume is of particular value for its candid descriptions of Churchill in view of the refusal of the official British war histories to reveal differences within the British War Cabinet and consequently to make clear what the personal position of Sir Alan Brooke's overwhelming master actually was on so many of the basic issues of the war.

Ending Scientific Isolation

Atoms for the World.
By Laura Fermi.
Chicago. 227 pp. $3.75.

Reviewed by Ben Josephson Jr.
Physicist; graduate student at MIT

THE International Conference on the Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy —the Geneva Conference of 1955— was admittedly of tremendous interest to scientists throughout the world. I do not doubt that most NEW LEADER readers followed the accounts of the conference in the public press. Since this was certainly one of the most extensively and intensively reported conferences in the history of science, they must have gotten a fairly comprehensive picture of the proceedings, the preparations, the difficulties involved, and at least a taste of the personalities of many of the scientists participating.

Consequently, I can find no concrete grounds for anything more than polite interest in this book. It is not a bad book, mind you; it is charmingly written, only rarely ponderous, and quite readable. No one who has read Mrs. Fermi's engaging tale, *Atoms in the Family,* will deny her way with the language. She wisely does not attempt even an unofficial history. This book is a "story" of the conference: an attempt to convey those aspects of the conference and the preparations for it which Mrs. Fermi thinks would be of general interest. She writes for people and not for posterity, and does not feel obligated to chronicle every detail and mention every participant. This is all to the good, but the book makes me somewhat uneasy.

Certainly the Geneva Conference was a considerable achievement, involving great effort on the part of many men in many countries. It is worthy of note and those who contributed to it are deserving of honor. But such conferences and meetings are the lifeblood of a vigorous science, and the rule rather than the exception. The Geneva Conference was not really a noteworthy departure from tradition, but rather a return to a tradition far older than the one of isolation practiced for the last two decades by East and West. Considered as such, I wonder whether a book of this sort does not tend to exaggerate the significance of this conference, for it was a milestone only in the sense that it got the ball rolling again after years of unnatural separation.

It is largely a question of perspective. The search is on for a better understanding of the scientist and the ways in which he practices his profession. Because the physical and political sciences are no longer mutually exclusive areas, the people of this country must eventually acquire enough understanding of the requirements and even the philosophy of science to insure the solution of problems arising when these formerly disparate fields overlap.

What disturbs me about this perfectly nice book is that it comes after years of uncertainty about the role of science in our democracy, and on the heels of other equally well-written volumes which cater to public curiosity about science and scientists and do very little to afford any concrete basis for a knowledgable attitude toward science on the part of laymen. People may eventually get the idea that all they need to know about science and scientists is contained in these works, and then we are likely to find ourselves in a very unpleasant position. I sincerely hope we never do.

The Revolt of the Moscow Writers

By George Gibian

IN 1946 Leningrad was the vanguard of insubordination in Soviet literature. Andrei Zhdanov, in his pronouncements on deviations in art and writing, at that time picked out the lyric poet Anna Akhmatova, the satirist Mikhail Zoshchenko and the Leningrad journal *Zvezda* as the chief offenders. The repressions which followed are still remembered in Leningrad, today comparatively docile.

In 1956 and 1957, however, the writers and editors of Moscow have rebelled, in the two volumes of a miscellany, *Literary Moscow,* and elsewhere.They have been most bitterly attacked by the watchdogs of the Communist party. Although at this point the repressors appear to have the upper hand, the interval of literary courage tells us much about the Russian people.

Literary Moscow (Literaturnaya Moskva) belongs to the crop of new anthologies which, together with several new magazines, have been promoted since the death of Stalin. Its first volume, 827 pages long, contained a novel, a play, poems, stories, memoirs and sketches by 39 authors of various ages and reputations, and appeared in the summer of 1956. Its editorial board, which has since come under devastating attack, consisted of nine writers, including the novelist Venyamin Kaverin, the poetess Margarita Aliger, Emilyan Kazakevich, A. Bek and V. Tendryakov.

The contents of this first volume were only mildly upsetting. There were two poems by Anna Akhmatova, one of her first appearances in print since Zhdanov attacked her. To the general public, if not to the initiated, her re-emergence in print was shocking. A Soviet Army officer who traveled in the same compartment with me on a train between Odessa and Kiev in 1956 passed my copy of *Literary Moscow* to everybody within reach with the whispered comment: "They are printing Akhmatova!"

Boris Pasternak, the difficult, modern, outstanding Russian poet whose lyrical poetry has often been repudiated by Soviet authorities, was also represented in the collection, but only by an article on his experience in translating Shakespeare's tragedies. Viktor Shklovsky, another famous "formalist," was represented by an equally innocent story about the painting of Tolstoy's portrait by the great painter Kramskoy. There were some poems by Margarita Aliger and Leonid Martynov—a young poet in vogue with the younger, somewhat modernistically inclined intellectuals of Russia—remarkable for their unabashed lyricism, absence of social involvement, technical expertise, and some bold linguistic devices. Otherwise the anthology was hardly outstanding; it was received on the whole favorably by the Soviet press.

In the spring of 1955, the revolutions to come in Poland and Hungary were foreshadowed by a revolt of Communist writers against Party dictation. The last year has seen the emergence of literary opposition in the Soviet Union. Here George Gibian, who visited and spoke with Moscow writers last spring, brings their story up to date. Mr. Gibian is assistant professor of Russian and English literature at Smith College. He has written on Soviet literature for the *New Republic* as well as academic journals, and is now preparing a study of that literature since 1953.

The editors were perhaps holding their fire until the second volume. It was this volume which was to provoke fierce attacks and which helped to give the writers of Moscow the reputation of being the most daring and rebellious of the whole Soviet Union. According to the date listed in it, the type-setting was begun on October 1, 1956, and the printing on November 26; it was sold early in 1957. The dates are important, for a great deal happened between the period of preparation and that of sale. Liberalization in Soviet writing and art strengthened steadily from the December 1954 Congress of the Writers' Union through Khrushchev's "secret speech" about Stalin at the 20th Party Congress in February 1956 to the publication of Vladimir Dudintsev's novel, *Not by Bread Alone,* in three instalments in August, September and October 1956. The anthology was collected and edited while discontented writers felt most encouraged to speak openly. While it was being printed, the Hungarian Revolution took place. The mood of the highest authorities changed. Dudintsev and other writers were attacked, but before the turn of the year still felt it possible to defend their work. A shift toward renewed strict controls over all spheres of culture was taking place gradually; the "thaw" was being overcome by a returning frost.

Literary Moscow, Vol. II, was so much more provocative than the first volume that it is already assured a place in the history of Russian literature. It contains, besides conventional Soviet writing, the following unusual material: two "rehabilitations," one posthumous, the other pre-sepulchral; a fable; an essay in literary criticism; and a novel and several short stories.

One symbolic rehabilitation is Ilya Ehrenburg's eulogistic essay on Marina Tsvetayeva, a poetess who emigrated from Russia in 1922 and returned to Moscow in 1939. She found herself persecuted and in

1941, Ehrenburg says laconically, "she ended her life by suicide." The anthology also prints nine poems from various periods of her life, the latest from 1933. They are sensitive, lyrical, subjective, quite the contrary of the usual "socialist realism." A footnote announces a forthcoming one-volume edition of her work.

The other rehabilitee is still alive —Yuri Olesha, who came into disfavor by his short novel, *Envy*, published in 1927 and considered by many the best of all Soviet novels. The conflict between the pre-Soviet and the new man was presented in it in so skilful a manner that Soviet critics at first believed it an attack on the decadent past. It took them several months to realize the shoe was on the other foot. Olesha made courageous speeches in 1932 and 1934 in defense of the writer's integrity, and was silenced. *Literary Moscow* printed extracts from his "Literary Diaries"—little sketches, notes, thoughts on literature, recollections and portraits of various authors. Original and valuable as they are, the first reaction to them is one of pleased acknowledgement of tangible evidence that Olesha is alive and being published again.

Sergei Mikhalkov, playwright, author of fables, and favorite children's author, prints a versified version of a joke which has been circulating in various forms throughout the Soviet bloc, a comment on "socialist realism" with its obligatory untruths. The poem, "Three Portraits," tells of a great khan who has only one eye and one arm and orders three artists to paint his portrait. The first paints him with both eyes and both arms; he is chased away in disgrace as a patent *lakirshchik*, varnisher of reality. The second one paints the khan as he is; the khan becomes enraged, accuses him of emphasizing his deficiencies to the joy of all enemies, and the "naturalist" perishes. The third painter portrays the ruler in profile, with one eagle's eye and one arm holding firmly a shield, so that one cannot see that there is no eye and no arm on the other side. The clever evader, who is rewarded by decorations, fame and money, Mikhalkov implies, is the successful artist of Soviet Russia—the type of a Konstantin Simonov—feathering his bed by politic shutting of his eyes to the seamy side of things. In the best Russian tradition of Krylov, Mikhalkov resorts to allegory to make his comment on the fate of artists under a "khanist" regime.

Most daring of all the works in the collection are those of A. Kron, Venyamin Kaverin, Yuri Nagibin, Alexander Yashin and Nikolai Zhdanov. Kron is the only contributor who made his critical comments in broad ideological terms. In his essay, "Notes of a Writer," he analyzes the consequences of Stalinism in depth. He makes fun of all the titled aristocrats of Soviet art—the poets laureate, meritorious artists, national artists, national artists of constituent republics—and compares them with the Tsarist proliferations of honors and titles satirized by Chekhov. He shows himself to be a vigorous advocate of freedom and enemy of authoritarianism:

"Where cult is present, scientific thought must give way to blind faith, creativity to dogma, public opinion to caprice. The cult gives birth to a hierarchy of servants of the cult—the deity must have worshippers and obsequiousness. The cult is incompatible with criticism; the healthiest criticism is easily twisted into a heresy. . . . Even the cultish deification of the People with a large P has its reverse side—it lowers the individual man. The leader was the servant of the People, but when millions of masters arose at the mere mention of the servant's name, there was in it something alien to those democratic traditions in which we were brought up by the Revolution and the Soviet social order. . . . Artistic creativity is inseparable from social initiative, from innovating experiments. And the innovator—in whatever era he lives—always outstrips the perceptions of his contemporaries in something and is not always immediately understood. Where the taste of one man becomes incontrovertible, a leveling down and a crude interference in the artistic process, a harmful tutelage which traumatizes talent but fully sets up craftsmen, are inevitable. Under those conditions, not to be understood means to be condemned. Where one man owns the truth uncontrolled, artists are relegated to the modest role of illustrators and ode-singers."

Years have gone by since such a firm defense of freedom was heard in public in Russia.

Kaverin, in a section of a novel, *Searches and Hopes*, follows the tribulations of a woman biologist in her efforts to develop a Soviet process for the manufacture of penicillin. She succeeds in the end, but not before she has been obstructed by many powerful officials, her husband has been condemned to forced labor on trumped up charges, and she and the reader have had their eyes opened to the travesties on justice perpetrated by bureaucrats. Only minor improvements take place at the end of the book; there is no obligatory happy end. The main villain happens to die, but he had been in power and generally honored up to his death and countless others remain in the saddle. Kaverin's image of Soviet science and technology is indeed unflattering.

Two stories by Nagibin deal with related themes. In one, two hunters arrive in a region of Russia which seems to have been by-passed by both the 20th century and the Soviet system. It is surrounded by swamps and forests, has almost no contact with the outside world, and ignores laws and regulations of Soviet life. Most inhabitants support themselves by year-round hunting and fishing. The Party secretaries supposedly in charge of the region have all failed to do anything about the situation. The fantastic picture of life in the backward territory resembles a 19th-century Russian satire. The story may be partly redeemed, for a Soviet

critic, by the fact that one of the hunters turns out to be the new Party secretary in disguise, who has resourcefully used this ruse in order to find out the truth about the region and who presumably will reform things in the future.

But the other hunter is a more significant character. His one pronounced characteristic is fear. He does not dare to criticize or listen to criticism: "He was a man once and for all frightened. Even in scholarship, he chose an area infinitely removed from actual life: He studied ancient Khazar ornaments." The story is entitled "Khazar Ornament," underlining the significance of this detail. Nagibin is calling attention to one product of the Soviet system hitherto unsung by its literature—although no doubt more typical than the smiling, tractor-driving heroes of the posters—the broken man winning his peace through yielding to his fright.

Nagibin's second story in the anthology, "Light in the Window," does in the form of fiction what Kron does in his essay—probe the consequences of what is euphemistically designated as the "cult of personality." The head of a rest home sets apart a suite of rooms just in case "an important personage" from a ministry should some day visit his establishment. He equips it with a billiard table and TV set, orders a cleaning woman to look after it, locks it up and settles down to a long wait. The high official does not come. Meanwhile, nobody is allowed to enter the rooms. Finally, the cleaning woman rebels and ensconces herself in the special quarters without permission. The director then realizes that the welfare of simple people should not be sacrificed to their superiors. Nagibin applauds the trivial but symbolic revolution against the privileges of the new Soviet ruling class.

Zhdanov's "Return Home" deals with the contrast between a Communist leader's view of life seen from his office and the conditions on a collective farm. A successful official learns that his mother has died in the country; he visits the village where she lived and is overwhelmed by the poverty of the farmers, their just complaints, and his inability to defend the city-based bureaucracy's mistreatment of the farmers. His hurried return to the safety of his office is a flight from reality back to the reassuring clichés of a Party career shielded from the harsh facts of real life.

An equally bold exposure of country life is Alexander Yashin's "Levers." A group of Party members on a collective farm complain bitterly about people at the Party district office, their handling of the Communists on the grassroots level, their failure to understand the farmers' difficulties. They dislike being treated like "levers," mere tools of the Party officials one step higher. Yet when they constitute themselves into a Party meeting, the same men immediately change and actually do become mere tools: They repeat what they had been told to say by the district headquarters, losing the genuine humanity they had shown in their earlier, informal session. As soon as the Party meeting is over, they drop the Party roles and begin complaining again. Yashin leaves no doubt about where his sympathies lie. His concluding sentence describes the farmers who reassumed their plain selves: "Again they were pure, cordial, direct people, people, not levers."

Yashin reverses the stereotypes of the Soviet dogma according to which the Party uplifts people and guides them wisely in their personal and collective affairs. Yashin's Party abuses individuals, treats them impersonally, bosses them, and, like the authorities in Zhdanov's story, has little information about or interest in their problems. Moreover, by assuming the role of Party members, the men descend to the low level of parrots lacking thought and initiative.

Taken as a group, the eight or nine iconoclastic works in *Literary Moscow, Vol. II* represent a comprehensive indictment of Soviet life. They attack the villainy of powerful men entrenched in positions of power, abusing them for personal aims; the nefarious effect Party life has on individuals, frightening some ("The Khazar Ornament"), metamorphosing others into mere tools; the Party and governmental authorities' ignorance of their subjects' lives; the resulting gulf between rulers and ruled; the social system which has made all these conditions possible.

The anthology, an attack on Stalinism which seeped down through the various strata of Soviet life, is also proof of a renascence of humanism—a plea for conditions of life in which powerful officials would not be worshipped and supplied with special wings of rest homes, in which people would be human beings, not slaves, frightened scholars, or ostrich-like officials.

When the Party permitted a liberalization in literature, it presumably aimed at promoting writing critical of bureaucratic abuses, exerting a corrective effect on industrial and technological conditions. The writers went far beyond that aim. In fact, the material side of the evils they criticize seems to interest them far less than the intangible side; the poverty of goods pains them less than the poverty of spirit. They are crying out against a spiritual degradation. Kron summed it up in the phrase: "One cannot look ahead when one's head is bowed down."

The official answer to the courageous rebels of *Literary Moscow* came soon. In May 1957, at a plenary meeting of the board of the Writers' Union, a report of the secretariat emphasized at length the beneficial role of the Party in all aspects of life, especially in literature. Kron's "Notes of a Writer" were accused of improperly suggesting that the Party leadership and the Government were the main causes of the difficulties of the Russian theater; lengthy counter-arguments were advanced. The report also attacked

"ideological wavering" and "straggling," and affirmed that "after the not-yet-liquidated danger of varnishing and lack of conflict, there arises the danger of one-sided negative representation of reality." Yashin's story was included on a list of examples of bad works—those which "showed shady sides of life but were unable to reveal the activity of the masses . . . and hence gave a one-sided representation of reality," failed to show that "the new in our society is gaining a victory over the old, the progressive over the backward."

This meeting of the plenum was very different from the relatively free-wheeling debates of the Writers' Union congress in December 1954, the discussions of Dudintsev's novel in October and in December 1956, at which his supporters dared to stand up and defend him, or the March 1957 meeting of the Moscow branch of the Writers' Union [see "'Disturbances' Among Soviet Writers," NL, May 20]. The reports of the May meeting of the plenum read more like the proceedings of a Star Chamber arraigning a culprit than a free deliberation.

The recalcitrant writers and editors were charged with helping the West, which was alleged to be reaching out to them "a friendly hand with poison in it." They were urged to stand up and recant. They would not. This refusal was criticized as a deplorable attempt at the "heroism of silence." The demand for them to speak was clearly a demand for apology and disavowal of the heretical writings. The Moscow writers had the courage to remain silent.

Early in June, a joint meeting was held of the Moscow writers' Party organization and the board of the Writers' Union. A report about the May meeting was read, accusing Kaverin of being "impatient of criticism," and the editorial board of *Literary Moscow* of persevering in their errors. Some resistance was still offered. According to the *Literary Gazette*, Kazakevich in a last-ditch stand "spoke extremely one-sidedly about the work of the editorial board of *Literary Moscow*. He defended works published in the second volume. . . . In the speech of E. Kazakevich there was no sign of a wish to admit honestly the errors committed. . . . A. Yashin . . . acted as if even by this time he could not be certain what was wrong with 'Levers.'"

Serious threats were made. The rebellious writers were accused of "cheap demagoguery," of supplying ammunition to Soviet enemies, of being a "splinter group," of secretly holding to a political platform "not in agreement with the policy of the Party in the area of literature."

In the following few weeks, similar meetings of writers were held in Leningrad, Rostov and many other cities. The pattern was to explain to local authors the new "atmosphere of unanimity, the desire to insure a consolidation of all forces of Soviet literature on the basis of Party principle." A newspaper account says that Leningrad writers repudiated "the notorious 'heroism of silence'" of the Moscow authors. Yet, significantly, it admits a boycott took place. As at the earlier meeting in Moscow, "many important writers simply did not honor our meeting with their presence. The meeting is justifiably awaiting speeches by those writers [the novelist Vera Panova among them] clarifying their position in relation to the results of the third plenum." Condemnation of the "rotten skepticism" in literature, exemplified by *Not by Bread Alone* and Yashin's story, was demanded.

The confessional thus thrust on deviating writers could no longer be avoided. On June 11, at a general meeting of the writers of Moscow, the editors capitulated. The *Literary Gazette* reports: "E. Kazakevich, in a speech, and also M. Aliger and A. Bek, whose letters were read at the meeting, accepted the just criticism of errors committed by the editorial board of *Literary Moscow* and gave assurance that they will correct their errors through further work."

A chapter of the breakthrough of freedom in Soviet literature is closing. Heroic writing, succeeded by heroic silence, seems to have been overcome, although there is still some slight hope in the fact that Alexander Yashin, Vladimir Dudintsev and others have not yet publicly surrendered, as far as is known at this time; the main culprits among the editors, not the contributors, have been forced to recant.

Ominous, however, was the July 23 *Literary Gazette* editorial linking the writers with the "anti-Party group of Malenkov, Kaganovich, Molotov and Shepilov," which it accused of "confused and false directives about the theory and practice of literature." The editorial attacked Shepilov for a "'streamlined' and unprincipled attitude toward clearly unhealthy phenomena," Kaganovich for "demagogically accusing good Ukrainian poets of nationalism," and Malenkov for "vulgarizing statements about the typical."

Yet, whatever the future brings, the writers' stand has already shown how deep is Russia's thirst for truthfulness and human dignity.

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DEAR EDITOR

DJILAS

It is amusing and instructive to observe how people unwittingly read their own prejudices and preferences into other people's words. This profound thought comes to me as I read the splendid letter by my friend Norman Thomas in your August 12 issue urging free-world pressures to save Milovan Djilas. The courageous Yugoslav is being kept in jail, Thomas says, "because he has dared to think out loud—and brilliantly—in criticism of Communism and praise for democratic socialism."

The "praise for democratic socialism" is the part that touched off this letter. I have read the Djilas book carefully, several times. There is in it no such praise. Perhaps Djilas does consider himself in a vague way a democratic socialist—that is usually the next stage in the process of disillusionment with Communism and then with national Communism. But he certainly does not in his book make any forthright argument for that stage.

In the brief preface to *The New Class*, Djilas writes: "As I became increasingly estranged from the reality of contemporary Communism, I came closer to the idea of democratic socialism." And that's the end of that subject. His faith in it, at the time he wrote, presumably was not intense enough to induce him to explain and defend that alternative. On the contrary, most readers will interpret his analysis of Communism as applicable, except in the matter of degree, to socialism as well.

Take, for instance, this passage on the position of the wage-earner under Communism: "The worker finds himself in the position of having not only to sell his labor; he must sell it under conditions which are beyond his control, since he is unable to seek another, better employer. There is only one employer, the state. The worker has no choice but to accept the employer's terms." This argument surely would apply under socialism generally.

Or consider the passage in which Djilas shows that "in Communist systems, thefts and misappropriations are inevitable." The universal poverty, he explains, is not the sole or the main reason for this, but the fact that "the property does not seem to belong to anyone—all valuables are somehow made valueless, thus creating a favorable atmosphere for theft and waste." Would not roughly the same atmosphere prevail in socialism?

Djilas's entire analysis of the Communist economy, too, will hardly fortify the position of socialists. The catastrophic waste caused by the state as monopoly-owner, the canceling out of supply-and-demand influences, the dominance of political over economic motiva-

THE NEW LEADER ***welcomes comment and criticism on any of its features, but letters should not exceed 300 words.***

tions, etc. find extreme expressions under a Communist dictatorship. But if Djilas really believes that such factors would not produce approximately the same results under so-called democratic socialism, he fails to say so.

I don't, in this letter, want to spark a controversy on the merits of democratic socialism. But it does seem to me useful to make clear the simple fact that Djilas neither praises nor (except by implication) knowingly attacks that alternative to Communism. He simply doesn't deal with the subject.

Pleasantville, N. Y. EUGENE LYONS

UPTON SINCLAIR

After reading "A Morning with Upton Sinclair," by William E. Bohn (NL, August 5), I could not resist the urge to write a few lines of appreciation. Not only was Dr. Bohn true to form in the skill with which he told his story, but he rekindled my memory of the many occasions when I visited Upton Sinclair on trips to California to address student groups and labor unions. My thanks to him for reminding me of those days.

New York City FRANK R. CROSSWAITH

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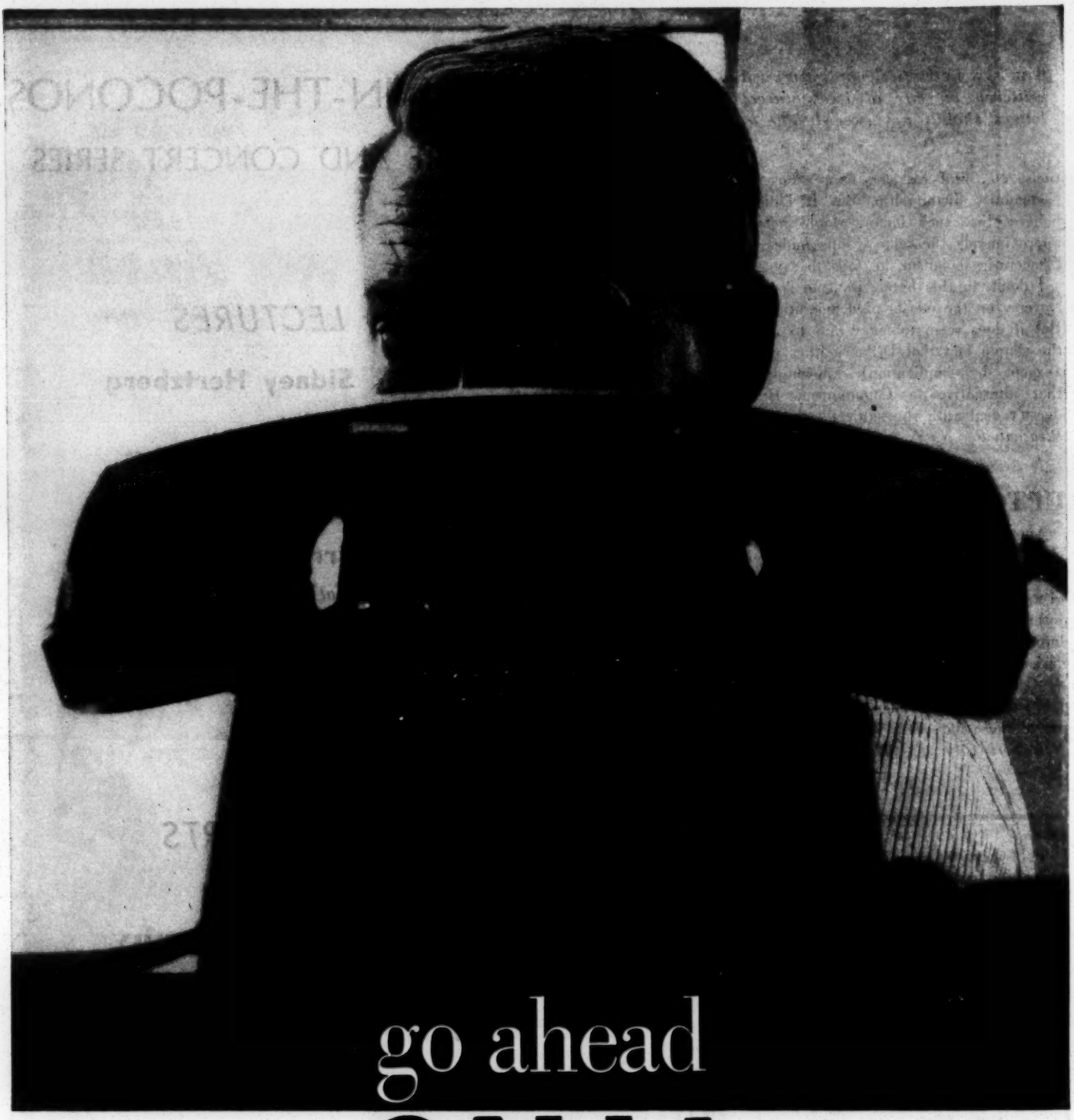

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VIA AIR MAIL

December 5, 1957

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

Many thanks for your letter informing me of the current Southern swing by Pat Malin and Rowland Watts. I have encountered no one who knew they were coming except Sam Lubin, who received word from you. I have heard from our associated state group in Arkansas that they have just been in Little Rock, and I am in hopes that they will stop by Atlanta.

As you will see from the minutes of the last Southern meeting, just mailed out, the proposal of the Southern agency people has now been spelled out somewhat more fully. It is good to know that you are taking a direct interest in seeing that something along these lines gets worked out.

With warmest regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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November 29, 1957

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It is possible that Pat Malin of the ACLU has already been in touch with you. If not, you should know that he and Rowland Watts (staff counsel of ACLU) are in the South at this very moment, recruiting lawyers who would be available to ACLU to handle civil liberties situations as they may arise, and to advise Southern agencies and groups in respect to those situations. This project developed from your own disclosure at the last CCD meeting of the need for such services on a broad scale, and for our part we intend to help, to the extent possible, by suggesting the names of lawyers who may be available for this purpose.

I give you this information so that you may be guided accordingly, because I note in the minutes of the last interagency meeting in Atlanta that this was one of the principal subjects of discussion.

As always, my best to you.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

January 17, 1958

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

Nothing could please me more than the prospect of a talk with you when you reach Atlanta on January 31. I will look forward to a call from you on arrival.

I take it you are coming for the doings of the Atlanta Chapter of AJC. I hope to make the Commager dinner Sunday night.

My best, as always.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

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January 15, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am planning to be in Atlanta on Friday, January 31, arriving just past noon.

Would it be convenient for you to see me some time during mid-afternoon on that day?

I look forward to seeing you. Meanwhile, my warm regards.

Sincerely,

Ed

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

148-8-57-25M

February 6, 1958

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Ed:

Your conversation with Pat Malin produced quick results. I had a call from him day before yesterday in which he informed me that Roland Watts and another member of ACLU would attend the February meeting. This should give us a chance to have full communication about ACLU's efforts as they bear on the needs of the agencies active in the South. I agree with you wholeheartedly that we should avoid duplication.

We have been in touch with P. D. East and have given him the information he wanted about the unidentified contributor.

It was very helpful as well as pleasant to get caught up with our many common concerns while you were hear. I am grateful, as always, for your help.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rec'd 2/5/58

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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February 4, 1958

Dr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I spoke to Pat Malin today. By this time he should have been in touch with you, to fill you in on the project on which ACLU has been working. I believe it has made some rather good progress -- certainly enough to discourage anyone else from coming in to set up a competing project. This could only serve to complicate and confuse the situation -- which is already complicated and confused enough.

Please let me know whether you encounter any further difficulties in relating SRC -- and the other Southern agencies -- to the ACLU enterprise; you must know that I want to be helpful in smoothing the way to closer cooperation.

It is always good to see you and talk with you. My warm regards.

Sincerely,

Ed

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

February 28, 1958

Mr. Edwin Lukas
Director, Department of National Affairs
American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

I have recently been out to Dallas working with a community group which includes part of the power structure and representative leadership from the Negro and white communities. As you know Dallas faces a court order to desegregate and the Board of Education has said that it will announce its plan for desegregation during the summer. In many ways Dallas is one of the key cities of the South and what happens there will affect what happens in other metropolitan centers of the South. Dallas and Atlanta are the two truly metropolitan centers in the South and therefore are keys to the South's future.

Your man, Gus Falk, has given invaluable aid to the work in Dallas. He has been one of the prime movers in the strategy committee which has brought together white and Negro leadership in honest communication for the first time in many moons. Gus has the experience and the skills necessary to contribute meaningfully to the process of desegregation. I would hope that it is possible for him to devote a considerable amount of his time in the Dallas area. Without his assistance and continuing efforts the work of the strategy committee would be hampered. He is not only a good egg but a skilled practitioner and the AJC is fortunate ih having his services.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

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March 3, 1958

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

It was thoughtful of you to write as you did concerning the contribution of Gus Falk to the program in Dallas. He has been reporting to us from time to time his activities in connection with preparing the Dallas community for the inevitability of integration, and we are delighted that he has been able to relate himself -- and the AJC -- to a meaningful and constructive program.

I agree with you that Dallas presents a challenge, one which I am confident the people of that community will meet uneventfully -- especially if it has the guidance of seasoned practitioners like yourself and others.

Warm personal regards.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

March 10, 1958

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, N.Y.

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your note of 7th March telling me that you had lunch with Harold Fleming on the 6th. He was correct in advising you that the Atlanta meeting of the American Bar Association had been billed as a "regional" meeting. This was not clear in the newspaper reports at the time I wrote to you. I am glad that you feel, however, that a national meeting of the ABA in one of the defiant states would be inexcusable. I wonder if the national leadership of the Bar Association understands that many agency leaders feel that way.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

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March 7, 1958

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I had lunch with Harold Fleming yesterday, and he advised me that the recent meeting of the American Bar Association was billed as a "regional" meeting. If that is true, do you not agree that it would be difficult for us to complain about the fact that it had held a meeting in a Southern state? It would be virtually impossible to find a Southern state that has not in one form or another thumbed its nose at the Supreme Court.

The situation would have been different if this had been a national -- rather than regional -- meeting, for in that event the selection of any Southern state by this group would have been inexcusable.

I would appreciate any further views you may have.

My warm regards.

Sincerely,

Ed

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

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March 21, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have your letter of March 14, and hope to let you have word very soon concerning the amount we will contribute to the budget you are constructing for the fact-finding project.

I am delighted to learn that two new agencies were recruited -- UAW and the National Council of Churches. These should serve to "sweeten up" the picture considerably.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

VIA AIR MAIL

April 16, 1958

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

The question of a helping hand from ACLU to the Alabama Council continues to hang fire for reasons that are quite beyond me. I have written Rowland Watts as enclosed, and I thought you might be interested. I will let you know what results, if anything, but at this point I am not very hopeful.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
bc - Ltr. to Rowland Watts - dtd. 4/16/58

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April 22, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I just spoke with Rowland Watts who tells me that Ernest Angell has written to Douglas Arant of Birmingham to ascertain whether Mr. Van W would be available to the Birmingham group. He claims that as of today Arant has not replied, but that he hopes such a response will be coming in soon, after which he will be in touch with you.

Is there any way of ascertaining whether, indeed, Arant ever received such a letter from Angell? Watts did seem to be somewhat harassed; he claims he has just gotten an assistant who is beginning work on what he calls a "huge backlog of unfinished business." Even so, I think they have handled this affair most carelessly and inconsiderately.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

April 25, 1958

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

Many thanks for taking up the cudgel for us with Rowland Watts. I do hope that Angell has in fact written to Arant.

I had occasion to talk with Bob Hughes yesterday. He is to get in touch with Vann and find out what the situation is. I will let you know as soon as he reports.

Your help in this disillusioning affair is, as always, indispensable.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. Since I dictated this yesterday, I've had a note from Hughes. It seems Arant left town last Tuesday for a two-week trip. Vann knows nothing of an Angell letter. If the letter was sent very, very recently, it may now be in Arant's mail. More later.

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August 8, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have the material you sent to me based on the articles in the New Bedford newspaper. I am making inquiries concerning the possibility of representations, and will keep you advised.

My warm regards.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

January 19, 1959

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

My guess is that the study you were called about is one that Dave Freeman is interested in. If so, the community in question is Norfolk and the sponsor is to be the University of North Carolina's Institute for Research in Social Science. Dave talked with me about it and has evidently mentioned this to several of his fellow philanthropoids who are looking into the project.

I do think the proposed project is worthwhile and am glad you responded favorably. It will probably go forward soon.

Enjoyed our recent lunch. We should do it more often.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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January 13, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I had a phone call last Friday from a consultant for some foundation (otherwise unidentified), seeking my view as to the desirability and feasibility of a study in which, apparently, you were interested. The study had to do with the extent to which - in Virginia and in Arkansas - the closing of public schools affected the various communities in which the closings took place, i.e., the number of young people involved, what substitute facilities have been created, how many are taking advantage of those facilities, etc., etc. I wanted you to know that, suspecting that your interest in the study was a more intimate one than had been revealed to me, I endorsed it heartily.

Do let me know whether the grant is made, and I hope you will share with us the results of the study.

It was good seeing you the other day, even so briefly.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:jml

February 3, 1959

Morris B. Abram, Esq.
1504 Healey Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Morris:

We talked with NBC today and learned that it had issued an invitation to Senator Talmadge and Roy Wilkins to join Chet Huntley this Sunday over the network, as a gesture of response to NAACP's demand for equal time, to neutralize Huntley's rather surprising statement last Sunday. Up to an hour ago (3 P.M.) NBC had not had any responses to the invitations.

I spoke with Dr. John Morcell, who may be known to you as Roy Wilkins' administrative assistant (Roy was testifying before the Commission on Civil Rights this afternoon), who told me that, so far as he knew, Roy has no intention of debating the issue with Senator Talmadge - on TV or elsewhere; that NAACP is demanding, and hopes to receive, an undiluted half-hour in which to comment upon and make appropriate response to Huntley's comments. I encouraged him to hold firm to this resolve, eschewing any and every otherwise unacceptable alternative. I trust that this is what will ultimately ensue.

If any further developments should arise, be assured that I will be in touch with you.

Warm regards.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:bs
cc: H. Fleming

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Pamphlet: "The Civil Rights Story... 1958" by Theodore Leskes

REGARDING:

A review of Civil Rights developments prepared for the American Jewish Year Book.

(Sent to SRC by Edwin J. Lukas, Amer. Jewish Committee)

DATE

March 26, 1959

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

~~Edwin J. Lukas~~
~~American Jewish Committee~~
~~New York~~

Research Files - 4th Floor

September 23, 1959

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56 Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Thanks for remembering about Pincus and saving me from the embarrassment of trying to reach him at the Ford Foundation later on. I'll appreciate any intelligence you get from behind that currency curtain.

It now appears that I will be in New York the latter part of the week beginning, October 5. I hope I will have a chance to see you and inspect your luxurious new headquarters then. Meanwhile, my best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED SEP 14 1959

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

September 11, 1959

Dr. Harold Flemming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The name is William Pincus; but he is now to be described as having formerly been with the Ford Foundation. By a curious coincidence, the day after I returned the Times carried the story that Pincus had accepted an appointment by the New York Crime Commission to head up its New York office.

If I can come up with any other good names in the Ford shop, I will certainly let you know.

Meanwhile, it was good as always to see you the other day, even though we solved none of the earth-shaking problems with which we are concerned. Do visit us in our new headquarters when next you come to New York.

Warmest regards.

Cordially,

Ed

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:na

Dictated but not read

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000

March 4, 1960

Dear Harold:

I want to report to you that my luck is not any better in trying to secure the meeting with top management of Woolworth and Kress.

I shall keep on trying, however, and will keep you advised if any developments should arise that are worth reporting on.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Edwin J. Lukas

Dr. Harold Flemming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

via air mail

March 14, 1960

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Thanks for your letter of March 9, and for your good efforts all along the line. There may well be better ways than a Blue-Gray meeting to help Woolworth management meet this situation constructively. If so, I am sure you will uncover them.

In any case, as Harry Fleischman knows, I expect to be in New York on Thursday, March 23 for the Mass Media Committee Meeting, and will probably come up a day early for other purposes. If at that time there are useful purposes I can serve, please let me know.

My best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
cc: Mr. Harry Fleischman

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000

March 9, 1960

Dear Harold:

I thought I should report that I have at long last been able to make an extremely important contact with the top management of Woolworth.

While I am by no means able to report that a meeting such as you envisage can be arranged, I am in position to say that if my present contact cannot persuade management to consent, no one else can.

I'll be in touch with you soon. Meanwhile, best regards.

Cordially,

Ed

Edwin J. Lukas

Dr. Harold Flemming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

April 1, 1960

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

If I hadn't picked up a virus in your fair city, you would have heard from me well before now. As it is, I'm just back at the desk.

Benjamin Muse is to be here for a conference on Monday, and will proceed from here to Florida, where, as you know, Collins is promoting the formation of bi-racial committees to seek solutions to the lunch counter controversy. I hope that, out of our talk, we can come up with one or more specific steps that will test the good faith of the national chains. In any case, I will be writing Helfrich shortly and will, of course, send you a copy.

On another note of relevant interest. We have a report that the mayor's committee in High Point, N. C., has proposed that three variety stores integrate their lunch counters on a 60-day trial basis. The stores, two of which are Woolworth's, have reacted coolly to the suggestion and have so far declined to go along. I just talked to the Friends Service Committee, which has a regional office in High Point; they are to explore a meeting with Woolworth brass on this very concrete situation.

I'll keep you posted from this end. Meanwhile, my thanks again for your effective help.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000

March 30, 1960

Dear Harold:

I assume that you will keep me in touch with ~~the~~ further developments in the North Carolina situation, and will also tell me how we can be further helpful at this time.

It was good seeing you again.

Warm regards.

Cordially,

Edwin J. Lukas

Mr. Harold Flemming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

April 19, 1960

Dear Harold:

Consider this a report on the suggestion that the Commission on Civil Rights, through its State Advisory Committees in the South, become active as convening and conciliation vehicles in the "sit-in" communities.

John Feild was good enough to arrange a meeting in Washington yesterday with John Roxborough, newly appointed Legal Assistant to Commissioner Hanna. I flew to Washington for the purpose. Roxborough thought well of the proposal, but was not certain that his Commissioner would think likewise, primarily because he was eager to reduce the areas of highly charged controversy in which the Commission would be likely to find itself. (Let's pass, for the moment, the absence of realism in that posture!) Roxborough himself, newly come to Washington, and a Negro, seemed rather timid about the role he could play in promoting the proposal. However, he said that he would explore the possibilities with other members of the staff.

George Johnson was tied up in a Commission meeting which, by coincidence, was going on during the very time that we were lunching, and he was unavailable to us during the rest of the afternoon. John Feild promised to establish contact with him today to secure his reaction to the plan.

A few moments ago I finished a lengthy telephone conversation with Harris Wofford at South Bend. By coincidence, it develops that Harris had prepared a memorandum for Father Hesburgh, for use at yesterday's Commission meeting, on this very subject. Harris told me that he had discussed the idea at length with Hesburgh about a week ago, feeling that the time had long since arrived for the State Advisory Committees to move into this critically developing situation, aggressively and meaningfully. Hesburgh was not certain that this could be put on yesterday's agenda, since they were discussing the "hot" subject of employment. Beyond casually mentioning to Harris this morning that they had had a "rough time" in Washington yesterday, there is no indication at the moment that this subject was discussed. However, as soon as Wofford learns whether the matter was explored, and just what came out of that exploration, he will advise me.

Meanwhile, it was felt that you might want to discuss this further with Gordon Tiffany, with whom, Harris tells me, you have a warm relationship. For reasons which he said you would readily understand, it might be wiser not to indicate he was behind the proposal; if Hesburg wants to reveal that to Tiffany, that would be all right with him.

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Mr.Harold Flemming April 19, 1960

Another step that might be taken at this time is to examine the composition of the various State Advisory Committees in those states in which hope is greater for early solutions, if the ideal convening auspices could be found. Harris thought North Carolina was such a state, also Florida -- especially because of the encouraging recent developments in that state; perhaps Georgia's Committee might lend itself to this use -- you would know that better than I.

I have withheld so far from telephoning our friend, Mr. Helfrich, Vice President of Kress. I wanted to learn just a little bit more concerning the feasibility of and receptivity to this proposal -- which, by the way, attracts me enormously (why didn't someone think of it before this?). If we find that the receptivity is high, I will then be in position to tell Helfrich so, making it a little more difficult for him than otherwise to refuse to indicate a similar receptivity on the part of his own company and the others.

As soon as I hear from John Feild and Wofford, I will be further in touch with you. In the meanwhile, keep your fingers crossed, and do advise me of any developments when they arise.

As always, best regards.

Cordially,

Edwin J. Lukas

Mr. Harold Flemming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

May 17, 1960

Dear Harold:

Last Friday afternoon Gordon Tiffany phoned me just before returning to Washington, following his hour-and-a-half-long meeting with Mr. Helfrich, Vice President of Kress.

Tiffany told me that he thought the meeting "definitely worthwhile," because he had gained some new insights into the position of the variety chain stores toward a mode of adjustment of the sit-in problem, and felt that he had established a valuable contact with the chain store group (Helfrich is authorized to speak for Woolworth's, et al.).

I understand that from this point forward, Tiffany will want, quite unofficially and informally, to activate the State Advisory Committees in those Southern states in which progress toward adjustment seems at this moment to be most promising.

I know you share my hope that he will move with all deliberate speed. Perhaps some gentle prodding from friendly sources would help. I leave the manner of doing so to your own good judgment.

We may have started something here; if Mr. K. of the Soviet Union, doesn't decide to make us all sit down, perhaps the people of the South will begin eating again like civilized human beings.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Edwin J. Lukas

Mr. Harold C. Flemming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000

May 10, 1960

Dear Harold:

It might interest you to know that Gordon Tiffany and Julius Helfrich will meet at the Yale Club on Friday at 11:00 am.

Both are coming to the meeting unofficially to discuss the matter informally.

As soon as I have any news of the outcome of the meeting, I will let you know.

For obvious reasons, you and I will have to share the confidentiality of this encounter.

I wish both of the gentlemen good luck.

Warm regards.

Cordially,

Edwin J. Lukas

Mr. Harold C. Flemming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Enclosure: Human Relations and Effective Police Action - New Orleans Police Department, 1952

June 16, 1960

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, New York

Dear Ed:

I have looked over our file of human relations literature aimed at the police. Most of it, as you say, is too sophisticated or too poorly auspiced for distribution in Birmingham. (In fact, it is a real question whether there is anything worthwhile that Birmingham policemen could stomach.)

The pamphlet I am enclosing might have possibilities. The trouble is that it is almost certainly out of print, even if the New Orleans police department is willing for it to be used elsewhere. But it is the nearest thing I can find to a suitable mailing piece.

Let me know if you decide to pursue it.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1.

P. S. -- Please return the pamphlet at your convenience -- for the archives.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

June 13, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Flemming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Father Albert Foley has been in touch with me in behalf of the Alabama Council on Human Relations (of which Father Foley is President), for some appropriate literature which the Council can distribute to members of the Police Force in Birmingham. It appears that they have been involved recently in some scrapes with Negro servicemen, as well as some visiting Ethiopian dignitaries, who have been put upon and abused, needless to say, without provocation or reason.

This is of a piece with the fairly characteristic behavior of large numbers of the Birmingham Police Force toward the Negro population generally; some of the Police Force, I am told, are said to be active members of the KKK.

The sort of thing that Father Foley has in mind to distribute probably doesn't yet exist. Your own "Race and Law Enforcement" (February 1952), while excellent, is addressed more to the citizen than to the policeman and, from Father Foley's description of the Birmingham Police Force, would probably be too sophisticated. So, too, are the materials distributed by other groups: Mayor's Commission on Human Rights of Milwaukee, the NCCJ, etc.

I don't know whether Father Foley has been in touch with you on this subject, but, meanwhile, I am eager to be helpful to him, if possible. Could you refer me to one or more pieces of literature published by some agency -- public or private -- whose imprimatur would be not too distasteful to the average Birmingham policeman, which would be helpful in driving home to such folk the un-American character, etc., etc., of "pushing around" the Negro citizen? In short, is there anything in existence which could be sent in the mail to the members of the Birmingham Force, addressed to them at their homes, which would be influential and persuasive, in a down-to-earth style, not preachy, not high-flown, not maudlin?

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Mr. Harold C. Flemming June 13, 1960

If no such item now exists, maybe something ought to be created rather quickly for use in the way that Father Foley has in mind, ever mindful of the fact that this is by no means the best approach to the problem; no one is naive enough to believe that such an item would turn the aggressive cop into a respectful person.

I'd appreciate your views on the matter, as well as any leads you might be able to give me.

As always, best regards.

Cordially,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL/k

June 29, 1960

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

I have had no communication with Gordon Tiffany, except for a brief telephone conversation with him the day after he returned from New York. The problem is that Gordon, being a cautious bureaucrat, is leery of discussing these things in more than an allusory way by telephone. The next time I talk with him, however, I will find out what I can.

Thanks for the kind words about our recent pamphlet on school desegregation. We've been pleased by its reception so far, and your note adds to our encouragement.

er mf

My best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000

June 27, 1960

Dear Harold:

I wonder whether you have had a chance to discuss with Gordon Tiffany any further steps he has in mind to take relative to the "sit-ins" situation -- in terms of the unofficial involvement of the members of some of the State Advisory Committees.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Edwin J. Lukas

P.S. - Your new pamphlet: School Desegregation: The First Six Years is a brilliant job! We plan to make wide use of it.

Cross ref.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Recd. 9/14/60

COPY

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y.

September 12, 1960

Dear Steve:

I have your long and newsy letter of September 10th. I shared it with two of my colleagues who were helpful in some phases of the Hughes matter.

I was shocked not alone by your own disclosure of the action of the North Alabama Methodist Conference last Thursday, but also by the item in yesterday's N.Y. Times to the effect that Hughes has been "assigned" ("banished" would be more accurate!) to Rhodesia by the Bishop. How savage can people be?

The cost of the proceedings comes as a surprise to me; I can't imagine why it should be so astronomically high. Raising the money is going to be somewhat difficult, I imagine (you already have my letter concerning the rather ungenerous contribution of the National Council of Churches). Naturally, I will do what I can to interest people in the situation, in the hope that we can get some money to defray Hughes' legal expenses.

In this connection, I don't remember whether I mentioned to you, or you may already know, that a few years ago the American Friends Service Committee received from the Fund for the Republic a rather substantial sum to help pay the legal expenses of persons invoking Constitutional guarantees of freedom of speech and press. It is my recollection that it was called the "conscience fund." The Hughes case would, it seems to me, come squarely within the purpose and function of that fund.

Harold Fleming (to whom I am sending a copy of this letter) might want to make a direct approach to the Friends in Philadelphia. If neither of you have access to that group, advise me and I will establish contact with them for you.

I have not yet given up hope that the N. Y. Times might be brought into closer relationship with the Hughes matter, even if it is after the event. I am trying even now to reach the President of the Times, whom I have known for many years, in the hope that that organization might be made to recognize its moral obligation.

As for speaking engagements for Hughes: Is his availability for that purpose now realistic, in light of the Rhodesian assignment? If it is, while I am not very sanguine about being able to secure those engagements for him, certainly I will try.

Your description of what took place in Birmingham during the fateful days, makes me wonder whether a system of justice which is so cruelly used has any survival value. I should imagine that the young lawyers of Alabama would want to scream with rage over the perversion of such a democratic institution as the grand jury. It is not the first time that this has happened, nor will it be the last -- what surprises me is the lack of capacity for indignation, from which most lawyers suffer.

You must know that I'll continue to do what I can, and will be in touch with you soon.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Edwin J. Lukas

Rev. Albert S. Foley, S.J., Ph.D.
Department of Social Sciences
Spring Hill College
3669 Old Shell Road
Mobile 22, Alabama

cc: Mr. Harold C. Fleming

September 26, 1960

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

Thanks for sending me copies of your letters to Father Foley -- and, of course, all your good efforts on behalf of Bob Hughes. The National Council of Churches' contribution of $500 is indeed disappointingly small. I have talked with Will Campbell and gather that he has exhausted all the efforts he can make to get the sum increased. Of course, Will works under Oscar Lee and is naturally limited in his approach.

As you know, Father Foley and other Alabama Council people are making every effort to raise some funds within Alabama. I have talked to a few people from whom we can probably get some part of the amount that is needed. But, like you, I find the total local cost astronomical, and I am not at all sanguine about all of it being raised.

Several people with whom I have talked have expressed the conviction that the New York Times has a moral obligation to help the Alabama Council with this expense. All of them expressed the intention of saying so to some of the Times brass. I have no idea what the disposition of the Times would be in this matter and I am unwilling to complicate our press relations by trying to exact quid pro quo.

But if a way occurs to you by which this approach could be furthered, do let me know.

I was in New York briefly last week, but Josephine Wilkins, who had scheduled me, did so with such thoroughness that I had no opportunity to call you, which was a disappointment. I hope, however, to see you again soon.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

COPY

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y.

September 9, 1960

Dear Steve:

I just heard from Dr. Oscar Lee of the National Council of Churches. He is about to send Reverend Robert Hughes a check, which I doubt will be in excess of $500, for application against his legal fees.

I was somewhat disappointed in the amount, and told him so. But he explained that they have no funds available for legal fees as such, but only to help "distressed" clergymen who are under pressures arising from the school desegregation issue.

Perhaps Harold Fleming, to whom a copy of this letter is being sent, might also express to Will Campbell some measure of disappointment. Campbell has been in touch with Lee and, I believe, has been trying to persuade the National Council to be somewhat more generous. I think Campbell would be an ally in this connection.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL/ack

cc: Mr. Harold C. Fleming

Rev. Albert S. Foley, S. J., Ph.D.
Spring Hill College
3669 Old Shell Road
Mobile, Alabama

Discussed by telephone 2/7/61

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

January 31, 1961

Dear Harold:

I tried to reach you today at the Seminary, but apparently you did not get my message.

Roland Watts called me yesterday to ask whether we would be helpful in securing for counsel for the petitioners in the Sumpter County (S. C.) case, some expert witnesses -- social psychologists and sociologists -- to testify in support of the petition of the so-called "Turks," who seek to transfer their children from segregated schools to desegregated schools.

What little I know of the case comes to me from the newspapers, as well as a memorandum prepared by Ira Kaye, who is counsel to the petitioners in that case. You must know infinitely more, and undoubtedly have some views on the subject. I would appreciate having the benefit of your views, as to whether we should get into the situation and, if so, will it be possible (certainly it would be advisable) for me to locate these experts in the South, probably at one or more of the universities there.

The question of expense bothers me a little bit. What would be involved, among other things, would be the visit of these experts to Sumpter County and examination by them of the children affected, as well as an examination of the schools they now attend and the schools to which they seek to be transferred. All of this, I gather, is necessary to satisfy the requirements of the Pupil Placement Law of South Carolina. If these experts command very high fees, I am afraid we might have to hesitate entering the situation, although I am eager that we be as helpful as we can. If the expenses represent only a modest sum, I think I can scratch up the money.

I would be grateful to you for your comments. Meanwhile, best regards.

Cordially,

Edwin J. Lukas

Mr. Harold C. Flemming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

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Enclosure - Brief of pleadings of William L. Higgs
in U.S. District Court against Citizens' Council

via air mail February 15, 1961

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York 22, New York

Dear Ed:

You may recall our telephone conversation concerning the suit against the Mississippi Sovereignty Commission seeking to enjoin payment of state funds to the Citizens Councils.

It has taken me a while to get hold of a copy of the pleadings, enclosed.

TThe The young lawyer who brought the suit and is pressing it as a matter of personal conviction (despite loss of the two labor plaintiffs) is William L. Higgs, 707 N. Congress Street (Tel. FL. 3-5166), Jackson. He is a graduate of the Harvard Law School and has been practicing in Jackson since 1958. He is a native of Greenville, Miss., a friend and former school mate of Hodding Carter, III. Hodding the elder called me recently to say that Higgs needs money to carry the case to the Supreme Court; no large sum apparently. Hodding said that "$1,000 would go a long way toward meeting the need," and that he himself was planning to contribute something.

I haven't talked to Hodding further about this since his call three weeks or so ago; and I

haven't talked to Higgs at all. If you know of possible contributors, I should think we would want to check the situation again before contributions are actually sent.

I am also doing what I can to interest a prospective donor or two who are not wedded absolutely to tax-exempt giving.

I have spoken to Harry Fleischman about the matter and will appreciate your sharing this information with him.

Thanks, and best regards,

As ever,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

P. S. -- From Paul Rilling's latest report, I take it AJC and SRC are working together satisfactorily on the problem of the S. C. "Turks."

HCF

Mr. Edwin J. Lukas
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ed:

I am most grateful to you for stretching your schedule so that we can get together Friday afternoon, and I am looking forward with much pleasure to seeing you.

This will hardly reach you beforehand, but I am sending the enclosed summary account of the Council's activities in the hope that you may have a chance to glance at it before our conversation.

With kindest regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encl. "South of Promise"
Dictated but not read

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

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A. L. WIRIN

WILL MASLOW, General Counsel

May 17, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Thank you for your kind letter of May 13 regarding our analysis of the new Civil Rights Act. I am sending you under separate cover 40 copies, which is all we can spare at this time. If you need additional copies, we will be able to send them to you but not until after the end of the present strain on our physical facilities imposed by our coming convention at the end of this month.

Best regards.

Yours sincerely,

Joseph B. Robison

JBR:sz

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65

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **MILDRED FLOWERS**

January 8, 1960

MEMORANDUM

To: B. Cook

Bernice,

please add the following name to your

New South list - bill accordingly.

Mr. Robert J. Greene, Director
Central Seaboard Area
The American Jewish Committee
1012 - 14th Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C.

January 8, 1960

Mr. Robert J. Greene, Director
Central Seaboard Area
The American Jewish Committee
1012 - 14th Street, N. W.
Washington 5, D. C.

Dear Mr. Greene:

I am glad to hear from you and to get acquainted, at least by mail. Sea Dad Routh has mentioned you to me more than once, in the most glowing terms.

You are quite right not to let modesty influence your selection of subject for the Florina Lasker seminar; this field is modest enough, financially and professionally, without the practitioners adding more of their own.

Enclosed are a couple of items on SRC that should give you as much as you will want to bother with. The first is a brief history, as inserted into the Congressional Record by Senator Douglas. The other is a recent report on program activities, prepared for our annual meeting and for non-public use among our board members and friends.

Of course, if this leaves you with unanswered questions related to your theme, you have only to call on me for as much more exposition as you need.

I am asking our circulation clerk to enter a New South subscription in your name; a bill for $2.00 will be along eventually.

Until our paths cross, all good wishes.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosures - 2.

I wonder why this
was opened &
stapled back?
Any Guesses?
M.F.

ROOM 805
1012 – 14th ST., N. W.
WASHINGTON 5, D. C.

WASHINGTON
DEC 30
7 PM
1959
D.C. 2B

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

1012 14th Street, N.W.
Washington 5, D.C.

December 30, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

An (unfortunately) short-run associate of our buddy, Fred Routh, at the Michigan FEP Commission, I have within recent months come down to Washington as Area Director for the American Jewish Committee. If our old "Sea Dad" were still with SRC, I would, of course, direct this to him. However, because I do not know how many of the inner files he lifted when he fled to Michigan, I am soliciting your assistance.

As Fred did a year ago, it has fallen to me to lead a seminar of the Florina Lasker Fellows in Civil Liberties and Civil Rights at Brandeis University in Waltham, Massachusetts, in early February. This being the first seminar in the series, with perhaps unbecoming brashness, I have chosen to discuss "The Development, Function, Scope and Methodology of Intergroup Relations Agencies". In order to do an adequate, accurate and succinct job, this immodest act is going to require the assistance of some of my colleagues in the field. I wonder if it might be possible for you to have assembled some material on the origin and development of SRC? I have, in our Washington area office, Report No. L-1, of April 27, 1959, which is a darn good beginning for this purpose. I wonder if you might be able to supplement it in any way?

While I am writing let me ask if you would forward to this office a subscription form for "New South"?

With best personal wishes, and in the hope that we might be able to meet personally within the coming months,

Sincerely,

Bob Greene

Robert J. Greene, Director
Central Seaboard Area

GREATER MIAMI CHAPTER

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

SATELLITE

VOLUME 3 JANUARY, 1960 NUMBER 1

Published monthly for ten months as a newsletter by the Greater Miami Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, 1208 Congress Building, Miami, Florida.

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SATELLITE Editor
ALLEN I. FREEHLING

Anti-Jewish Vandalism Reviewed and Explained

This Sunday Afternoon

N.B.C. SALUTES AJC—TELECAST SET FOR 2 P.M. —WCKT CARRIES IT

Marking the dedication of the American Jewish Committee's new headquarters in New York City, the National Broadcasting Company will carry a special dramatic telecast on Susday, January 24.

The program will be viewed here in Miami over WCKT, beginning at 2 p.m. From advance reports, it should be one of the outstanding programs of the year.

The late Dr. Robert Lindner, author of "Rebel Without a Cause" and many technical papers in the field of individual and group psychology, wrote another best selling book before his untimely death.

From "The Fifty Minute Hour," N.B.C. will presest a full hour colorcast depicting an intriguing episode. Briefly, it's the story of a World War II storm trooper who is brought under the watchful eye of a staff psychologist (Dr. Lindner) at the Federal Penitentiary, Lewisburg, Pa.

As the program unfolds, we'll see a strange relationship bind the Anti-Semite rabble rouser and the Jewish doctor. His illness is likened to "a blue print of an entire group of humanity."

His cure will grip you.

(Continued on page 4)

A Review of Events

PAINT SMEARED AROUND THE GLOBE

The world awoke on Christmas morning to read and hear of Anti-Semitic Vandalism that smacked of hate in its most primitive form.

A synagogue that had been dedicated by German Chancellor Adenauer only three months before had been scrawled upon in Cologne. The German prime minister immediately denounced the action but the die had been cast.

With blazing headlines, the news was flashed—in its wake, came a campaign of desecration that spread around the globe. Even Miami was a target of this evil ghost of Hitleristic activity.

Within days of the first incident, we heard of swastikas appearing on Jewish houses of worship and upon the doors of Jewish-owned shops in London, Paris, Oslo, Vienna, Glasgow, Melbourne and finally New York.

An organized plot? Some say it was, promoted by those sick mortals who consider themselves heirs of the Nazis in Germany, in the United States and elsewhere.

On the other hand, many believe that if the first gestures stemmed from such people, there was a follow-through by human animals who crave attention at the cost of others on an individual basis.

Later events have shown that once the spotlight has been turned away from these poor fools, they shrink into slumber once again.

Dr. S. Andhil Fineberg, in his **Punishment Without Crime,** substantiates this when he wrote:

"What is it the anti-Semite wants when he smears 'Down with the Jews' in a store window?

"That is vandalism. No matter what he has written, he has violated the law when he defaces a store window.

Does the offender want to be thought of as a common, sneaking vandal? No indeed. He wants it proclaimed that someone — and he hopes that the public will think it is many people—hates the Jews.

"What would be the best strategy then?

"Certainly it would be to apprehend him and pusish him for his vandalism, an offense which everyone condemns.

"How about advertising what he wrote on the window and publicizing it in the press? To do that would be to do exactly what the anti-Semite wants.

"A few people may have seen the defaced window. Many thousands would read of it in the newspaper.

"The more people to whom his creed is conveyed the better the hater likes it."

As the world came to grips with

(Continued on page 4)

An Editorial

WHAT'S THE USE ?

During the last two weeks, the Greater Miami Chapter of AJCommittee has taken hold of itself and has pushed forward along a number of fronts.

Under the able leadership of its president, Col. Nat Rood, both the Executive Committee and all the committee chairmen have faced up to the fact that renewed efforts are necessary, if the Chapter is to accomplish its manyfold missions.

But, the thought suddenly occured to us the other night, "What's the use?" No, we're not ready to pack our bag and move off to another camp. It's just that we have a feeling that this renewed zest on the part of leadership might be wasted.

In fact, it will be wasted unless our entire membership catches hold of this feeling of need and puts out something more than its annual dues from time to time.

Elsewhere in this issue, we carry stories about Chapter structure and self-evaluation via "brain-storming." We believe that it's high time that the whole Chapter reaches deep in its soul and comes up with some conclusive answers.

More and more, our Chapter is looked upon as a strong community force for good. This is commendable. But, leadership cannot carry the ball by itself. We need more Indians and many more potential Chiefs, if we are to accomplish all that is expected of us.

Question: "Are you willing to do your share?"

Further, "Are you interested enough in the Chapter to pitch in and get involved in committee work while bringing in new members who are ready to give time and energy to the causes which attract AJC attention?"

If the answer is positive, then we can lay aside our doubts as to the future of this Chapter.

Only time will tell.

With all of us prepared to maintain full steam, then the question "What's the Use?" is superfluous!

Youth Committee

KATZMAN REPORTS

Governor Collins has appointed James R. Katzman, Chairman of our Youth Committee, as a member of the Florida delegation to the White House Conference on Children and Youth to be held in Washington, D. C., March 26th through April 2nd. Jim brings up up to date on Conference plans and our role in it. ED. NOTE.

It is a source of much satisfaction to our Chapter that the national administration of AJC has warmly endorsed the "National Bill of Rights Year" proposal of the Miami Chapter to the Florida State Planning Conference of the White House Conference on Children and Youth.

National has transmitted this approval to all chapters with the recommendation that each chapter use its efforts with their state delegations to the end that this proposal be furthered at the forthcoming White House Conference on Children and Youth.

This proposal, which originated with our Chapter, calls for the President of the United States to proclaim a National Bill of Rights Year.

It offers, in our judgment, a tremendous potential where we can hope to reach our people through the mass media, and thus provide a nationwide reexamination of rededication to our basic freedoms.

If we can succeed in dramatizing to our nation the essential needs of humans to live in freedom and dignity, and the need for respect of such freedoms, it will focus attention on such problems as personal and group behavior, intergroup relations, education and good citizenship.

The White House Conference on Children and Youth will take place in Washington, D. C., March 26th thru April 2nd.

Change in Procedure

DECENTRALIZED LEADERSHIP ADOPTED

Col. Nat Rood, Chapter president, called all the committee chairmen together for a strategy conference.

From it has come a change in procedure which affects all the membership.

Each Chapter vice president has been given a number of committees to oversee. He and his committee chairmen have been given a wider range of authority and responsibility than ever before.

This means then that (1) the Executive Committee will be more concerned with policy making than implementation; and (2) there will be less pressure placed on the shoulders of Seymour Samet and his staff, as laymen will be expected to do many of the things they have pushed off into the hands of the staff previously.

This is a move that can only point to a stronger Chapter—people are most effective when they can move at will on an issue in which they are involved.

New leaders will emerge, fresh from the rigors of hard work in committees. The staff, under Seymour's direction, will be better able to service the Chapter as a whole rather than the individual needs of many groups.

We salute Col. Rood and his cohorts for coming up with an ambitious and fruitful program.

What's New????

THE CHAPTER'S ON THE GO

Charles Finkelstein, one of our hard working vice presidents, has announced a Workshop for all those who served as Captains and Interviewers for the Jewish Attitude Survey, which was recently completed.

It's scheduled for Thursday evening, January 28th, at the DuPont Plaza Hotel.

All the Chapter joins the entire community in offering a cordial and warm welcome to Arthur Rosichan, the new executive director of the Federation.

Harold Murray, national director of the Community Affairs Department, AJC, will visit our Chapter early in February. He will be especially interested in observing Chapter activities and hearing of this year's varied projects.

Seymour Samet attends the Southern Inter-Agency Conference in Atlanta this week. The Conference, whose members are all professionals in the field of human understanding, meets from time to time to discuss "tensions" and the ways to reduce them to proper proportion.

Seymour's next stop will be New York, for AJC's National Executive Committee Meeting.

Lee Ruwitch has his Mass Media Committee fired up. They met on the 12th and will again convene on the 27th. Serving with him are Jack I. Green, Allen I. Freehling, Charles Friedlander, Edward Cohen, Sanford Bacon, and Jack L. Sandler. All are mass media, advertising and public relations specialists.

Jack Green Pick's 'em

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE BRAINS PROBED

At the conclusion of this month's Executive Committee meeting, Jack Green took charge with tape recorder in hand.

He had been invited to lead a "brain-storming session" by chairman Harold B. Spaet. This is a technique used most often by advertising firms for coming up with the sensational ideas that they must produce.

For our purposes, Jack explained that the topic dealt with our Chapter and its role in 1960. From there, he encouraged the group to throw out ideas, no matter how wild-looking for quantity from which the best could be sifted via listening to the tape later.

Although there may have been too many people participating to make this a completely successful experiment, it was a noble gesture that should have some beneficial results.

The Executive Committee is interested in your views . . . if you had been at the meeting, what would you have suggested for AJC during the next 12 months? What would you criticize; what would you praise; what are the Chapter's most pressing problems; what are its greatest promises?

Let us hear from YOU—we need your comments!

Four Chapter Leaders Involved

PUERTO RICO EXTENDS BID TO AJC

The Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, concerned about human rights problems on the island and in the States, has invited AJC leaders to visit and confer.

As an outgrowth of this Chapter's determination to extend itself in Latin American affairs, and recognizing the important part Miami can play in solving mutual problems that beset both ends of this Hemisphere, the mission will include four (yet unnamed) delegates from our Chapter.

Others will come from New York, Boston, Cleveland, Detroit, Philadelphia and Newark.

Delegates will gain on-the-spot background understanding about Spanish-speaking immigrants, who have poured into the major cities on the Eastern seaboard. From this visit should come a series of practical solutions for solving the human relations problems that have cropped up.

Net Profits To JDA

NEMEROV SHOW AT FONTAINBLEAU

David Nemerov, world-famed painter, will exhibit sixty-two of his works at the Fontainbleau for two weeks, beginning January 30.

He will contribute the net profits from the show to the National Joint Defense Appeal, the fund-raising arm nationally for AJC and ADL.

Two of our members, Mrs. Richard (Elaine) Wolfson and Mrs. William (Jane) Finsten, previewed the paintings that will be sold when they accepted Nemerov's invitation to visit his West Palm Beach studios.

They were so intrigued and enthusiastic, that they agreed to assist him at the exhibit.

A committee was formed to help make the show a success. Among those who volunteered from the Chapter are Mesdames M. A. Baskin, Alfred Boas, Alvin Cassel, David Fleeman, Martin Fine, Charles Goldstein, Laura Goldstein, Morton Halpern, Arthur Horowitz, Jay I. Kislak, Bernard Kramarsky, Raymond Lewis, Alan Lipton, Van Myers and Alan S. Robinson.

One of his talented daughters, Renee Nemerov, will display her sculptures to complete the exhibit.

Progress in Understanding

LABOR LOWERS CIVIL RIGHTS BARRIERS

The "major barriers against significant civil rights progress in the United States are coming down at an accelerated pace," Herbert B. Ehrmann, President of the American Jewish Committee said when he announced the publication of a twelve year survey of civil rights progress in the United States entitled **The People Take The Lead.** The publication lists civil rights gains in government, armed forces, education, housing, employment, religion, unions and other voluntary organizations.

Labor's participation in this forward march, Mr. Ehrmann said, is evidenced by the 1959 AFL-CIO convention which urged all affiliates to end segregation in local unions and called on two railroad brotherhoods to drop the color bar in their constitutions. Earlier, the AFL-CIO had instructed all unions to include clauses barring racial discrimination in hiring, wages and promotions in all collective bargaining agreements.

The pamphlet also hails the creation of the AFL-CIO Southern Advisory Committee on Civil Rights by union leaders of Alabama, Kentucky, North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia to implement union policy on state and local levels and convention action by the National Postal Transport Association, by better than a two-thirds vote, to amend its constitution to admit Negroes.

Mr. Ehrmann said that civil rights gains during the past year emphasize that "the American people, for the most part, are accepting the historic breakthrough of the past decade as an ever increasing reality of their daily lives." He added "Full fledged equality of opportunity is no longer a vision. It is rapidly emerging as a goal within reach."

The forty-two page report, published as the Committee's annual survey of legislative, administrative, judicial and voluntary civil rights advances in the United States, will be issued on Bill of Rights Day (December 15), which this year celebrates the 168th Anniversary of the Constitution's first ten amendments. The survey also marks the twelfth anniversary year of the President's Committee on Civil Rights (appointed by President Truman in 1947).

One of the major achievements covered in **The People Take The Lead** is the desegregation process in southern and border states in more than a thousand school districts and units as a result of the 1954 Supreme Court decision. The report states that "in the fall of 1959, the parade back to school was quiet and orderly for some three and a half million white and Negro children in school systems that have been or are gradually being desegregated."

On the national scene highlights of the report include these specific gains during 1959:

The United States Commission on Civil Rights made history with the first federal challenge of intimidation and evasions that have kept qualified Negro voters from the polls for over 50 years.

More than 23 million Americans in Ohio and California were protected by new Fair Employment Practice Laws.

Four states—Colorado, Connecticut, Massachusetts and Oregon—extended their laws for fair practices in housing to include the sale or rental of privately financed dwellings.

The People Take The Lead is available from the National Labor Service, Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56th Street, New York 22, N. Y., at 25c per copy.

Remarks by Nathan Kushin

AN INSPIRED MESSAGE

(Ed. Note: Some time ago, our beloved Nathan Kushin addressed the Executive Committee. His message was so inspiring that we have taken excerpts from his remarks, knowing that our entire membership will gain much from them.)

I would like to give to you my own impressions of the leaders of the A.J.C.. And, would like to tell you how I came to join the A.J.C.

I managed to escape from the programs of 1903 and come to America. To make a living in America was difficult, but as soon as I began to earn a little money, a friend of mine called upon me to join the A.J.C.

He explained to me that the leading Jews of the U.S. were organizing this committee to guard Jewish interests all over the world. The Committee was headed by a millionaire philanthropist, Jacob Schiff; the outstanding Jewish lawyer in the U. S., Louis Marshall; and other Jewish leaders of the country. From Philadelphia, where I then lived, there were Cyrus Adler, the President of Dropsie College, a famous Jewish scholar; and Judge Myer Sultzburger. I was satisfied to trust Jacob Schiff with my $10.00 per year; satisfied that the money would not be squandered. To have the great Louis Marshall represent me not only in the U.S. but all over the world for a $10.00 retainer I felt was a good investment and so I joined the A.J.C.

After I moved to Miami, my friend Dr. Joseph Weidberg asked me to join the Chapter here which was then just being organized. He asked for a $15.00 check. I knew the price had been $10.00 for years, but I did not want to argue so I let him make a five-dollar commission. Since I play pinochle with him on Saturday nights and he's a poor player, I was sure I'd have no trouble getting my $5.00 back

A few years later I received a letter from Vice-Mayor Spaet, asking me to contribute $50.00 towards a dinner and symposium. I did not know that Miami Beach had a special Mayor for Vice, but I contributed the money and attended the dinner and symposium. It was a revelation to me—the intelligent discussions of the panelists and the inspiring address of Mr. Morris Abram of Atlanta.

Last year, Alvin Cassel asked me to attend a Regional Meeting of AJC in New Orleans. There I sat, listening to the flower of the Jewish communities of the South—professional men, business men, young and vigorous men; idealists interested in the welfare of the Jew everywhere. These men assembled here were probably 3rd and 4th generation Americans. They were born and bred in a free country and had not experienced the pains and agonies of persecution as I had in Russia. Still, they came to give of their talent and their time.

After attending the meetings, I concluded that my eyes had met the finest brains of Jewry; my ears had heard the finest rational discussion of the difficult times we Jews are going through and my heart had felt the warmth of the hearts of our leaders: our President, Mr. Engel and his brother, Mr. Bluestein, Dr. Weil, Dr. Samuel, Mr. Strook and all of the others. It was an inspiration to me to have attended these meetings. In my mind's eye, I can see in the faces of Mr. Bluestein and Mr. Engel the face of my guardian angel of long ago, Moses Montifiore.

I can tell you, we have competent and good people who are devoting their time, talent and courage to represent the Jewish cause all over the world. I am convinced that the best bargain available to every Jew is a membership in the A.J.C.—it is a good investment.

N.B.C. SALUTES AJC—

(Continued from page 1)

If at all possible, we suggest that you not only tell your friends to watch the program, but that you invite some over to view it and then discuss it.

Your comments about the presentation would be gratefully received by the Chapter Office.

Remember, that's THIS SUNDAY, JANUARY 24th, WCKT, CHANNEL 7, 2 O'CLOCK—as a salute to the Institute of Human Relations—A SPECIAL N.B.C. PERFORMANCE.

ANTI-JEWISH VANDALISM

(Continued from page 1)

the cancerous problem, and it only took a few days, the stories of these poisonous acts were shunted back in newspapers across countries. Also, authorities were able to arrest elements whose past history had left a path leading to the current smearings.

Thus, there was a two-pronged attack: (1) taking away the publicity that the smearers sought and (2) capturing those who had worked on orders from organizations.

What happened here in Miami? As the tide of paint was spreading, there was wide-spread concern that Miami's synagogues would be attacked by vandals en mass.

Those groups that had worked together with police authorities a few years before, when houses of worship were rocked by explosions, set up their lines of communications once again. Greater Miami was ready for the problem before it arrived.

Because of this, there was a minimum amount of trouble, as the community stood up, determined to discourage the vandals before they tried their hand at desecration.

Needless to say, AJC did its share in this adventure, pitted the healthy against the ill.

GREATER MIAMI CHAPTER
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
1208 CONGRESS BUILDING
MIAMI, FLORIDA

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Atlanta, Ga.

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
111 N. E. 2nd AVENUE
MIAMI 32, FLORIDA

February 11, 1960

Honorable Le Roy Collins
Governor of Florida
Capital Building
Tallahassee, Florida

My dear Governor Collins:

I wonder whether you had had the opportunity of reading the enclosed report entitled, "The Negro and the Ballot in the South," by Margaret Price, when you made the comments you did the other day to the effect that there was no problem concerning Negro voting in Florida.

As I recall, the statement attributed to you which appeared in The Miami Herald indicated that you felt the report of the National Civil Rights Commission on the matter of Negro voting rights in Florida did not constitute a real problem for our State.

I would call your attention to pages 64 and 65 of the enclosed report. I have marked some of the figures which appear the most startling in the report. Lafayette which lists a total population of 200 Negroes had no registered Negro voters. Liberty County with a Negro population of 600 had no registered Negro voters. Union County with a population of 3500 Negroes had no registered Negro voters. All these figures are for the year 1958. In Flagler County only 19 Negroes out of 1500 were registered. In Gadsden County there were only 7 Negroes registered out of a population of 28,400. Assuming that these figures are accurate, the report must certainly indicate that something is radically wrong. What that may be or what combination of things it might be is a matter which ought to be ascertained prior to our next elections.

In any case, I would appreciate having any comments you would care to offer on the report and the statistics listed therein.

Respectfully yours,

Haskell L. Lazere,
Regional Director

HLL:fk
Encl.

cc(blind) Harold C. Fleming
Bill Williams
Will Maslow
Leo Pfeffer

February 19, 1960

Mr. Robert J. Greene
American Jewish Committee
Room 805, Continental Building
1012 - 14th Street, N. W.
Washington 24, D. C.

Dear Mr. Greene:

Thanks for your welcome letter of February 5.

Paul Rilling was succeeded by a very able and energetic man named Daniel Bowers, a Presbyterian minister whose action impulses exceed the limitations of an Alabama pulpit. I know he would be delighted to see you the next time you are in Richmond. The address and telephone number are:

Virginia Council on Human Relations
216-C Broad-Grace Arcade Building
Richmond 19, Virginia
ALpine 5-6483

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Central Seaboard Area

Robert J. Greene, Area Director • Room 805, Continental Building, 1012 14th Street, N.W. • Washington 24, D.C. • DI 7-3204

February 5, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Flemming:

Just a note to express my appreciation for your graciousness in providing the material I have used in preparing my presentation for the Lasker Fellows. Even more, I'd like you to know of my gratitude for your encouraging remarks and incisive comment about the current status of the field.

SRC has had my continuing professional respect and insofar as my sorties into Virginia permit, I hope to cooperate with your operative there. I don't know who succeeded Paul Rilling in that post, but I'd like you to make my name and address known to him. Occasionally I get into Richmond and Norfolk.

With best wishes.

Sincerely,

Robert J. Greene

Robert J. Greene

RJG/s

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For Your Information

from THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS
165 EAST 56th STREET, NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

Vol. V, No. 3, March, 1960

REACTIONS TO THE OUTBREAK OF SWASTIKAS

More than two months have passed since the Christmas daubing of the Cologne synagogue. The ensuing epidemic of swastikas here and abroad has declined sharply. It is now possible to examine in detail some of the varied reactions to the furor.

Hatemongers

Belittling the gravity of the incidents, anti-Semitic propagandists in the United States suggest by and large that "the Jews themselves did it." A recent issue of Conde McGinley's Common Sense sets the line bluntly:

> To deface synagogue doors with paint is a useless, foolish thing. It is the wrong way. In some localities it is just what the Jews want, and it is not unlikely that they themselves have done this. They have done it before. . .

A newsletter from racist Frank L. Britton of Inglewood, Calif., goes to even greater extremes:

> All this hysteria and frenzy because a few dozen individuals, most of them pranksters and juvenile mischief-makers, daubed a little paint on a few synagogue walls. . . and yet as silly and absurd as all this hysteria may

> seem, it should be noted that these are the self-same tactics which international Jewry used 20 years ago to arouse the entire world into a holy crusade against "nazi" Germany.

James H. Madole, in the February National Renaissance Bulletin, describes "The Big Swastika Hoax" as an "unprecedented wave of propaganda. . . triggered by the press agents of International Zionism." He sets forth the "real purposes" behind the outbreak:

> World Jewry wishes to keep Germany divided as a slave-colony for the state of Israel and foreign corporations and stockholders who control the purse-strings of Germany's alleged "business boom."

Marilyn R. Allen, Utah anti-Semitic pamphleteer, dismissed the incidents as "all this 'anti-Semitic' nonsense" in an article published by the racist weekly, Georgia Tribune. She urges that "CRIME and real criminals" be persecuted with the same vehemence used against "poor little youthful 'anti-Semites,' who do nothing more violent than paint swastikas or make cracks about the Jews."

Arab and Pro-Arab Spokesmen Both in the U.S. and abroad, Arab publications interpret the swastika furor in the manner which best serves their own propagandistic aims.

Al Ahram, Cairo's leading daily newspaper, refers to an alleged meeting in Israel of a high-level "planning council for the sale of Israel bonds," and then makes the following charge:

> . . . Israel, without feeling ashamed and without trying to conceal its actions, had exposed the true motives that made it resort to the swastika plot in order to frighten European Jews and make them consider emigrating to Israel, and to persuade world Jewish communities to finance their emigration to Israel.

The Caravan, an English-language Arab weekly published in Brooklyn, featured in February a series of articles by Dr. Fayez al Sayegh, long an official spokesman for the Arab Information Center. The series blames the epidemic on the refusal of the Cologne rabbi to have the painted swastika removed immediately from his synagogue. The decision was made, according to Sayegh, "with forethought and deliberation, and with fore-knowledge of the consequences." The rabbi, he alleges, was an Israeli citizen, who "nurses a grudge against the Nazi regime" and was advised by "Jews (certainly Zionist Jews) from outside Germany." Dr. Sayegh concludes that the Zionists emerged as the "supreme beneficiaries" of these incidents. He lists others who also profited from the glare of publicity -- neo-Nazis, hate-peddlers, communists and "certain interests in England."

Religious Spokesmen In sharp contrast is the heartening reaction of church groups and clergy, who universally condemned these incidents and emphasized the threat posed to all faiths. Statements by religious leaders are far too numerous to review in detail; those quoted here are representative of a widespread and spontaneous response.

The Bishops of the Administrative Board of the National Catholic Welfare Conference, through the Most Rev. Karl J. Alter, called on "all citizens, whether Christians or Jews," to "protest privately and publicly against further manifestation of bigotry," and deplored "any revival of the anti-Semitic prejudice which in its earlier manifestation culminated in such terrible disaster."

The World Council of Churches, Geneva organization representing 171 Protestant, Anglican and Orthodox denominations and groups, expressed the hope that "this dangerous recrudescence of anti-Semitism may be suppressed from the outset." The Council statement also regretted that "after all the Jewish people have gone through in recent times, once again they should become the target of mischievous anti-Semitic propaganda."

The United Lutheran Church denounced the incidents as "anti-Christian as well as anti-Jewish." At its annual meeting, the National Lutheran Council called on members "to condemn all irresponsible acts of violence and vandalism aimed at robbing religious or racial groups or individuals of their dignity as children of God."

Many clergymen echoed the thought of Archbishop Iakovos, Primate of the Greek Orthodox Church of North and South America, who declared:

> I think that this situation should alarm us Christians all over the world. Instead of talking sometimes just to make headlines we must work very conscientiously and responsively so that we may get back some order in our Christian thinking, in our Christian living and our society throughout the world.

THE KU KLUX KLAN -- HERE AND ABROAD

A recent excerpt from The Fiery Cross, Klan publication issued in Dallas, Tex.:

> The Klan restricts its membership to native born, white Protestant, Gentile (Caucasion) American citizens. When you enter one of our Klaverns you know there is not a Roman Catholic nor a Jew in there. . . We will keep it that way, God helping us.

A KKK-sponsored private school will be built in Atlanta, according to Lee Davidson, Grand Dragon of the Georgia Klan. . . After a weekend meeting, Imperial Wizard H. J. Jones of Jonesboro, Ga., on February 29 announced that his Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, Inc. -- allegedly consolidating 42,000 independent Klansmen from 17 states -- would launch a 30-state recruiting drive. Among areas to be visited by organizers are New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania and Delaware. . . A robed but unmasked Klansman paraded on the main street of Rock Hill, S. C., on March 1, visiting two variety stores that have been targets of lunch-counter sitdown protests by Negro students. . . A chapter of the KKK has allegedly been established in Buenos Aires province under the direction of "Grand Dragon A-1." . . . According to Austrian police, a secret Nazi underground group recently uncovered in Vienna had close links with the KKK in the United States and with an international fascist movement centered in Sweden.

ROCKWELL ASSERTS HIS "RIGHTS"

George Lincoln Rockwell, after establishing headquarters in Arlington, Va., for his American Nazi Party, was discharged because of his "civilian activities" from the naval reserve early last month; he had held the rank of commander. On February 8, Rockwell and a deputy leader, J. V. Kenneth Morgan, were on a Washington, D.C., street corner, preparing to distribute handbills which, among other things, advocate gas chambers for Jews. They were approached by Irving Berman, who objected to the pamphlets and tried to grab them. During the ensuing scuffle, Morgan and Berman were taken into custody by police.

Rockwell immediately obtained the help of the American Civil Liberties Union to protect his right to free speech. Corporation Counsel Chester H. Gray of the District of Columbia ruled that District officials are not empowered to halt distribution of hate literature; although "offensive, insulting and abusive, it is not obscene and does not violate District libel laws." Exploiting the situation, Rockwell announced on February 24 that he will hold a mass anti-Semitic rally on the grounds of the Washington Monument; he has filed an application with the U. S. Department of Interior for formal permission to use the monument grounds for an open-air meeting in April.

Funds for the activities of the American Jewish Committee
are raised through the Joint Defense Appeal.

Memorandum from . . . . AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

15 East 84th Street, New York 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

JC
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LEC
+ others

Please return to Wf

MAY 11, 1960

TO: NATIONAL JEWISH AGENCIES
JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCILS
GROUP RELATIONS AGENCIES

FROM: DR. JOACHIM PRINZ

I TAKE PLEASURE IN ANNOUNCING THAT MR. WILL MASLOW HAS BEEN NAMED ACTING EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS. I KNOW THAT HE IS NO STRANGER TO YOU, HAVING BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH THE CONGRESS FOR THE LAST 15 YEARS IN THE COURSE OF WHICH HE HAS BEEN DIRECTOR OF THE COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION, DIRECTOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND GENERAL COUNSEL.

I KNOW YOU WILL BE ABLE TO COUNT UPON HIM IN THE MANY JOINT TASKS IN WHICH OUR RESPECTIVE AGENCIES ARE ENGAGED.

2nd notice already on
new Donts – 5/17/60 – BCW

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
Institute of Human Relations
165 East 56th St., New York 22, N. Y.
PLaza 1-4000

~~Southern Regional Council~~
Att: Harold Fleming

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May 13, 1960

Mr. Joseph Robison
American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Mr. Robison:

Your analysis of the new Civil Rights Act is as useful as it is timely. We were just pondering how best to provide a clear analysis for some of our key people over the South.

If they are available, we would be grateful for 25-50 additional copies of the analysis.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Memorandum from . . . . AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
15 East 84th Street, New York 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

May 6, 1960

TO: Community Relations Councils and
Group Relations Agencies

FROM: Joseph B. Robison

We enclose a Summary and Analysis of Federal Civil Rights Act of 1960. This new law supplements the 1957 Civil Rights Act and also explores new aspects of the civil rights field. Its various provisions deal with (1) voting registrars, (2) voting records, (3) enforcement of court orders, (4) schools for children of servicemen, (5) FBI intervention in bombings of communal and other buildings, and (6) the powers of the Civil Rights Commission.

The bill was signed by President Eisenhower today and goes into effect immediately.

Encl.

FEDERAL CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

of

1960

SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS

COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

15 East 84th Street
New York 28, N. Y.

Prepared by

Commission on Law and Social Action

Shad Polier, Chairman

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American Jewish Congress

15 East 84th Street, New York 28, N. Y.

Joachim Prinz, President

Justine Wise Polier, Chairman
Executive Committee

Nathan L. Edelstein, Chairman
Administrative Committee

THE FEDERAL CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1960

A SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS

The "Civil Rights Act of 1960" was adopted by the United States Senate on April 8 and by the House of Representatives on April 21. It will go into effect immediately upon its signature by the President.

The new law supplements the Civil Rights Act of 1957 and also explores new aspects of the civil rights field. The bill was subjected to many cross currents during the course of its passage through Congress. Many of its original provisions were eliminated and some new clauses were inserted with little discussion during the course of the debates. Because events moved so rapidly and because not all actions taken with regard to the bill received publicity, it is essential to set forth just what the final version of the bill contains.

This Report summarizes the new law and briefly analyzes its significant provisions. No effort is made to assess the struggle that preceded enactment or the concessions that were made by either side, except insofar as they throw light on what the Act finally provides.

The provisions of the 1960 Act deal with (1) voting registrars (Title 6), (2) voting records (Title 3), (3) enforcement of court orders (Title 1), (4) schools for children of servicemen (Title 5), (5) FBI intervention in bombings of communal and other buildings (Title 2), and (6) the powers of the Civil Rights Commission (Title 4). The seventh title contains the customary provision that, if any provision of the Act is held invalid, the remainder of the Act shall not be affected thereby.

I. VOTING - REFEREES

A. General

Title 6 of the Act -- the voting referee provision -- is generally regarded as the "heart" of the new law. The 1957 Civil Rights Act empowered

the Attorney General to bring suit to enforce the right to vote. Title 6 can come into play if a suit is brought against government officials under the 1957 Act. If the court finds, in such a suit, that a person has been deprived of his voting rights on account of race or color, the Attorney General may request the court to find further that the deprivation was pursuant to a "pattern or practice." If the court finds such a pattern or practice, any other person of that race or color will be entitled to apply to the court for an order declaring him qualified to vote if he is qualified under state law and if, since the finding of the pattern or practice, he has been denied the right to register or vote. If the court grants the order, the person must then be allowed to vote in primary as well as general elections and in state and local as well as Federal elections. Refusal by election officials to allow such a person to vote will constitute contempt of court.

In deciding whether or not to grant such orders, the court may appoint a qualified voter of the judicial district as a referee to take evidence. The referee will then report his findings as to the qualifications of the applicants and deprivation of their voting rights. This evidence will be obtained in ex parte proceedings; that is, only the applicant's side will be heard. However, state officials may challenge the findings within ten days after they have been reported to the court.

This general outline of Title 6 may serve as a background for the discussion in the following pages of its specific provisions, some of which threaten to reduce its value substantially.

B. Scope

The 1957 Civil Rights Act amended the law originally passed in 1870 dealing with discrimination in elections. That law applied to all elections

and prohibited discrimination by state authorities on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude. The 1957 Act added a new provision prohibiting interference with the right to vote by private individuals as well as state officials. This provision is not limited to discrimination based on race or color. However, it applies only to Federal elections. The 1957 Act further provided that the Attorney General could bring suits to enjoin violations of either the old 1870 statute or the new provision just described.

The provisions of Title 6 of the 1960 Act apply only when a suit is brought by the Attorney General to enjoin discrimination of the sort prohibited by the 1870 statute; that is, discrimination by state authorities based on race or color. This means it will not be available in either (1) suits to enjoin discrimination by private individuals, even in Federal elections, or (2) suits to enjoin discrimination by state officials based on other matters, such as religion or national origin. This would bar action under Title 6 in the case of exclusion of Americans of Mexican descent in the Southwest, although an effort might be made to show that such discrimination was really based on "race" or "color."

C. Finding of Pattern or Practice

Under the new law, the Attorney General will have to exercise his discretion twice before the voting referee provisions are invoked. Thus, even after an individual is found who is prepared to be the subject of a suit brought by the Attorney General, the latter will first have to decide whether to bring a suit under the 1957 Law. If he does so and wins it, he will then have to decide whether to ask the court to make a finding that there is a pattern or practice of discrimination. Once he invokes this provision, the court must make a finding.

It might be added that this section will probably be attacked as invalid under the constitutional provision which limits the Federal courts to consideration of actual "cases or controversies." Debates in Congress indicate that it will be argued that it is not necessary for the decision of the case under the 1957 Act to make a finding as to a pattern or practice of discrimination. Presumably it will be urged that this is a separate, abstract issue which the courts cannot decide.

D. The Affected Area

For the purpose of Title 6, a pattern or practice must be shown to exist "within the affected area." In other words, if the suit is brought against an election official who has jurisdiction over a whole county, the pattern or practice can be shown for the whole county and the referee provisions can be invoked for the whole county.

However, Southern legislatures may use this provision to hamper the Attorney General in invoking this Title. If the state sets up separate registration agencies for each election district or other small voting unit, the Attorney General might be required to show the existence of a discriminatory practice in each such unit. This would materially increase the efforts needed to prove the existence of a pattern or practice of discrimination. It would also reduce the usefulness of any such finding since it would be effective in only a small part of the state.

E. Obligations of the Applicant

Once the court has found that a discriminatory pattern exists, any member of the same race or color may apply for a court order allowing him to register or vote. Such an applicant must show that he meets the state law requirements for voting. He must also show that he has been denied opportunity to register or vote by a state official subsequent to the court's

finding of a discriminatory practice. (It appears that he does not have to show that this denial was part of a pattern of discrimination or an effort to discriminate.) A few comments may be made on this provision.

1. Special effort was made in this statute to simplify the procedure for proving an applicant's qualification to vote. Only the applicant is heard during the proceedings before the referee. His statement under oath is treated as prima facie evidence as to his age, residence and prior efforts to register. Where the state law requires proof of literacy or understanding of designated subjects, the referee and the court are to base their decision on the answers that the applicant gives to the referee.

It is particularly important that Congress did not adopt the proposal of the Southern bloc that state officials be allowed to participate in the hearing before the referee. Their presence would undoubtedly have had an intimidating effect.

2. Much of the discrimination against Negroes in voting in the South consists of illegally allowing whites to vote rather than illegally excluding Negroes. In other words, the states adopt severe registration requirements and then apply them strictly to Negroes but not to whites. Title 6 applies only when the applicant is qualified to vote under state law. If this were all, strict state requirements would still bar many Negroes.

The Act deals with this problem by providing that the applicant need not prove "qualifications more stringent than those used" by the election officials involved in the case. Thus, the test to be used is the standard actually used for whites in the community. However, the burden may be on the applicant to convince the referee that he should not follow the strict language of the state statute.

3. The requirement that an application must be made after the court's

finding of a discriminatory pattern may make it difficult to get willing applicants. The ever-present danger of social, economic and even physical pressures already operates to restrain Negroes in the deep South from attempting to vote and from filing complaints with the Department of Justice or the courts. Those areas where a court's finding of a discriminatory pattern has been made will be particularly sensitive to the issue and prepared to take steps to "discourage" Negro applicants. This factor is likely to reduce the number of Negroes prepared to take advantage of Title 6.

4. A state may have only one brief registration period each year. If the court's finding of a discriminatory pattern is issued shortly after the end of such a period, an applicant would have to wait almost a year before filing an application with state officials. The wording of the Act could be construed to mean that he would have to wait until such an application was denied before invoking Title 6. However, a colloquy on the floor of the House of Representatives between Congressmen Lindsay and Celler of New York and O'Hara of Michigan immediately prior to House action on April 21 suggests that the court may have authority to allow the applicant to register even if he did not apply to state officials after the court handed down its original finding of a pattern of discrimination. 1/

1/ In response to Lindsay's question on the subject, O'Hara stated, "when a court finds a pattern or practice of discrimination it has also, in effect, found that it would have been futile for the applicant to have attempted to register at any time prior thereto, and, if registration has already closed, the applicant has had no opportunity to meet any such requirement after the finding of a pattern or practice of discrimination. Since this is a suit in equity, equitable doctrines should apply, including the rule that persons asking relief need not have attempted a clearly futile act as a condition precedent to receiving relief. This principle was recognized during the Senate debate." Celler then stated that particular attention should be paid to "the colloquy between the gentlemen who now has the floor /O'Hara/ and the gentleman from New York /Lindsay/, because it would be the criteria that will govern the courts in their interpretation of these sections."

5. A state may adopt a system of permanent registration and blanket in all persons already registered. In the deep South this would mean whites, with only a very few Negroes. Additional registration could then be limited to a short period each year, as little as part of one day. Since such a provision would apply equally to all voters, without distinction based on race, it might not be open to attack under this law. However, it might be argued that such a law was discriminatory because its effect is to continue the results of past discrimination.

F. Judicial Review

Each finding by the referee that an individual is entitled to register or vote may be challenged by state officials within ten days after the referee's finding has been reported to the court. If the court rules in favor of the applicant, the state can, of course, appeal the decision in the same way that any court decision can be appealed. It is quite likely that most decisions favorable to applicants will be appealed, if only for purposes of delay. (Furthermore, as noted at the outset, this whole title comes into play only after a court has found discrimination in a proceeding to enforce the law. Since any such finding can be appealed, there may be a delay of a year or two before the referee provisions can be invoked.)

An effort is made to reduce the effect of delays by providing that, where an application for the right to vote has been made at least 20 days before an election and this application has not been determined by the date of the election, the court shall issue an order authorizing the applicant to vote provisionally. Where the application was filed less than 20 days before the election, the court may in its discretion issue such an order. In either case, the applicant must be allowed to vote, but his ballot must be impounded pending determination of the application.

In using this provision, the applicant need not show that he was deprived of the right to vote after the court's finding of a pattern of discrimination. However, he must show that he is qualified to vote under state law. It is not clear how this provision will work.[2/]

G. Enforcement

Once the court has issued an order to election officials declaring that an applicant is qualified to vote, that applicant must be allowed to vote. (The Act does not appear to take account of occurrences subsequent to the court's decision but prior to election day which would normally work to deprive a person of his right to vote, e.g. change of residence or conviction of a felony.) Violation of the court's order can be prosecuted as contempt of court.

The court is not limited to issuing orders requiring state officials to allow applicants to vote. It may also take any other action it deems necessary to enforce its decrees and it may authorize referees to take such action. The legislative history of the Act makes it clear that this includes orders permitting referees or their representatives to be present at polling places.

2/ The requirement that the applicant show that he is qualified in order to be eligible for a provisional voting order is required by the following statutory language: "Providing, however, that such applicant shall be qualified to vote under State law." The brief debate in the House on April 21, immediately prior to its vote finally approving the Act, indicated that it is merely necessary that it appear that the applicant is qualified under state law. The court need not have made a finding that that the applicant is qualified. Apparently, the court will decide whether it appears that the applicant is qualified on the basis of the applicant's statements to the referee and the referee's report, if the latter is available. Presumably, the court will authorize such provisional voting except in those cases where the applicant is clearly not qualified, e.g., if he is obviously below voting age or if the referee has discovered overwhelming evidence that any other proper state qualification has not been complied with. Of course, the further provision in the statute directing the court to make appropriate provision for the impounding of the applicant's ballot in the event of provisional voting will protect the right of the state should the applicant ultimately be found not to be qualified.

H. Resignations

In some areas in the South, efforts were made to nullify the 1957 Act by having local registrars resign their positions as fast as they were sued or threatened with suit. As long as their posts were left vacant, there was no one in control of the registration or voting process. Hence, there was no one against whom a court order could be issued. To deal with this problem, the 1960 Act provides that if election officials resign and are not replaced, the action may be brought against the state itself.

II. VOTING RECORDS

Title 3 of the Act requires election officials to retain and preserve all Federal election records for at least 22 months. It was prompted by the fact that a number of election officials destroyed their records after the 1957 Act was passed in order to prevent proof of discrimination.

Any election official who wilfully violates this provision and anyone who steals or alters such records will be guilty of a misdemeanor punishable by a fine of up to $1,000 or imprisonment for up to one year or both. The Attorney General may compel election officials to make such records available to him or his representatives. However, he is limited in the public use that he may make of the information he obtains. He may disclose it to Congress, its committees and governmental agencies and may present it in any case or proceeding before a court or grand jury.

Although the law applies only to Federal election records, this is not a significant limitation. Voters are ordinarily required to register only once for both Federal and state elections. It is therefore enough to protect their right to register in Federal elections.

Since the criminal penalties provided by this section are not great enough to make a violation a felony, prosecutions can be instituted by an

information sworn to by the Federal district attorney. This avoids the difficulty of obtaining an indictment from a Southern grand jury. However, the defendant will have to be tried before a petit jury drawn from his own locality before he can be convicted.

III. COURT ORDERS

Title 1 of the bill makes it a crime to interfere "by threats or force" with the exercise of rights or the performance or duties under any Federal court order. Violators are subject to a fine of up to $1,000 or imprisonment for up to one year or both.

Originally, this title of the bill was aimed only at interference with court orders relating to desegregation of public schools. It was prompted by activities of private individuals in Nashville, Tenn., Hoxie, Ark., and other areas where court desegregation orders had been issued. Their activities were designed to discourage Negroes from asserting their right to go to formerly white schools and to discourage school officials from complying with such requests. It was broadened to apply to all court orders by a coalition of Southerners and conservative Republicans, apparently with a view to its possible use against labor unions.

There is a specific provision in this title that injunctions against violation of or interference with court orders shall not be denied because this title makes such activities a crime. This clause is necessitated by the fact that courts do not ordinarily enjoin the commission of a crime.

As in the case of Title 3, the limited penalties provided in this title eliminate the necessity of a grand jury indictment.

IV. EDUCATION

Title 5 is aimed at school closings designed to frustrate desegregation orders. It authorizes the Department of Health, Education and Welfare

to provide free education for children of members of the Armed Forces on active duty if local public schools are made unavailable to them by state or local governmental authority.

These provisions take the form of amendments to the existing laws that provide in various ways for Federal schools, or for Federal assistance to local schools, for different categories of "Federally-connected children." This means children of members of the Armed Forces, of civilians working on Federal posts, and of families brought into an area because of greatly increased Federal defense activities.

The new provisions, however, are very limited. They apply only to children of servicemen on active duty, living on or off Federal posts. If the schools they attend are closed down by a state, Title 5 will permit the Health Department to provide minimum schooling facilities on a temporary basis. Although the bill is not limited to situations where the school closing is part of an effort to avoid desegregation, that is the only situation in which the provision is likely to be invoked.

Title 5 was part of the Administration's original civil rights package. Two other aspects of this part of the package were dropped out of the bill before final enactment. One would have allowed the Department of Health to secure possession of local school buildings originally constructed with Federal funds. The other would have required assurances from local officials that schools built in the future with Federal funds would be made available to the Commissioner if the schools were closed by state or local action.

V. BOMBINGS

Title 2 of the Act grew out of the bombing and burning of synagogues and homes of Negro leaders in the past few years. It is designed to give

the Federal government a clear mandate to start an investigation of such a bombing as soon as it occurs. In the past, the F.B.I. has often declined to act because there was no apparent violation of Federal law.

The first section of this title penalizes flight across state lines to avoid prosecution or giving testimony in relation to damage or destruction of any buildings, including dwellings. A fine of $5,000 or imprisonment for not more than five years, or both, are provided as penalties for violation of this section.

This provision, recommended by the Eisenhower Administration, was regarded as too narrow to do the job needed. Hence, additional provisions were added forbidding the interstate transportation of explosives with the knowledge or intent that they will be used to damage or destroy buildings or to interfere with the use of such buildings for educational, religious, charitable, residential, business, or civic objectives. A graduated set of maximum penalties is provided, depending on whether personal injury, or death, results from such bombings. If death results, the court may, on recommendation of the jury, impose the death penalty. (Earlier versions of the bill would have applied only to synagogues, churches, schools and other institutional buildings. The inclusion of residences was a significant improvement because it made the bill apply to the destruction of homes of Negro leaders, which has been a conspicuous feature of the wave of bombings.)

In order to facilitate the prompt entry of the F.B.I. into bombing cases, it is provided that anyone in possession of explosives with the intent to use them to destroy or damage any building is presumed to have transported them in interstate commerce. This presumption is rebuttable and no person may be convicted under this section unless there is

independent evidence that this section was violated.

In addition, it is made a crime punishable by a $1,000 fine or not more than one year imprisonment, or both, to use the mail, telephone, or telegraph to convey a threat or false warning of any such bombing.

Finally, this Title provides that enactment of this provision by Congress shall not invalidate state laws on the same subject. This is done to prevent application of the doctrine of "pre-emption" under which a Federal law is sometimes viewed as replacing and invalidating state laws in the same area.

VI. CIVIL RIGHTS COMMISSION

Title 4 grants each member of the Civil Rights Commission, created by the 1957 Civil Rights Act, the power to administer oaths and take statements of witnesses. Under the 1957 Act, only the Commission Chairman could swear in witnesses. The change will allow simultaneous hearings in various parts of the country, held by individual members of the six-man Commission.

CONCLUSION

The many compromises made in the 1960 Civil Rights Act before it emerged with the approval of Congress raise substantial doubts as to how much will be accomplished under its terms. It may be that, from the viewpoint of history, its chief significance will be that it again demonstrated that civil rights legislation can be enacted by Congress.

When the extremely limited Civil Rights Act of 1957 finally won its way through Congress, one might have exprected a relaxation among civil rights forces and a weakening in the demand for effective legislation. Instead, supporters of such legislation appear rather to have been encouraged to demand further action. The same may be true of the 1960 bill.

Any benefits accruing from the bill will of course be welcome. If, on the other hand, it soon appears that it contains too many crippling provisions to be effective, it will be impossible to prevent further action by Congress.

Herbert L. Chabot

May 2, 1960

September 26, 1960

American Jewish Congress
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Sir:

We have been receiving two copies of reports from the American Jewish Congress, one addressed to the Editor of NEW SOUTH and the other to Mr. John Constable Director of Information. Since Mr. Constable is also the editor of NEW SOUTH would you pleawe send just one copy addressed to Mr. Constable.

I am enclosing a card giving our new address.

Thanks for your cooperation in this matter.

Sincerely,

(Miss) Luel E. Cummings
Secretary to Mr. Constable

Encls. 3

Memorandum from . . . . AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
15 East 84th Street, New York 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

August 29, 1960

To: Community Relations Councils and
Group Relations Agencies

From: Joseph B. Robison

Subject: A Summary and Analysis of Civil Rights and Civil Liberties Decisions of the United States Supreme Court

We enclose herewith the fourth in our annual series of summaries and analyses of the decisions of the Supreme Court, handed down during the 1959-1960 Term, in the field of civil rights and civil liberties.

Perhaps, the most striking feature was the continuation of the 5-4 split between the conservative and liberal wings which was solidified during the previous Term.

We trust you will find this Summary and Analysis interesting and useful.

Additional copies of this Analysis can be purchased at $1.00 per copy.

Encl.

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THE CIVIL RIGHTS AND CIVIL LIBERTIES DECISIONS

of the

UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

for the

1959-1960 TERM

A SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS

Prepared by the

COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION

OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

15 East 84th Street

New York 28, N. Y.

Commission on Law and Social Action

Shad Polier, Chairman

Leo Pfeffer, Director

Joseph B. Robison, Assistant Director

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

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Chairman, Governing Council

Paul G. Annes,
Co-Chairman, Governing Council

Will Maslow, Acting Executive Director

August, 1960

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INTRODUCTION

This Summary and Analysis, the fourth in an annual series, covers 53 decisions of the United States Supreme Court handed down during the 1959-1960 Term, that may be classified as dealing with civil rights or civil liberties; 35 of these cases are analyzed in some detail.

The most striking feature of the Term was the continuation of the clear five to four split between the conservative and liberal wings that had solidified during the previous Term. This division appeared in nine, and in only slightly modified form in another two, of the 35 cases analyzed here. A recent study of the work of the Court as a whole during the past year, not confined to civil rights and civil liberties cases, shows that the same division in the Court pervaded almost every sphere of its concern.

The polarity of the Court was most consistent in the five cases involving persons associated in some way with Communist activities in which a decision on the merits was reached. In all of these cases, Justices Frankfurter, Clark, Harlan, Whittaker and Stewart voted adversely to the individual involved. Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black, Douglas and Brennan dissented in all (except one in which the Chief Justice did not participate).

Another development during the year was a break in the unanimity that the Court had shown in past years in dealing with racial discrimination cases. However, the divisions that arose in some of the civil rights cases were mostly over procedural issues and not on the basic question of equality.

Outstanding features of the Term included, on the one hand:

> The unanimous decisions in three cases upholding the powers given to the Attorney General in the 1957-1960 Civil Rights Acts to bring suits to protect the right of Negroes to vote.
>
> The unanimous reaffirmation in Bates v. Little Rock of the 1958 decision in NAACP v. Alabama protecting NAACP membership lists against exposure.

The six to three decision in the Talley case invalidating an ordinance prohibiting distribution of anonymous handbills.

The unanimous decision in Smith v. California invalidating an ordinance making it a crime to possess obscene literature.

The three decisions barring the use of court martial proceedings against civilian employees and dependents of members of the armed forces abroad.

The decisions in the Rios and Elkins cases barring the use in federal trials of evidence illegally obtained by state officials.

On the other side of the ledger were:

The Flemming case, upholding the denial of social security benefits to persons deported because of membership in the Communist Party.

The Nelson decision, permitting the discharge of a non-civil service employee because of his refusal to answer questions about his membership in the Communist Party on the ground of self-incrimination.

The Niukkanen decision upholding deportation of an alien for long past membership in the Communist Party.

A number of decisions restricting the rights of persons involved in criminal proceedings.

None of these decisions can be described as marked departures from precedent. This may be attributed to the fact that the group of five Justices that dominates the Court is basically committed to the policy of limiting decisions in the constitutional area to as narrow a scope as possible. Hence, while the Court rejected a number of opportunities to broaden constitutional guarantees, it did not seriously undermine any. Neither did it overturn past libertarian decisions (with the possible exception of the effect of the Nelson case on the Slochower decision). There is still no reason to believe that the Court, as presently constituted, would fail to stand firm against any substantial inroads on our basic liberties.

In our report on the 1958-1959 Term, we noted that the decisions of that year seemed slightly more conservative than those of the preceding year which, in turn, were similarly to the right of those of 1956-1957. The decisions of the recent Term do not show a continuation of that trend. The Court may be described today as being at dead center, a fact that reflects its present close division. A change in its personnel could bring about a substantial change in its operations.

Very little was heard during this past year from the outspoken critics of the Court who, in the past, have insistently called for Congressional action to curb its powers. Bills for this purpose made no progress in Congress during the year.

The following Analysis consists of two parts. First, we give brief descriptions of the cases decided by the Court in the area of civil rights and civil liberties. Second, we present an analysis of the votes of the individual Justices during the Term.

SUMMARY OF CASES DECIDED

We discuss the Court's decisions on civil rights and civil liberties under five major headings: (1) "Civil Rights," which covers cases dealing with racial discrimination; (2) "Internal Security," which includes not only cases arising under security laws but all other cases involving persons charged with Communist affiliations; (3) "Freedom of Expression," which includes freedom of association, speech and religion; (4) "Immigration and Nationality;" and (5) "Other Criminal Proceedings," which covers cases, not included in the previous headings, in

which the parties raised such questions as self-incrimination, double jeopardy, forced confessions and the right to counsel.

With only a few exceptions, we cover here cases in which the Court granted a hearing and reached a decision on the merits. In a number of the cases described, no opinions were written but the Court's disposition of the matter nevertheless established legal principles. We have not attempted to cover the many rulings declining to hear cases (by dismissing an appeal or denying a petition for writ of certiorari) except where such action seemed significant. In the area of civil rights, however, where these rulings reflect to some extent the policies of the Court, they have been treated in some detail.

I. CIVIL RIGHTS

A. Voting

The Supreme Court issued several decisions during the past Term interpreting the provisions of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 dealing with the right to vote. In United States v. Raines, 80 S. Ct. 519, the Court unanimously upheld the key section of that Act, which added a number of paragraphs to an 1870 law protecting the right to vote. The original law declared that all otherwise quali- citizens should be allowed to vote in any state or local election without regard to race. One of the sections added in 1957 empowered the United States Attorney General to bring suits in the name of the United States to restrain violations of the 1870 law.

The present action was brought by the Attorney General against the registrars of Terrell County, Georgia, for discriminating against Negroes who wanted to register and vote in a state election. The defendants moved to dismiss on the ground that the legislation was unconstitutional. The Federal District Judge

granted this motion. He noted that the Federal Government has power to prevent racial discrimination by state officials but not by private persons. He interpreted the 1870 law as applying to private action as well as to official action. This, he said, made the whole statute unconstitutional. The government appealed from the District Court directly to the United States Supreme Court.

In an opinion by Justice Brennan, the Court held that the statute was clearly constitutional in its application to the defendants here, since they were all state officials. Hence, it was improper for the Court to consider whether the statute might be unconstitutional in other applications. The lower court had relied on a number of cases invalidating statutes because some aspects were unconstitutional. The Court reviewed these cases in detail. It found many of them inapplicable and suggested that the rest were no longer valid authority.

The defendants also argued that Congress did not have power to authorize the United States to enforce private constitutional rights. The Court replied that the "highest public interest" in the observance of the constitutional guarantees of private individuals is sufficient reason for Congress to act as it did.

Justice Frankfurter added a brief concurrence, in which Justice Harlan joined, saying that he believed the law was constitutional under familiar principles and that it was therefore not necessary to review the many cases "that may generally touch on, but do not govern, the issues now before us."

On the same day that it decided the Raines case, the Court issued a brief per curiam opinion in United States v. Thomas, 80 S. Ct. 612, a voting case arising in Louisiana. This case was also initiated by the Department of Justice under the 1957 Act. Its aim was to restore to the voting rolls the names of 1,377 Negroes stricken in one Louisiana parish at the instance of the White Citizens Council.

District Court Judge J. Skelly Wright directed the names be replaced on the rolls, holding that the state authorities, at the instance of the White Citizens Council, had clearly discriminated against Negroes.

The State appealed to the Federal Court of Appeals for the Fifth Circuit, which granted a stay of Judge Wright's order pending review. The Department of Justice then asked immediate review by the Supreme Court in an effort to get the case decided in time to enable the Negroes to vote in the April 19th election. On February 29, the Court ruled unanimously on the basis of the Raines decision, that the stay granted by the Circuit Court should be vacated and that the judgment of the District Court should be affirmed.

In another per curiam opinion, the Court held unanimously that the Civil Rights Act of 1960 removed any doubt that may have arisen under the Civil Rights Act of 1957 as to whether the U.S. Attorney General could bring suit against a State to prevent discrimination in voting. United States v. Alabama, 80 S. Ct. 924, rehear. den., 80 S. Ct. 1608. This suit was brought by the Attorney General against the Board of Registrars of Macon County, Alabama to restrain activities designed to deprive Negores of their voting rights. After the suit was started, the members of the Board resigned and no one was appointed to take their places. The Attorney General then amended his complaint to join the State of Alabama as a defendant.

The District Court dismissed the complaint and its decision was affirmed by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals.

The Supreme Court remanded the case to the District Court for further proceedings against the State of Alabama. Without considering whether the 1957 Act allowed a suit against a state, it held that a provision in the 1960 Act expressly allowing such suits applied to this proceeding.

A more difficult question was presented to the Court in Hannah v. Larche, 80 S. Ct. 1502. Here, the Court rejected by a 7-2 vote a claim that the Civil Rights Commission, established under the 1957 Civil Rights Act, was required to reveal the names of complainants and to allow persons under investigation to cross-examine other witnesses. Justices Black and Douglas dissented.

The Commission had secured 67 complaints from individual Negroes charging voting discrimination. On the basis of those complaints, it scheduled a hearing and subpoenaed a number of persons.

Two proceedings were then started to enjoin the Commission hearing -- one by a group of election officials and one by a group of private citizens. The District Court granted an injunction and the government took this appeal to the Supreme Court.

The chief arguments made by the plaintiffs were (1) that they should have been given the names of the complainants and (2) that the rules of the Commission improperly denied them the right to confront and cross-examine persons making allegations against them.[1/]

Chief Justice Warren delivered the Court's opinion. The District Court had relied on last year's decision in Greene v. McElroy, 360 U. S. 474 (see AJCongress' Summary of 1958-1959 Term, pp. 12-14), in which the Court invalidated the Industrial Security Program, saying that it would not assume that the government had established a loyalty procedure that allowed the use of secret testimony in the absence of clear authorization. The opinion clearly implied that confrontation was a constitutional requirement in such cases. Here, Chief Justice Warren

1/ The plaintiffs also claimed that the Civil Rights Act was not appropriate legislation under the Fifteenth Amendment. The Supreme Court dismissed this claim without detailed discussion.

said that the rule of the Greene case required the Court first to consider whether Congress had clearly authorized the Commission's procedure here. After reviewing the terms of the Act and its legislative history, he concluded that it had.

The Court then went on to hold that the Commission procedures did not deny due process. The Commission's "function is purely investigative and fact-finding. It does not adjudicate." The Court stressed that "the Commission does not and cannot take any affirmative action which will affect an individual's legal rights." The Court found that possible harm to individuals was far outweighed by the fact that allowing cross-examinations by accused persons "would make a shambles of the investigation and stifle the agency in its gathering of facts."

The Court stated that the procedure used by the Civil Rights Commission is traditionally used by investigatory bodies, legislative investigating committees, administrative regulatory commissions (when conducting non-adjudicative investigations), and grand juries. It attached to its opinion a lengthy appendix to substantiate that fact.

Justice Harlan filed a one-paragraph concurrence, in which Justice Clark joined, noting that he agreed with the Chief Justice's opinion but also believed that the case was controlled by In re Groban, 352 U.S. 330 (see AJCongress' Summary of the 1956-1957 Term, p. 23), and Anonymous v. Baker, 360 U.S. 287 (1958-1959 Term, pp. 50-51). Those cases held that witnesses in a fire marshal's investigation of the cause of a fire and in a judicial investigation of "ambulance chasing" did not have the right to counsel.[2/]

2/ Chief Justice Warren, who had dissented in the Groban and Baker cases, referred to them only in a footnote in which he noted that the Commission relied on them but that, since they were substantially different from the present case, the Court did not find it necessary to consider them.

Justice Frankfurter wrote a separate concurring opinion, noting his agreement with much of the majority opinion but offering a somewhat different analysis of the due process issue, especially with respect to the Groban and Baker cases. He made it clear that he also regarded those cases as good authority for the result reached by the Court.

Justice Douglas filed a dissenting opinion in which Justice Black joined. He noted "temptations of many men of goodwill * * * to cut corners, take shortcuts, and reach the desired end regardless of the means." Pointing out that the conduct involved is a federal crime, he said, "There is, in my view, only one way the Chief Executive may move against a person accused of a crime and deny him the right of confrontation and cross-examination and that is by the grand jury." As to the argument that the Commission was doing no more than what other executive agencies did, Justice Douglas denied that these agencies conduct investigative hearings in which the accused persons are compelled to testify.

In response to the Court's view that the Commission's investigation did not affect anyone's legal rights, Justice Douglas argued that "the might and power of the Federal Government have no equal. When its guns are leveled at a citizen on charges that he committed a federal crime, it is for me no answer to say that the only purpose is to report his activities to the President and Congress, not to turn him over to the District Attorney for prosecution."

B. Schools

The various cases affecting public school segregation that came to the Court during the past Term were all decided without opinion. In Faubus v. Aaron, 80 S.Ct. 291, an appeal had been taken from a Federal District Court decision holding that the Arkansas school closing statute violated the equal protection and due process clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment. The statute gave the Governor the right to close the schools (1) when he determined that violence or possible violence endangered lives or property, (2) when Federal troops were

stationed in or about the school or (3) when an efficient educational system could not be maintained in an integrated school. The lower court also held that the Constitution invalidated a provision authorizing the withholding of funds from schools closed by the Governor under the preceding provisions.

Without asking for submission of briefs or oral argument, the Supreme Court affirmed the decision below, per curiam. No opinion was written. Justice Whittaker noted that that he would have ordered a hearing in the case.

Review was sought in two cases involving proceedings to end segregation in public schools. In both, the Court followed its practice of the last few years of denying review, thereby leaving to the discretion of the lower courts the speed at which public school authorities are to comply with the Supreme Court's desegregation decisions of 1954 and 1955. One of these cases was County School Board of Prince Edward County v. Allen, 80 S. Ct. 79, which was one of the five cases decided in 1954. Here, the school board had failed to take any steps towards desegregation and the District Court had allowed the Board seven years to put a desegregation plan into effect. The Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals reversed this decision. In asking the Supreme Court to grant certiorari to review that action, the school board claimed that the Circuit Court could not substitute its discretion for that of the District Court. The Supreme Court, however, refused to disturb the Circuit Court's ruling.

The denial of review in Kelley v. Nashville Board of Education, 80 S. Ct. 293, brought a dissent. This was a test of the Nashville stair-stop desegregation program, under which desegregation begins in the first grade with another grade to be added annually. The plan also permits a child to transfer to a different school, out of his normal zone, when the majority of children in the child's

grade are of a different race. The Negro parents, represented by the NAACP, asked the Supreme Court to review the decision of the lower courts approving this plan. The Supreme Court denied review, with the Chief Justice and Justices Douglas and Brennan voting in favor of granting review only of the transfer provision on the ground that it "explicitly recognized race as an absolute ground for the transfer of students between schools, thereby perpetuating rather than limiting racial discrimination."[3/]

C. Juries

The question of the exclusion of Negroes from juries was again considered by the Court in United States ex rel. Poret v. Sigler, 80 S. Ct. 404. Without hearing argument, the Court unanimously overturned a lower court ruling denying a writ of habeas corpus and remanded the case to the Federal District Court to determine if "members of petitioner's race were deliberately and intentionally limited and excluded in the selection of petit jury panels, in violation of the Federal Constitution."

3/ The Supreme Court also denied review in (1) Holt v. Raleigh City Board of Education, 80 S. Ct. 59 and Covington v. Edwards, 80 S. Ct. 78, in both of which the lower courts had held that Negro parents had failed to exhaust the administrative remedies provided in the North Carolina pupil placement laws. Justice Douglas dissented in the Covington case. (2) Duckworth v. James, 80 S. Ct. 88, in which the lower court had invalidated an ordinance of Norfolk, Virginia, withholding funds from integrated schools. (3) Brooks v. School District, 80 S. Ct. 196, in which the lower court had rejected a claim of discrimination against Negro teachers in the process of integrating the schools of Moberly, Missouri. (4) Kasper v. Tennessee, 80 S. Ct. 374, in which the Tennessee Supreme Court had denied the claim of John Kasper that his activities in combatting public school integration were protected by the guarantees of free speech in the First Amendment.

In Bailey v. Henslee, 80 S. Ct. 408, the Court denied review of a lower court decision, but without prejudice to a further habeas corpus application in an appropriate federal district court on the same issue.[4/]

D. Trespass

A case that raised a civil rights issue relating to the current "sit-down" problem was disposed of by a divided Court without reaching the constitutional question. In Wolfe v. North Carolina, 80 S. Ct. 1482, the Court refused to disturb the North Carolina conviction of a number of Negroes for trespass, holding by a 5-4 vote that the case presented no federal question.

Wolfe and several other Negroes were charged with violating a state criminal trespass statute by playing on a golf course leased to a private club by the City of Greensboro, N. C. Independently, they sued in a federal court to enjoin Greensboro and the golf club from operating the course on a racially discriminatory basis. They were successful in their federal court action. At their subsequent trial in the state court, the jury was charged that they should be found not guilty if they were excluded from the course on account of race. However, the court did not allow the defendants to introduce the federal court's finding that they were excluded for that reason. The jury convicted, thereby contradicting the federal court finding.

In appealing to the state Supreme Court, the defendants argued that the United States Constitution required the state courts to give conclusive effect

4/ In Harpole v. United States ex rel. Goldsby, 80 S. Ct. 58, the Court denied review of a decision by the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals invalidating the conviction of a Negro for murder in Carroll County, Mississippi, on the ground that Negroes had been systematically excluded from juries in that county. The Court of Appeals indicated that it would order Goldsby released unless he was tried before a properly constituted jury within eight months after final action by the Supreme Court.

On the other hand, the Court also refused to hear a claim that a prosecutor had excluded all Negroes from a jury by the use of peremptory challenges. Harris v. Illinois, 80 S. Ct. 755.

to the findings of fact made by the federal district court. However, the defendants, through what their counsel later called "some quirk of inadvertence," failed to include in the record they presented to the state Supreme Court their efforts to introduce the federal court record. The state Supreme Court ruled that, on the record before it, the lower court's ruling was correct and that, under North Carolina law, it could not go outside the record to consider the constitutional question.

The United States Supreme Court, in an opinion by Justice Stewart, dismissed the appeal on the ground that it raised no federal question. The state court's ruling that the defendants failed to preserve their federal question was consistent with the law of the state and was therefore binding on the Supreme Court. The Court stressed that "there is no issue here as to the constitutional right of Negroes to use a public golf course free of racial discrimination."

Chief Justice Warren, dissenting with Justices Black, Douglas and Brennan, argued that the factual premise that the federal court decision was not offered lacked support in the record. Since that was the only state ground for deciding the case, he believed that the Supreme Court should either decide the federal question or remand the case to the state court for further consideration. Furthermore, he argued, even if this offer of evidence was not in the record before the North Carolina Supreme Court, it was before the United States Supreme Court. This provided ample basis for requiring a ruling on the constitutional issue that the defendants had raised.[5/]

5/ The Supreme Court also denied review in two cases involving discrimination in housing: Barnes v. Gadsden, 80 S. Ct. 261, in which the Fifth Circuit Court held the evidence insufficient to show that a city's redevelopment plan provided for racial segregation; and Levitt v. Division Against Discrimination, 80 S. Ct. 1257, in which the New Jersey Supreme Court upheld the state's law against discrimination in publicly assisted housing. Justice Black would have granted review in the latter case.

Finally, in Marshall v. Locomotive Firemen, 80 S. Ct. 407, the Court refused to hear a claim of discrimination against Negro firemen.

II. INTERNAL SECURITY

A. Loyalty Oaths

The Supreme Court refrained from ruling on the validity of a state loyalty oath statute that had been upheld by the Washington State Supreme Court. Nostrand v. Little, 80 S. Ct. 840. By a vote of 7-2, it remanded the case to that court for further consideration.

Several public employees in Washington had sued to have declared unconstitutional a state statute requiring "every employee * * * to state under oath whether or not he or she is a member of the communist party or other subversive organization." The statute further provided that "refusal to answer on any grounds shall be cause for immediate termination of such employee's employment." The Washington Supreme Court upheld the statute but did not pass on the question whether it was constitutionally necessary to provide for a hearing at which refusal to take the oath could be explained or defended.

Since the Washington Supreme Court's decision on the hearing question might alter the constitutional problems in the case and since the state should be allowed to construe its own statute before the United States Supreme Court passes upon it, the Court, in a per curiam opinion, vacated the judgment and remanded the case to the state court.

Justices Black and Douglas dissented, in an opinion by the latter, maintaining that the majority's decision required a useless act. A hearing would be necessary if an employee who took the oath were charged with perjury. "But such a hearing is not germane to the question whether under this statute a teacher has the right to refuse to take the oath that is tendered."

In view of the Court's disposition of the case, neither the Court nor the dissent discussed the validity of the statute.

B. Social Security Benefits

In Flemming v. Nestor, 80 S. Ct. 1367, the Supreme Court divided 5-4 in holding that Congress could deny social security benefits to an alien who was deported for past membership in the Communist Party. The alien, Nestor, came to this country from Bulgaria in 1913. He held employment covered by the Social Security Act from December 1936 to January 1955, during which time deductions were made from his wages. He became eligible for social security retirement benefits in November 1955 and was awarded $55.60 per month. In July 1956, he was deportei for having been a member of the Communist Party from 1933 to 1939. He was thereupon denied payment of further social security payments. (His wife, who remained here, continued to get the benefits due to her.)

Justice Harlan, speaking for the Court, held first that Nestor was not deprived of any accrued property right. Reviewing the terms and history of the Social Security Act, he concluded that Congress had clearly reserved to itself "the right to alter, amend, or repeal any provision" of the Act. A concept of "accrued property rights" would destroy such flexibility.

The Court recognized that Congress could not exercise this power "free of all constitutional restraint." However, it was not unreasonable for Congress to withhold benefits from aliens deported for various reasons, including not only subversive activities but also various crimes and practices such as narcotics addiction.

Nestor claimed that the law was unconstitutional because it punished him without judicial trial, because it was a bill of attainder (punishment by a legislative act), and because it was ex post facto. The Court rejected those claims on the ground that the denial of benefits was not "punishment." "Here the sanction is the mere denial of a non-contractual governmental benefit. No

affirmative disability or restraint is imposed, and certainly nothing approaching the 'infamous punishment' of imprisonment."

It was argued that "a punitive purpose in fact lay behind the statute. * * * We observe initially that only the clearest proof could suffice to establish the unconstitutionality of a statute on such a ground." It appears that Congress' primary interest was with the fact of deportation and not with the grounds therefor. Evidence of Congressional intent to punish for past Communist Party membership is lacking.

Three dissents were filed, one by Justice Brennan, in which the Chief Justice and Justices Black and Douglas joined, one by Justice Douglas, in which Justice Black joined, and one by Justice Black.

Justice Black would have held the law unconstitutional as a deprivation of property without due process, as a bill of attainder and as an ex post facto law. " The fact that the Court is sustaining this action indicates the extent to which people are willing to go these days to overlook violations of the Constitution perpetrated against anyone who has ever even innocently belongod to the Communist Party." He denied that there was no connection under the Social Security Act between payments and benefits, saying that the Act was based on the assumption "that it is not desirable that aged people think of the Government as giving them something for nothing." On the matter of bill of attainder and ex post facto, he insisted that the denial of benefits was a punishment, directed at an ascertainable group.

Justice Douglas argued that the law was a bill of attainder. Tracing the history of the provision, he concluded that it was clearly "vindictive."

Justice Brennan argued that there was nothing to support the majority's conclusion that the law had a reasonable purpose. "The common sense of it is that he has been punished severely for his past conduct." Without reaching the question of bill of attainder, he would have held the law unconstitutional because it "imposes punishment in violation of the prohibition against ex post facto laws and without a judicial trial."

C. Self-Incrimination

In Nelson v. County of Los Angeles, 80 S. Ct. 527, the Supreme Court approved the dismissal of two employees by Los Angeles County for refusing to answer questions at a hearing of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. One discharge, that of a permanent civil service employee, was approved by an equally divided court and was therefore not discussed in the opinion. The other petitioner, Globe, was a temporary employee. His discharge was approved, 5-3. Chief Justice Warren did not participate.

Globe had been subpoenaed to testify before the House Committee. The Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors, acting under Section 1028.1 of the Government Code of California, ordered Globe to give testimony to the Committee. He refused to answer a number of questions, including whether he was a member of the Communist Party, relying on both the First and Fifth Amendments. He was thereupon discharged for "insubordination," since he had violated the instruction to answer all questions.

Justice Clark delivered the Court's opinion. The principal question was whether the case was controlled by the Supreme Court's 5-4 decision of 1956 in Slochower v. Board of Higher Education, 350 U.S. 551. The Supreme Court there held that the discharge of an employee merely for taking the Fifth Amendment was

arbitrary. Justice Clark distinguished Slochower on the ground that the discharge here was not for taking the Fifth Amendment but for "insubordination," that is, refusing to answer a question. "California has not predicated discharge on any 'built-in' inference of guilt in its statute, but solely on employee insubordination for failure to give information which we have held that the State has a legitimate interest in securing."

Here, the Court held, the case is controlled by several recent decisions holding that the state can require employees to give information affecting security. Even though the statute may deter exercise of the federal privilege, the state may "legitimately predicate discharge on refusal to give information touching on the field of security."

Justice Black wrote a dissenting opinion, as did Justice Brennan, both of which were concurred in by Justice Douglas. Justice Black noted that the insubordination to the state consisted solely of the invocation of constitutional rights. "I would hold that no State can put any kind of penalty on any person for claiming a privilege authorized by the Federal Constitution."

Justice Brennan viewed the case as indistinguishable from Slochower. If a state cannot discharge an employee for exercising constitutional privileges, it cannot do so by issuing a general command to its employees not to invoke constitutional privileges, and then discharging them for insubordination to its order when they do.

D. Searches and Seizures

The conviction of Rudolph Ivanovich Abel for conspiracy to commit espionage was affirmed by a sharply divided Court in Abel v. United States, 80 S. Ct. 683, rehear. den., 80 S. Ct. 1056. The five-member majority, in an opinion by Justice Frankfurter, held that the administrative warrant under which

Abel was arrested was sufficient to authorize his arrest and that therefore evidence obtained by a search of Abel's hotel room was obtained in a constitutional manner and was properly admissible at Abel's trial.

The FBI had information linking Abel with espionage but not enough to justify his arrest and indictment. FBI agents notified the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) that Abel appeared to be an alien residing illegally in the United States. The INS was also told of the FBI's espionage suspicions. INS agents thereupon obtained an administrative warrant from the New York District Director of the INS for Abel's arrest pending deportation. They proceeded to his hotel room in New York City, together with several FBI agents. The FBI agents were first allowed to try to get Abel to "cooperate" in the espionage matter. When they failed, the INS agents were called in to arrest Abel and search both Abel and the apartment, supposedly for evidence relating to his deportability. The material Abel took with him after the arrest was searched on his arrival at INS headquarters. His room was searched by FBI agents after his arrest and departure from the hotel. Later in the day, Abel was taken by airplane to an alien detention center in Texas, where he remained for several weeks until arrested on the conspiracy charge for which he was tried.

Abel appealed to the Supreme Court from his conviction for espionage, contending that use of the evidence obtained at the time of his arrest for deportation violated the Fourth Amendment to the Constitution in a number of respects.

Earlier Supreme Court decisions establish that, when a criminal arrest is made properly, a search may be made without warrant for certain limited purposes. In the present case, the Supreme Court held that the same rules apply in the case of an administrative arrest. Justice Frankfurter argued that

protection against unlawful searches must be, if anything, stricter in the case of arrests for crimes than in the case of non-criminal proceedings like deportation. It was at these searches in criminal cases that the Fourth Amendment was primarily directed.

The Court went on to hold that each of the items was properly seized. Thus, a coded message was properly taken when the arresting officer saw Abel try to slide it into his sleeve, because an officer can prevent destruction of evidence. A forged birth certificate had possible bearing on efforts to avoid detection as a deportable alien. As to the two items that were found by the FBI in Abel's hotel room after he had checked out, Abel had abandoned these items and the hotel management had given its consent to the search and seizure. Since all of the items were properly seized, they could be introduced in evidence at Abel's trial.

Noting that the defendant claimed that the administrative arrest was used by the Government in bad faith to get around the Constitution, Justice Frankfurter said, "the deliberate use by the Government of an administrative warrant for the purpose of gathering evidence in a criminal case must meet stern resistance by the courts." He held, however, that the record as a whole precluded a conclusion of bad faith.

Abel had also argued that there was no authority for an administrative arrest in the first place. The majority ruled that this claim was not properly before the Court because Abel had conceded in the lower courts that the arrest was valid. Justice Frankfurter went on to say, however, that the Fourth Amendment guarantee did not apply to administrative arrests.

Justice Douglas dissented in an opinion joined by Justice Black. Even if an administrative warrant is permitted for an arrest for the purpose of

deportation, he urged that it should not be made the basis for a search in a criminal case without judicial warrant.

A further dissent was written by Justice Brennan, in which the Chief Justice and Justices Black and Douglas joined. Justice Brennan stressed the constitutional requirement of judicial review of searches by law enforcement officials. The procedure approved by the Court, he concluded, eliminated that constitutional safeguard. He regarded the issue of good faith as irrolevant pointing to the possibility of abuse when the fruits of administrative arrests can be used in criminal proceedings. He warned that "Where a species of arrest is available that is subject to no judicial control, the possibilities [of abuse] become more and more serious."

E. Deportation

The case of Kimm v. Rosenberg, 80 S. Ct. 1139, involved an alien who entered this country as a student in 1928 and pursued his studies until 1938. He planned to return to Korea but changed his mind after the outbreak of hostilities between China and Japan in 1937. After 1938, he was continuously employed in gainful occupations - manager of a produce company, chemist, foundry worker, member of the O.S.S. during World War II, and publisher of a paper, "Korean Independence."

Because Kimm entered as a student and no longer enjoyed that status, he was concededly deportable. On being ordered deported, he applied for suspension of the order by the Attorney General. Under the statute, the Attorney General has power to suspend deportation in the case of any alien who has good moral character for the preceding five years and has resided continuously in the United States for seven years. However, he cannot exercise that power in the case of an alien who is deportable because he is a member

of the Communist Party.

At his hearing, Kimm was asked whether he was a member of the Communist Party. He refused to answer on the ground of self-incrimination. Thereupon, the hearing officer ruled that the Attorney General had no power to exercise his discretion to suspend Kimm's deportation order. By a 5-4 vote, the Supreme Court upheld this ruling. It concluded that Kimm had the burden of proving he was not a Communist.

In a brief per curiam opinion, the Court noted that the class of members of the Communist Party and certain other groups is carved out of the subsection granting the Attorney General power to suspend deportation orders. The provision in the regulations imposing on the applicant the burden of proof in the case of such "statutory requirements precedent to the exercise of discretionary relief" does not conflict with the immigration laws. Consequently, the Court held, the Attorney General did not have power to suspend Kimm's deportation.

Justice Brennan's dissent, joined in by Chief Justice Warren and Justice Douglas, noted the anomaly that the government must prove membership in the Communist Party if it attempts to deport on account of such membership but that the deportee has the burden of proving the absence of such membership if he is being deported on another ground. In the latter case, the alien is deported even though there is no evidence that he is a member.

Justice Douglas, joined by Chief Justice Warren and Justice Black, filed an additional dissent, stressing that this was the latest in a series of cases involving punishment for invoking a constitutional right.

In another per curiam opinion, from which the same four members of the Court dissented, the Supreme Court held that a District Court's finding that an alien was deportable because he was a member of the Communist Party within the

meaning of the Internal Security Act of 1950 was not clearly erroneous. Niukkanen v. McAlexander, 80 S. Ct. 799.

This was a habeas corpus proceeding in which Niukkanen, an alien, sought relief from a deportation order based on his past membership in the Communist Party. The principal question was whether the case came within the scope of Galvan v. Press, 347 U.S. 522 (1954), or Rowoldt v. Perfetto, 355 U.S. 115 (1957). (See AJCongress' Summary of the 1957-1958 Term, pp. 25-26.) In the Galvan case, an alien was held deportable as a member of the Communist Party even though he joined without knowledge of its advocacy of violence. The Court ruled that it was sufficient that he joined of his own free will and was aware of it as a distinct and active political organization. In Rowoldt, the Court decided that, although Rowoldt had been a member of the Communist Party, he was predominantly motivated in joining by concern with unemployment and bread and not by politics. Hence, the Court concluded, his association was not the "meaningful association" required under the Act.

In its brief per curiam opinion, the Court declared that the decision whether this case fell within Galvan or Rowoldt depended on evaluation of the testimony and that the Court could not say that the District Court's decision against Niukkanen was clearly erroneous. It noted that the lower court had taken into consideration the fact that Niukkanen, unlike Rowoldt, had denied membership in the Party and that this denial was apparently perjurious.

Justice Douglas filed a dissenting opinion, in which the Chief Justice and Justices Black and Brennan joined. He noted that Niukkanen came to this country in 1909 at the age of one, that he had lived here since then, that he had served honorably in the Army, that he was married to a citizen and that he had no criminal record except for a petty offense in 1930. There was testimony that

Niukkanen's Communist Party membership from 1937 to 1939 was due only to his interest in problems of unemployment and relief. (This was the testimony of his accusers, as he himself had denied membership.) Accordingly, Justice Douglas asserted, Rowoldt v. Perfetto was determinative of this case.

Twenty days after the Court denied the writ of habeas corpus, Niukkanen died.

III. FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

A. Freedom of Association

In Bates v. Little Rock, 80 S. Ct. 412, the Supreme Court unanimously reversed the conviction of a group of officers of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), for refusing to submit the membership lists of their local chapters to the cities of Little Rock and North Little Rock, Ark. Both cities, in 1957, had amended their existing laws that impose annual license taxes on various businesses, occupations and professions. The 1957 amendments required that each organization functioning within the cities must, upon request, supply certain information including the organizational name, purpose and officers and lists of all its contributors and dues payers. All information thereby obtained was, by the terms of the ordinance, to be open to public inspection.

The local officers of NAACP who had custody of the records of the NAACP branches in Little Rock and North Little Rock supplied all of the required information except the names of members and contributors. For their refusal to submit this information, they were charged with violating the ordinance. At the trial, the defendants presented evidence that the membership of NAACP had declined as a result of the ordinances and that those identified as members of the NAACP had been harassed. Nevertheless, they were convicted and fined.

In an opinion by Justice Stewart, the Court declared that the constitutional guarantee of freedom of association gives protection against subtle as well as direct governmental interference. The evidence here shows that compulsory disclosure of membership lists significantly interferes with that freedom.

Accordingly, the Court must determine "whether the cities * * * demonstrated so cogent an interest in obtaining and making public the membership lists of these organizations as to justify the substantial abridgement of associational freedom which such disclosures will effect." Justice Stewart concluded that no such interest was shown. A city has an undoubted right to impose occupational license taxes but the action it takes must have a reasonable relationship to the achievement of that proper end. Nothing here indicated that the NAACP membership lists had any relevance to proceedings under the tax law.

Justices Black and Douglas, concurring, noted that they agreed "substantially" with the Court's opinion but stressed that "... First Amendment rights are beyond abridgement either by legislation that directly restrains their exercise or by suppression or impairment through harassment, humiliation, or exposure by government."

B. Anonymous Literature

A Los Angeles ordinance prohibiting the distribution of unsigned handbills was struck down by the Supreme Court by a 6-3 vote in Talley v. California, 80 S. Ct. 536. The ordinance made it a crime to distribute handbills unless they carried the names of the author and distributor. Talley was arrested and convicted under this ordinance for passing out handbills urging persons not to patronize a store because it carried the products of certain companies that discriminated against Negroes in employment. The handbills were signed "National Consumers Mobilization, Box 6533, Los Angeles 55, Calif. PLeasant 9-1576."

Justice Black delivered the Court's opinion. He found that the requirement of identification here "would tend to restrict * * * freedom of expression." Anonymous literature has made important contributions to freedom in the past. "It is plain that anonymity has sometimes been assumed for the most constructive purposes."

The Court cited the two recent cases in which it struck down efforts by Southern states to obtain the names of members of the NAACP, Bates v. Little Rock, 80 S. Ct. 412 (1960) (summarized above, pp. 24-25), and NAACP v. Alabama, 357 U.S. 449 (1958) (see AJCongress' Summary of the 1957-1958 Term, pp. 29-31), saying that "there are times and circumstances when States may not compel members of groups engaged in the dissemination of ideas to be publicly identified."

The State had argued that the ordinance was designed to identify those "responsible for fraud, false advertising and libel." The Court found, however, that it was not so limited nor was there any evidence that that was its purpose. Hence, it said, "we do not pass on the validity of an ordinance limited to prevent these or any other supposed evils."

Justice Harlan agreed that the ordinance violated the Fourteenth Amendment. However, he based his conclusion on a balancing of countervailing interests, finding that the asserted need for the ordinance was not substantial enough to cover a ban on all anonymous handbills.

Justice Clark was joined in his expression of dissent by Justices Frankfurter and Whittaker. He argued that the substantial state interest which provoked this legislation eclipsed the individual harm to Talley and that free speech does not include free anonymous speech. He pointed to other areas in which disclosure is required, such as the names of the editor, publisher and owners of newspapers. Distinguishing the cases involving NAACP membership, he said that no

showing was made here, as it was in those cases, that Talley might be subjected to reprisals.

C. Obscenity

Smith v. California, 80 S. Ct. 215, rehear. den., 80 S. Ct. 399, is the latest of the Supreme Court's efforts to deal with constitutional limitations on prosecutions for activities relating to obscene books. The defendant was convicted of violating a Los Angeles ordinance which made it unlawful "for any person to have in his possession any obscene or indecent writing, [or] book * * * in any place of business where * * * books * * * are sold or kept for sale." This ordinance was construed by the California courts as imposing an absolute criminal liability, not dependent upon any "guilty knowledge" or knowledge on the part of the defendant of the content of the books which he kept for sale. The Supreme Court reversed the conviction, with Justice Harlan dissenting in part.

Justice Brennan delivered an opinion for the Court in which the Chief Justice and Justices Clark, Whittaker and Stewart concurred. Justice Brennan noted that the practical consequence of a rule of absolute liability would be a self-imposed censorship on the part of the booksellers, who would limit their sales activities to those books which they investigated and concluded to be clearly not obscene. The resulting restriction on dissemination of non-obscene material would be the result of governmental action even though not directly required by the government. The Court emphasized that the requirement that criminal statutes be definite and clear is applied with special strictness where there is a potential restriction on freedom of speech.

However, in requiring some element of a guilty intent, the majority specifically refused to lay down guide lines for courts and legislatures as to what sort of intent is required by the Constitution. It limited itself to holding that

a statute or ordinance may not constitutionally eliminate all aspects of the mental attitude of the defendant from the elements of the crime of selling or distributing allegedly obscene material.

Justices Black and Douglas, in separate concurring opinions, urged, as they had in the past, that the First Amendment bars all interference with the press. Justice Black concurred in the judgment but felt that the Court's opinion opened the way to more censorship. "Their [the booksellers'] victory, if any, is a Pyrrhic one." Justice Douglas objected to the Court's role of censor, "but since by the prevailing school of thought we must perform it, I see no harm, and perhaps some good, in the rule fashioned by the Court which requires a showing of scienter."

Justice Frankfurter, also concurring in the result, protested against the Court's refusal to clarify the requirement of intent. He held that, in any case, the defendant must have the right to enlighten the judge and jury "regarding the prevailing literary and moral community standards and to do so through qualified experts."

Justice Harlan concurred in the Court's decision to reverse the conviction but would have remanded the case for a new trial. He urged that the Court should recognize that the states have a proper concern with obscenity and that this justifies a wider scope to state power than to federal power in this field. He agreed with Justice Frankfurter that it is necessary to allow the defendant to present testimony as to contemporary community standards in determining the obscene nature of the material involved but he disagreed with the latter's conclusion that the Court must admit expert testimony. He would have reversed the conviction in this case on the ground that "the trial judge, as I read the record, turned aside every attempt by appellant to introduce evidence bearing on community standards."

D. Religious Freedom

In Kreshik v. St. Nicholas Cathedral, 80 S. Ct. 1037, the Supreme Court considered again the extended litigation concerning the assets in New York of the Russian Orthodox Church.

Under canon law, the Archbishop of the North American Archdiocese of the Russian Orthodox Greek Catholic Church is the appointee of the Patriarch of Moscow. As such, he is entitled to the use and occupancy of St. Nicholas Cathedral in New York City. In 1945, the New York Legislature amended the Religious Corporations Law to transfer control of the Cathedral to a representative chosen by the local communicants. This action was sought to be justified on the ground that the Moscow Patriarch was no longer capable of functioning as a true religious authority but had become a tool of the Soviet government, primarily designed to implement its foreign policy. The legislation was sustained by the New York State Court of Appeals, but was struck down in Kedroff v. St. Nicholas Cathedral, 344 U.S. 94 (1952), as an interference with the "free exercise of religion" in violation of the First and Fourteenth Amendments.

The Court of Appeals then ordered a retrial upon the issue, assertedly left open in Kedroff, whether, under New York common law, the Archbishop could validly exercise the right to occupy the Cathedral. The New York trial court rejected the contention that the Archbishop was no more than a political representative of the Soviet government and had no common law right to occupy the Cathedral. The intermediate appellate court unanimously affirmed. However, the New York Court of Appeals, in a 4-3 decision, reversed the lower courts, holding that the Archbishop was disqualified under the common law on the same grounds that that court had sought to uphold the legislation in Kedroff.

This holding the Supreme Court unanimously reversed in Kreshik without even hearing oral argument. The brief per curiam opinion noted that "it is established doctrine" that constitutional guarantees are no less binding on the judicial branch of the state than upon the legislative, citing NAACP v. Alabama, 357 U.S. 449 (see AJCongress' Summary of the 1957-1958 Term, pp. 29-31) and Shelly v. Kraemer, 334 U.S. 1, the restrictive covenant case. Since the Court of Appeals' decision in Kreshik "rests on the same premises which were found to have underlain the enactment of the statute struck down in Kedroff," said the Court, this judgment, too, must be reversed and the complaint dismissed.

IV. IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY

Aside from the two deportation cases described above in the section on internal security, the only decision during the Term in the area of nationality was Mackey v. Mendoza-Martinez, 80 S. Ct. 785. That case involved an issue left open in the Supreme Court expatriation decisions of 1958. For procedural reasons, the Court again failed to dispose of the issue.

Mendoza brought this declaratory judgmont action to establish his citizenship, which was questioned because he left the United States in 1942 in order to avoid the draft and remained away until 1946. He was subsequently convicted of draft evasion.

In Trop v. Dulles, 356 U.S. 86 (see AJCongress' Summary of the 1957-1958 Term, pp. 37-38), one of the 1958 decisions, a five-member majority struck down Section 401(g) of the Nationality Act of 1940, as amended, which provided that even a native-born citizen would lose his American citizenship if he deserted during war time, whether or not he attempted to give allegiance to a foreign power. Mendoza's citizenship was questioned under paragraph (j) of this same section, which deprives a person of citizenship if he departs from the United States during

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war time to avoid military service. Mendoza was before the Supreme Court in 1958. At that time, the Court remanded the case to the District Court for rehearing in light of Trop.

The District Court then held section 401(j) unconstitutional. On the government's appeal, the Supreme Court itself raised a new question - whether Mendoza's conviction in 1947 for draft evasion implied that he was then a citizen. Mendoza argued that, on the facts of his case, citizenship was a necessary requisite to guilt of draft evasion; that the government, in prosecuting him for that crime must be taken to have conceded his citizenship; and that the government was thereby collaterally estopped from now contesting it.

Since the collateral estoppel issue might dispose of the case without the necessity of ruling on the constitutionality of 401(j), the Court, in a per curiam opinion, remanded the case again to the District Court with leave to the parties to amend their pleadings and introduce evidence on this matter.

Justice Frankfurter, in a separate memorandum, noted that "the intrinsic demands of orderliness in the judicial process require that the issue on which this Court is to render judgment should be appropriately defined through pleadings and proceedings in the lower courts and not be initially shaped for adjudication in this Court." Accordingly, he would simply have dismissed all pending proceedings, to allow a fresh start.

Justices Harlan and Whittaker joined in Justice Clark's dissenting opinion, which pointed out that this case had been in the courts six years and that the Supreme Court should be able to pass on the collateral estoppel question, which it itself raised, without additional delay. "The Court could then pass upon the constitutional issue and advise the Congress of its power in this important field, in which it legislated 16 years ago."

V. OTHER CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS

A. Searches and Seizures.

In addition to the Abel case described above in the section on internal security, the Court decided five cases dealing with the guarantees of the Fourth Amendment.

In Jones v. United States, 80 S. Ct. 725, the defendant was arrested in an apartment by federal narcotics officers pursuant to a search warrant. Narcotics and narcotics equipment were found in the apartment. He was later convicted under two counts upon proof that he was in "possession" of narcotics. He claimed that the search warrant was defective and that it was improperly executed. The government challenged his right to raise these questions because Jones claimed the apartment did not belong to him.

The Supreme Court held unanimously that Jones had standing to challenge the search. Justice Frankfurter, speaking for the Court, pointed out that acceptance of the government's position would allow it to convict the defendant on the basis of conflicting positions. The conviction flowed from possession of narcotics at the time of the search. Yet the government's opposition to his challenge of the search was based on the argument that he did not have possession of the narcotics because they were found in someone else's apartment. "The prosecution here thus subjected the defendant to the penalties meted out to one in lawless possession while refusing him the remedies designed for one in that situation."

Having thus accepted the defendant's standing to challenge the search, the Court went on to reject, with Justice Douglas dissenting, his argument that there was no probable cause for issuing the search warrant because it was based on information from an undisclosed source. Although the affidavit presented by the

detective on requesting the warrant was based on hearsay, it stated convincing grounds for crediting the hearsay. Justice Frankfurter noted that there was sufficient evidence to justify the officer's acting without a warrant in an emergency. He regarded it as unwise to require a greater degree of certainty when an officer acts with a warrant than without a warrant. Otherwise, police would be induced to effect searches and arrests without warrants.

Jones also claimed that the warrant was not executed in accordance with the applicable statute. Without going into details, the Court found that there was conflicting testimony on this point and that the case should therefore be remanded to the District Court for disposition of this question.

Justice Douglas, dissenting in part, argued that the Court's ruling was further proof that "this is an age where faceless informers have been reintroduced into our society." The magistrate's decision to issue a warrant should be based on facts brought before him, not on the policeman's characterization of the facts available to the police.

In two cases decided the same day, the Supreme Court overturned the "silver platter" doctrine under which evidence illegally obtained by state officials without the cooperation of federal officials could be introduced in federal trials, even though evidence illegally obtained by federal officials could not be. Rios v. United States, 80 S. Ct. 1431; Elkins v. United States, 80 S. Ct. 1437. The original doctrine was established in Weeks v. United States, 232 U.S. 383 (1914).

In these two cases, the defendants had been prosecuted in state courts, which held that evidence on which the prosecution relied had been unlawfully obtained by state officers. Accordingly the indictment was dismissed in Elkins and in Rios the defendant was acquitted. The evidence in question was then turned over (on a "silver platter") to federal authorities who were not involved in the original unlawful seizures. The defendants were prosecuted under federal laws and

the evidence was used against them. They appealed their convictions to the Supreme Court.

In each case, Justice Stewart wrote the opinion for a five-man majority reversing the convictions. He declared that the 1914 decision in Weeks rested on the theory that federal courts should not use evidence obtained in violation of the Fourth Amendment prohibition of unlawful searches and seizures. The holding in that case that this rule did not apply to evidence obtained by state officials rested on the Court's assumption that the Fourth Amendment applied only to the federal government. However, in 1949, in Wolf v. Colorado, 338 U.S. 25, "it was unequivocally determined by a unanimous Court that the Federal Constitution, by virtue of the Fourteenth Amendment, prohibits unreasonable searches and seizures by state officers." Thus, the logical basis for the "silver platter" doctrine was destroyed.

At the time Weeks was decided, only one state excluded from its courts illegally-obtained evidence. Since that time, the number has grown until now over half the states exclude such evidence. The trend toward exclusion is clear.

It does not appear that exclusion of such evidence substantially inhibits law enforcement agencies. The work of the F.B.I. in particular, operating under an exclusionary rule since Weeks, does not appear to have suffered on account of that rule.

The Court then went on to hold that the admission of the evidence in a federal court must depend on federal rather than state law. The trial court must make an independent inquiry as to whether the state officials' acts, if committed by federal officials, would have been barred by the Fourth Amendment. Since the trial courts in these two cases admitted the evidence without considering this question, the convictions were reversed and the cases were remanded for further proceedings.

Justice Frankfurter, dissenting, disagreed that the Wolf decision made the Fourth Amendment applicable to the states. The Court's present ruling requires it to differentiate in the future between the two types of illegality - violation of laws and violation of constitutional guarantees. Until now, the Court's view of the Fourth Amendment has been "fluctuating and uncertain." This uncertainty will now be imported into every federal case in which it is sought to exclude state-obtained evidence.

However, Justice Frankfurter would have modified the Weeks rule to some extent. He urged that the state rule on exclusion should govern evidence secured by officials of that state and sought to be introduced into the federal courts. This would give recognition to the efforts by the individual states to control the actions of their police officials. If that modification is not adopted, then Justice Frankfurter would adhere to the rule enunciated in Weeks.

Justices Harlan, Clark and Whittaker, in a Memorandum Opinion by Justice Harlan, joined Justice Frankfurter except that they were not willing to accept the modification of the Weeks rule that he suggested.[6/]

In Henry v. United States, 80 S. Ct. 168 (1959), the issue turned on whether FBI agents had "probable cause" to make an arrest leading to the discovery of radios taken across state lines.

FBI agents were investigating a theft from an interstate whiskey shipment. They were given a tip that one Pierotti was implicated in "interstate shipments." The agents twice saw the defendant, Henry, and Pierotti drive to a residence and return to the car with some cartons. The agents were unable to identify the

6/ In two other cases decided on the same day, Euziere v. United States, 80 S. Ct. 1615, and Camara v. United States, 80 S. Ct. 1619, the Court vacated the judgments below and remanded for reconsideration in the light of its decisions in Elkins and Rios. Justice Frankfurter dissented in Euziere and would have reversed in Camara for the reasons enunciated in his dissent in Elkins and Rios.

cartons. As the car drove off the second time, the agents followed it and later stopped it. As they approached the car, they overheard Henry telling Pierotti that he should say that they had just met. The agents searched the car, found that the cartons contained radios, and brought the two men to their office. When, two hours later, they found that the radios had been stolen, Henry and Pierotti were placed under formal arrest.

The Court, in an opinion by Justice Douglas, held, 7-2, that there was no probable cause for the arrest. Since the arrest was illegal, the evidence obtained in the following search was inadmissible.

Arrests for federal felonies may be made without a warrant only if the offense has been committed in the presence of the arresting officer, or where there are reasonable grounds to believe that a felony has been committed. This requirement, the Court said, is mandatory under the "searches and seizures" provision of the Fourth Amendment.

The prosecution had conceded here that the arrest took place when the agents stopped the car. The Court held that there was no probable cause at that point to suspect that a felony had been committed. Riding to an alley and picking up packages, actions in themselves completely harmless, would not reasonably suggest participation in a felony. The results of the subsequent search are irrelevant to the question whether there was probable cause to have stopped the car.

Justice Black concurred in the result.

Justice Clark filed a dissent in which Chief Justice Warren joined. The dissent rejected the Government's concession and concluded that the mere stopping of the car did not constitute an arrest. Thus, the information against Pierotti, the loading of the cartons, the following of the men, the patently false statement

of the defendant (false since the agents knew that they had been together), when combined with the sighting of the cartons prior to the arrest, provided probable cause for the subsequent arrest.

An unusual situation arose in the Court conerning an Ohio case, Ohio ex rel. Eaton v. Price, 80 S. Ct. 1463, which raised an issue similar to the Court's decision last year in Frank v. Maryland, 359 U.S. 360. The Court there held, 5-4, that the City of Baltimore could authorize its Health Commissioner to search a house without a warrant when he had reason to believe that a nuisance existed in the house. (See AJCongress' Summary of the 1958-1959 Term, pp. 39-41.) At the time that case was pending, the petitioner in this case asked the Court to review a Dayton ordinance authorizing the Housing Inspector "to enter, examine and survey at any reasonable hour all dwellings" for the purpose of safeguarding health and safety. The petitioner stated that his case raised substantially the same questions as the Frank case.

The Supreme Court waited until it had disposed of the Frank case and then considered the appeal in the present case. Under Supreme Court practice, if four Justices vote to entertain an appeal, the Court "notes probable jurisdiction" and sets the case down for full consideration. Here, the four Justices who dissented in the Frank case voted to consider the appeal and it was so ordered. However, four of the five Justices who had made up the majority in the Frank case took the unusual course of protesting this ruling, urging that it was, in effect, an effort to obtain reconsideration and reversal of the Frank decision (360 U.S. 246). (The fifth member of the majority, Justice Stewart, disqualified himself in this case.) Justice Brennan, at that time expressed disapproval of the statement by the four Justices, pointing out that it constituted a prejudgment of a case that had been set down for full consideration.

At the present term of the Court, the decision of the Ohio Court was affirmed by a 4-4 vote. Ordinarily, when this happens, the Court writes no opinions because such an affirmance by an equally divided Court does not establish any precedent. This time, however, Justice Brennan wrote an opinion, in which the Chief Justice and Justices Black and Douglas concurred, setting forth why he believed the judgment below should be reversed. He stated that he did so because the four Justices voting to affirm had expressed their view the previous year.

The present case involved an effort to search the home of one Earl Taylor. When inspectors came to search his house, they did not have a warrant, nor did they give any reason for searching the house except to say that they were inspectors. When Taylor insisted on either a warrant or a reason, the inspectors proceeded to invoke the ordinance's penal clause. Taylor was held for trial on charges which could have resulted in a fine of $200 and imprisonment of 30 days for each day's recalcitrance. The case came before the United States Supreme Court on a writ of habeas corpus to test the constitutionality of Taylor's incarceration.

Justice Brennan distinguished the Frank case on the ground that the Health Inspector there had demonstrated substantial reason to suspect that Frank's house was a nesting place for rats. Here, the inspector refused to give any justification for his demand. He went on to say, however, that he viewed the Frank decision as undermining the Fourth Amendment. "For that reason, even if it were on all fours with the present case, it should not be followed, and the judgment below should be reversed."

B. Double Jeopardy

In a unanimous decision, the Supreme Court laid to rest doubts regarding one corner of the double jeopardy field. A federal Court of Appeals reversed a

conviction for conspiring to attempt to evade income taxes and directed the entry of an acquittal judgment. On rehearing, the Court of Appeals modified its original order so as to direct a new trial. The Supreme Court held, per Justice Clark, that this new trial, ordered on rehearing after an order directing acquittal, did not constitute double jeopardy. Forman v. United States, 80 S. Ct. 481, rehear. den., 80 S. Ct. 749.

Forman and another were indicted in 1953 for conspiring to attempt to evade taxes on their 1942-1945 incomes. At the time of the indictment the statute of limitations had run on the original evasion. However, the indictment charged that certain overt acts took place in later years, up to 1952, in furtherance of the conspiracy. At Forman's request, the trial court charged that he should be acquitted (because the statute of limitations had run) unless the jury found a subsidiary conspiracy to conceal the crime relating to the 1942-1945 income.

After the trial, but before the first decision by the Court of Appeals, the Supreme Court decided Grunewald v. United States, 353 U.S. 391 (1957), in which it held that the statute of limitations could not be extended by this sort of subsidiary conspiracy theory. The Court of Appeals first noted the improper charge to the jury and directed a judgment of acquittal. On rehearing, before the judgment was entered, it was concluded that the original indictment, which had alleged a continuing conspiracy, was sufficient even under the Grunewald holding. Since the improper subsidiary conspiracy charge was requested by Forman, not by the government, it was appropriate to order a new trial.

The Supreme Court affirmed the Court of Appeals decision to remand for a new trial and upheld that court's right to enter such an order on rehearing after having ordered the trial court to enter a judgment of acquittal. It rejected Forman's contention that the earlier order gave him a vested right in an acquittal.

No such right accrues until the entry of a judgment of acquittal or at least the issuance of a Court of Appeals mandate requiring entry of such a judgment.

Justices Harlan and Whittaker concurred, in separate opinions, both stressing the correctness of the Court of Appeals' final ruling and not referring to the main double jeopardy issue before the Supreme Court.

In Petite v. United States, 80 S. Ct. 450, after the Supreme Court agreed to hear the case, the Solicitor General joined the defendant's attorney in asking the Court to direct the Federal District Court to dismiss the indictment. The defendant had been indicted for conspiring to make false statements to a government agency at hearings in Philadelphia and Baltimore. He was also separately indicted for subornation of perjury at the Philadelphia hearings. After the defendant decided not to contest the conspiracy charge, the government dismissed the subornation indictment. After serving his two-month sentence for conspiracy, the defendant was indicted for subornation of perjury at the Baltimore hearings. The perjury involved in this charge was part of the case against the defendant in the conspiracy charge. However, the trial court and the Court of Appeals rejected the defendant's claim that this put him in double jeopardy. The Supreme Court granted defendant's petition for a writ of certiorari.

The Solicitor General's request for remand with instructions to dismiss the indictment was based on the government's policy "that several offenses arising out of a single transaction should be alleged and tried together and should not be made the basis of multiple prosecutions, a policy dictated by considerations of fairness to defendants and of efficient and orderly law enforcement." Reference was also made to the Attorney General's policy statement regarding duplicating federal-state prosecutions, which was issued on April 6, 1959, after the Supreme Court's decisions in Abbate v. United States, 359 U S. 187 (1959), and

Bartkus v. Illinois, 359 U. S. 121 (1959). (See AJCongress' Summary of the 1958-1959 Term, pp. 42-44.)

In a per curiam opinion, the Court directed dismissal of the indictment. It noted its reluctance to decide issues of constitutional law before it is necessary to do so. The Court stressed that its decision in no sense implied any opinion on the substantive issue of the case.

Chief Justice Warren concurred, pointing out that the Court should agree to such motions by the Solicitor General unless it felt that they were efforts to avoid decisions unfavorable to the government and that this was not such an effort.

Justice Brennan, joined by Justices Black and Douglas, objected to leaving this important area of the law to stipulation of the parties and to a government "policy whose only written expression does not even cover the case at bar." These three members of the Court would have reversed on the merits.

C. Confessions and the Right to Counsel

In Blackburn v. Alabama, 80 S. Ct. 274, the Court unanimously held that the due process clause of the Fourteenth Amendment was violated when an Alabama court admitted a confession from a robbery defendant, obtained after eight or nine hours of continued questioning in a small room, filled with policemen, where no friends, relatives or counsel were present and where there was a strong probability that the defendant was at the time insane.

Blackburn, a Negro, was convicted of the robbery of a store on April 19, 1948. At the time of the alleged crime, he was a mental patient at a Veterans Administration hospital, where he was being treated for paranoid schizophrenia and from which he was on an unauthorized leave.

After his arrest and confession, a lunacy commission unanimously found that he was insane. He was then sent to a mental hospital where, except for a brief escape, he remained from 1948 to 1952 at which time he was declared competent to stand trial.

At his trial, Blackburn pleaded not guilty, and not guilty by reason of insanity. He testified that he could remember nothing of the alleged crime or its surrounding circumstances, his confession, or the early period of his treatment at the hospital. The confession was admitted over objection by counsel, who introduced depositions and other documents attesting to Blackburn's insanity both at the time of the alleged robbery and at the time of the confession. The state relied on the testimony of the Chief Deputy Sheriff as to the circumstances of the confession and that of one of the lunacy commission doctors who changed his earlier opinion that Blackburn was insane.

In an opinion by Chief Justice Warren (with Justice Clark concurring only in the result), the Court concluded that the confession was involuntary. It noted that it had previously held that psychological coercion may be as violative of due process as physical coercion. The record as a whole made it clear that the confession was not "the product of a rational intellect and a free will."

A defendant's right to compel a court to appoint a trial counsel was expanded by the Supreme Court's 7-2 decision in Hudson v. North Carolina, 80 S. Ct. 1314.

Hudson was one of three co-defendants indicted for robbery. Only one of the defendants, Cain, was represented by an attorney. The court refused Hudson's request for court-appointed counsel and, when Cain's attorney offered to represent all three, the court advised against it, suggesting a conflict of interest. Before the end of the trial, in the presence of the jury, Cain was allowed to

plead guilty to a misdemeanor charge, for which he received a six-month suspended sentence. The trial of Hudson and the other defendant continued. Both were found guilty of larceny from the person, a felony, but less serious than robbery. Hudson was sentenced to 3 to 5 years in jail. He later brought a proceeding under the state's Post-Conviction Hearing Act in which he was represented by counsel. From the denial of relief in that proceeding he appealed to the Supreme Court.

Justice Stewart, speaking for the majority, accepted the state court's finding that Hudson, though only 18 years old, had sufficient intelligence and experience to handle his case and that, therefore, his youth alone did not make the failure to appoint counsel a denial of due process. However, he said, Cain's guilty plea before the jury created a prejudicial situation. At that point, Hudson needed counsel, as shown by the fact that he failed to request a mistrial, special instruction or other action designed to reduce the prejudicial effect of the guilty plea. "We hold that the circumstances which thus arose during the course of the petitioner's trial made this a case where the denial of counsel's assistance operated to deprive the defendant of the due process of law guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment."

Justice Clark's dissent, joined in by Justice Whittaker, questioned whether Cain's guilty plea prejudiced Hudson. If anything, Justice Clark argued, the fact that Cain was allowed to plead guilty to a lesser charge favored Hudson, since the jury convicted Hudson of only larceny from the person even though "the record here would clearly support a verdict of guilty on the robbery charge."

D. Fair Trial

In what has become known as the "Shuffling Sam" case, the Supreme Court issued a writ of certiorari directly to a trial court - the Police Court of Louisville, Ky. - and reversed its decision. Thompson v. City of Louisville, 80 S. Ct. 624.

Two policemen arrested Thompson for "loitering" in a Louisville cafe. There was evidence that he had been there a little over half an hour and had not bought anything. He was "out there on the floor dancing by himself." After arresting Thompson, the policemen said he argued with them and so they added a disorderly conduct charge. He was convicted of both charges and fined $10.00 for each offense.

Thompson claimed that his conviction violated his constitutional rights since it was reached without any evidence to support it. However, he could not appeal to a higher Kentucky court because Kentucky law does not allow appeals from so small a penalty. Consequently, he appealed directly to the United States Supreme Court, which has jurisdiction to review decisions of "the highest court of a State in which a decision could be had" - in this case the police court.

Justice Black wrote the opinion for a unanimous Supreme Court, reversing and remanding the case on the ground that there was not merely insufficient evidence but that there was no evidence to support either conviction and that Thompson was thereby deprived of liberty and property without due process of law. The Court concluded that the city, in order to prove the loitering charge, had to show that Thompson could not "give a satisfactory account of himself while loitering in the cafe, without consent of the manager."

Thompson claimed he was waiting for a bus and was able to show that he had on his person at the time a bus schedule indicating that a bus to his home would stop within one half block of the cafe an hour later. He was doing nothing otherwise illegal in the cafe. The manager testified that he was welcome there. There was no evidence that his alleged argument after the arrest disturbed the peace. In fact, Kentucky law required him to object to the arrest at that time or else forfeit his right to complain later that the arrest was unlawful. There was no contrary evidence tending to show the truth of the charges.

Quoting its 1937 decision in De Jonge v. Oregon, 299 U.S. 353, that "conviction upon a charge not made would be sheer denial of due process," the Court concluded, "so is it a violation of due process to convict and punish a man without evidence of his guilt."

A closely divided Supreme Court held, in Schaffer v. United States, 80 S. Ct. 945, rehear. den., 80 S. Ct. 1605, that defendants properly joined in one indictment may continue to be tried together even though the trial court had already dismissed the one count that originally justified the joinder. The indictment contained three substantive counts of transporting in interstate commerce goods known to have been stolen, and one count charging conspiracy by all of the seven defendants in such transportation. Three defendants, apparently the "brains" of the transactions, all were charged in each count. Each of these three either pleaded guilty or were nolle prossed at trial. The other four defendants, who were appealing to the Supreme Court, were each charged in only one of the substantive counts and in the conspiracy count.

The conspiracy count, which was the only one justifying a joint trial under the Federal Rules of Criminal Procedure, was dismissed for failure of proof at the close of the government's case. Each of the defendants was found guilty under the relevant substantive count.

Justice Clark, for the five-member majority, wrote that the rule relating to joinder was satisfied by the indictment and that the rule relating to severance of defendants requires a showing that prejudice would result from carrying out the joint trial. Since the trial court was careful, in charging the jury, to separate each item of evidence and to make clear that it related to but one defendant; since neither the trial court nor the Court of Appeals found that any defendant had been prejudiced by the joint trial, and since the Supreme Court has not been shown any

prejudice as to any defendant, it was not error for the trial court to continue the joint trial.

Justice Douglas was joined by Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black and Brennan in his dissent. He argued that it made "a mockery" of the rule allowing joinder where the defendants have participated "in the same series" of transactions to continue the joint trial once it is clear that there was no such joint participation. He concluded that, despite the judge's effort to keep the lines of evidence as to the various defendants clear, prejudice was all but inevitable.

In Gonzales v. United States, 80 S. Ct. 1554, the Court divided 5-4 in affirming the conviction of a member of Jehovah's Witnesses for draft evasion. In 1952, Gonzales, then eighteen years old, registered with his draft board and sought deferment as a minister of the Jehovah's Witnesses. He claimed that he devoted 100 hours a month to public preaching and 50 to 75 hours a month to other ministerial duties. He received a deferment as a conscientious objector. The following year, he substantially reduced his ministerial activities. Later that year, he was reclassified I-A. In 1956, he failed to report for induction as ordered but was not prosecuted. His case was reopened and he was again reclassified I-A.

Gonzales appealed to the Department of Justice which granted him a hearing. Thereafter, the Department recommended to the Appeal Board that the I-A classification be approved. Its recommendation, a copy of which was sent to Gonzales, noted that the local board had reported to the Department that Gonzales had claimed before it in 1956 that he was devoting 100 hours a month to preaching. Since this was clearly untrue, the Board concluded that Gonzales' apparent untrustworthiness cast doubt on his "sincerity and good faith." Gonzales promptly wrote to the Appeal Board flatly denying that he had made any such claim in 1956 or at any time since 1952, at which time it was true. The Appeals Board nevertheless confirmed the I-A classification.

Gonzales then refused to appear for induction. For this he was prosecuted, convicted and sentenced to 18 months in jail.

In appealing to the Supreme Court, Gonzales claimed that he was denied due process of law because he did not have opportunity to testify on the issue whether he made a false statement in 1956. It was not until after the Department made its recommendation that he learned about the draft board's report that he had made such a statement in 1956 or that the Department of Justice was relying on that fact. However, he conceded that he did have access to the file in his case and could have learned about the draft board's report.

Justice Clark, speaking for the 5-man majority, held that Gonzales had not been denied due process by the action of the Appeals Board in ruling against him without hearing his testimony on the disputed issue. He noted that Gonzales "never took the trouble to find out" what was in his file and that "he had ample opportunity to contest the statement before the appeal board."

Gonzales also claimed that he was wrongly denied opportunity to subpoena the notes of the Department's hearing officer as well as the original F.B.I. reports. The Court rejected this claim, noting that he did not allege that any evidence was being withheld or that any contradictions existed between the reports and the government's evidence adduced at the trial.

Chief Justice Warren wrote a dissent, supported by Justices Black, Douglas and Brennan. He relied solely on the failure to give Gonzales opportunity to testify concerning the alleged 1956 statement. The issue in the case was Gonzales' sincerity. Since Gonzales was only 22 in 1956 and was not represented by counsel, his failure to search the file for items that might be used against him was not significant. Under such circumstances, Gonzales should have had an opportunity to appear in person to explain or deny the accuracy of the evidence against him.

E. Contempt

By a 5-4 vote, the Supreme Court held that a secret trial and conviction of contempt of court is not necessarily a violation of constitutional guarantees. Levine v. United States, 80 S. Ct. 1038, rehear. den., 80 S. Ct. 1605.

Levine had refused to answer a number of questions put to him by a federal grand jury investigating violations of the Interstate Commerce Act. He was brought before a district judge. The courtroom was cleared because grand jury minutes were to be read and the court proceeding was to be a continuation of the secret grand jury hearing. Levine again refused to answer the questions when put to him by the judge. The judge then held him in contempt and sentenced him to one year in jail, without first readmitting the public to the courtroom. While Levine's counsel objected to the procedure on various grounds, he did not specifically protest the continued exclusion of the public. In the Supreme Court, Levine claimed that he could not be convicted of contempt in summary proceedings (that is, without a public trial before a jury) and that the procedure used violated the constitutional guarantee of due process.

Last year, the Supreme Court decided a case exactly like this one except that the public was readmitted to the courtroom before the finding of contempt was made. Brown v. United States, 359 U.S. 41. (See AJCongress' Summary of the 1958-1959 Term, pp. 56-57.) The Court there held, 5-4, that the use of summary contempt was proper. However, it excluded from consideration the possible effect of "secrecy" because the final action of the judge was not secret. In the present case, it considered that problem and held, by the same 5-4 vote, that the secret procedure used was permissible.

For the majority, Justice Frankfurter proceeded from the concept that the power to punish for criminal contempt is not limited by the Sixth Amendment, but

only by the due process clause of, in this case, the Fifth Amendment. In such cases, "decision must turn on the particular circumstances of the case, and not upon a question-begging because abstract and absolute right to a 'public trial.'"

Here, grand jury secrecy gave way in that Levine's attorney was present at the time of the contempt, conviction and sentencing. Levine was not deprived of essential legal assistance by the secrecy. It is not urged "that publicity would in the slightest have affected the conduct of the proceedings or their result."

Justice Black's dissent, joined in by Chief Justice Warren and Justice Douglas, took issue with the concept that a criminal contempt proceeding is not a "crime" within the meaning of the Sixth Amendment's guarantee of a public trial for one charged with crime. The majority's view that the proceedings before the judge were initially a continuation of grand jury proceedings (and therefore properly secret) were also challenged. Grand jury deliberations and votes are secret but the judge is not part of the grand jury. The judge is a public figure and his actions should be public.

Justice Black also objected to the majority's reliance on the lack of prejudice. If a defendant's right to a public trial is denied, he said, it is no answer to say that "anyhow he wasn't hurt."

Justice Brennan, in a dissenting opinion joined in by Justice Douglas, stressed the Court's previous insistence that constitutional rights in criminal trials can be waived only by the defendant's express, intelligent consent.

F. Habeas Corpus

In two cases, the Supreme Court issued orders, without opinion, reversing lower court decisions denying writs of habeas corpus. In Sublett v. Adams, 80 S. Ct. 527, the petitioner had claimed that he was being held in prison without lawful authority and in violation of the due process clause of the Fourteenth

Amendment. The highest court of West Virginia refused the writ without hearing any response from the state or the petitioner's arguments. In a per curiam opinion, the Supreme Court held that the facts alleged by the petitioner were sufficient to entitle him to a hearing under the 1956 deicision in Herman v. Claudy, 350 U.S. 116. Chief Justice Warren took no part in this case.

In Wilde v. Wyoming, 80 S. Ct. 900, the petitioner claimed that his plea of guilty to a charge of second degree murder was induced when he had no counsel present and that the prosecutor wilfully suppressed the testimony of two eye-witnesses to the alleged crime which would have exonerated him. Citing the Sublett as well as the Herman case, the Supreme Court, in a unanimous per curiam opinion, found that the record showed neither a hearing nor any justification for a denial of the hearing.

In a third case involving habeas corpus, the Supreme Court declined to rule on the defendant's claim, holding that the case was moot. Parker v. Ellis, 80 S. Ct. 909.

Parker was tried in a Texas state court in 1954 for forging checks. He was then 67 years old and apparently in poor health. However, the judge refused to appoint counsel to represent him. Parker's efforts to defend himself were incompetent and ineffective. He was convicted and sentenced to seven years imprisonment. After appealing unsuccessfully through the Texas judicial system, he was denied certiorari in the United States Supreme Court. He then unsuccessfully sought relief by way of habeas corpus in the Federal courts and petitioned the Supreme Court for certiorari in October, 1958. The petition was granted March 2, 1959. Four weeks later, after repeated requests by Parker which had been ignored by the courts, counsel was appointed for him. However, less than ten weeks after that, Parker was released because his sentence had run its course.

Eleven months later, the Supreme Court issued a brief per curiam opinion holding that the case was moot and that the Court was without jurisdiction. Habeas corpus, it ruled, may be granted only to inquire into the legality of a detention and the only relief authorized is discharge from custody or admission to bail. Since neither is possible here, the case must be dismissed.

Justices Harlan and Clark, in a brief concurring opinion by Justice Harlan, argued further that the conviction would not cause Parker to lose any rights since he had a number of outstanding felony convictions in other states, any of which would have the same effect under Texas law as the conviction he was appealing.

Chief Justice Warren dissented, joined by Justices Black, Douglas and Brennan. He argued that it was enough to show that Parker was in custody when the habeas corpus proceeding was started. Since he had been out of jail for more than five years at the time of the Texas trial, he had a stake in establishing his rehabilitation and reintegration in the life of the community. "Furthermore, there is an important public interest in declaring the invalidity of a conviction obtained in violation of the Constitution."

Justice Douglas filed an additional dissent, in which the Chief Justice joined. He would have employed a fiction by granting Parker relief as of the date he started the habeas corpus proceeding, at which time he was in custody.

G. Court-Martial Jurisdiction

Four cases decided on the same day put into question the constitutionality of court martial jurisdiction over civilians. Kinsella v. United States ex rel. Singleton, 80 S. Ct. 297; McElroy v. United States ex rel. Gualiardo and Wilson v. Bohlender, 80 S. Ct. 305; and Grisham v. Hagan, 80 S. Ct. 310.

The common question was whether Congress had power under the Constitution to provide for the trial by court martial of civilians connected with the armed forces. Article III and the Fifth and Sixth Amendments of the Constitution guarantee to defendants in criminal proceedings certain basic rights, including trial by jury. Article I, Section 8, clause 14, grants Congress power "to make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces." Under that clause, and the "necessary and proper" clause (Article I, Section 8, clause 18), Congress enacted Article 2(11) of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, which permits trial by courts martial of "persons serving with, employed by, or accompanying the armed forces outside the United States." In such cases, the accused does not have trial by jury or other rights ordinarily guaranteed to criminal defendants.

In 1957, the Supreme Court held, in Reid v. Covert, 354 U.S. 1, that Article 2(11) of the Uniform Code was unconstitutional insofar as it attempted to deny constitutional rights to civilian dependents of members of the armed forces charged with capital offenses. The present cases turned on whether the 1957 holding would also apply to a civilian dependent charged with a non-capital offense (Singleton), to a civilian employee charged with a capital offense (Grisham) and to civilian employees charged with non-capital offenses (Gualiardo and Wilson, these two cases being treated together by the Court).

The defendants were upheld in all four cases. In Singleton and Grisham, the vote was 7 to 2 and in Gualiardo and Wilson it was 5 to 4. The Chief Justice and Justices Black, Douglas, Clark and Brennan were in the majority in all four cases. Justices Whittaker and Stewart concurred in the one case involving a civilian dependent but dissented in the three involving civilian employees. Justices Harlan and Frankfurter concurred in the one case involving a capital offense but dissented in the three cases involving less than capital offenses.

The majority opinion in each of the cases was written by Justice Clark (despite the fact that he had dissented in the 1957 cases).

Singleton, involved the wife of a soldier stationed in Germany who, with her husband, was convicted of involuntary manslaughter for causing the death of one of their children. The Supreme Court refused to limit its 1957 decision to capital crimes, saying that this would give the "military an unreviewable discretion to exercise jurisdiction over civilian dependents simply by downgrading the offense, thus stripping the accused of his constitutional rights and protections." It also rejected the government's contention that court martial jurisdiction over dependents was a military necessity, saying that it saw no danger to discipline in requiring trial before civil courts.

In Grisham, a civilian employee was tried by general court martial in France for premeditated murder, a capital offense. He was convicted of the lesser offense of unpremeditated murder and sentenced to life imprisonment. The Court refused to distinguish the treatment to be given civilian employees of the military in Grisham from that of civilian dependents of the military in Covert. "The awesomeness of the death penalty has no less impact when applied to civilian employees."

Guagliardo involved the conviction of a civilian electrical lineman tried by court martial in Morocco for larceny and conspiracy to commit larceny. Wilson involved a civilian auditor working for the Army who was convicted of sodomy by a general court martial in Berlin. The identical issues raised in the two cases were disposed of in a single opinion.

The Court held that the cases were controlled by the combined effect of the decisions in the other two cases. Singleton eliminated the distinction between capital and non-capital cases. Grisham eliminated the distinction between civilian dependents and civilian employees.

In all three opinions, the Court stressed its view that clause 14, since it limits basic rights guaranteed elsewhere in the Constitution, must be confined to "the least possible power adequate to the end proposed."

Justice Whittaker, with whom Justice Stewart concurred, agreed with the Court majority in the Singleton case but dissented in the other three, making a distinction between civilian dependents and civilian employees. Explaining his concurrence in Singleton, Justice Whittaker said that, if the Constitution prevented Congress from making civilian dependents subject to courts martial in capital cases, as was held in Covert in 1957, it had the same effect in all cases.

However, Justice Whittaker would have limited the holding of Covert to civilian dependents. Such persons have only a remote connection with the military establishments. But civilian employees "perform essential services for the military and, in doing so, are subject to the orders, direction and control of the same military command as the 'members' of those forces * * *."

Justice Harlan, with whom Justice Frankfurter concurred, agreed with the Court in the Grisham case but dissented in the other three, drawing a distinction between capital and non-capital offenses. The Covert decision, he argued, did not establish the proposition that non-military personnel are not within court martial jurisdiction. It held only that there is no court martial jurisdiction over civilian dependents charged with capital offenses. The "awesome finality" of capital cases require that they be subject to an elaborate array of procedural safeguards. This has led the Court in other situations to recognize special constitutional requirements in such cases.

H. Rights of Felons

New York State's right to forbid convicted felons from acting as officers or agents of labor unions connected with certain types of waterfront activity was upheld by the Supreme Court's 5-3 decision in De Veau v. Braisted, 80 S. Ct. 1146.

In 1953, Congress approved a New York-New Jersey compact creating a bi-state Waterfront Commission, with power to regulate certain types of employment. Before the compact was approved, New York enacted supplementary legislation providing that no dues or other money shall be collected by a union if any of its officers or agents have been convicted of a felony. De Veau had pleaded guilty in 1920 to a charge of grand larceny in New York and had received a suspended sentence. He was suspended from his position as secretary-treasurer after a district attorney threatened to prosecute anyone collecting dues for his union local. De Veau sued to have the statute declared unconstitutional under the Supremacy Clause and the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, and as an ex post facto law and a bill of attainder.

Justice Frankfurter's opinion upholding the law was joined in by Justices Clark, Whittaker and Stewart. The greater portion of the opinion was addressed to the asserted conflict between the state statute and the National Labor Relations Act and other federal labor laws which guarantee the right of employees to choose their own bargaining representatives. In finding that the state statute did not conflict with congressional policy as embodied in those laws, Justice Frankfurter relied principally on the fact that Congress had approved the compact with full knowledge of the state statute.

On the claim that the statute deprived De Veau of due process of law, Frankfurter declared that disqualification of convicted felons is "a reasonable means for achieving a legitimate state aim, namely, eliminating corruption on the waterfront." Restrictions on such persons are imposed in many fields, e. g., membership in the armed forces, service on juries, and holding of offices of honor, trust or profit under the United States.

The claim that the statute was a bill of attainder was rejected because it "embodies no further implications of appellant's [De Veau's] guilt than are

contained in his 1920 judicial conviction." The ex post facto claim was denied because the disqualification was not intended as a punishment for past acts but rather as a regulation of a present situation.

Justice Brennan, the other member of the majority, concurred in a separate opinion in which he concluded that the law "is a reasonable means for achieving a legitimate state aim, and does not deny due process or otherwise violate the Federal Constitution."

Justice Douglas, joined by Chief Justice Warren and Justice Black, dissented. Without reaching the questions of due process, attainder, or ex post facto, he argued that the law clearly conflicted with the federal labor laws.

Justice Harlan took no part in this case.

ANALYSIS OF THE VOTES OF THE INDIVIDUAL JUSTICES

The Tables below present the votes of the individual Justices during the 1959-1960 Term in the civil liberties and civil rights cases described above, and certain cumulative material for the last Terms. The thirty-five cases covered here are those bearing numbers in the Table of Contents. The cases described above which are not discussed here are those in which the Court either denied review or took other action which did not finally dispose of the matter.

Each vote is recorded as being favorable (F) or unfavorable (U) to the person claiming a constitutional or other civil right. Where different grounds were advanced for favoring the asserted right, FB indicates a favorable vote on broad grounds and FN a favorable vote on narrow grounds. We believe that this method of classification, based on whether the person asserting the right was favored, is relatively objective. It is not intended to embody any assumption that the person asserting that his rights were infringed was necessarily correct.

Table I gives the Court's disposition of the 35 cases covered here, divided into four categories. Table II gives the votes of the individual Justices in these cases. Tables III and IV cumulate the material in the first two Tables for the last three Terms of the Court. (We chose the last three Terms for the cumulative tables because there was only one change in Court personnel during that period.)

Table I shows that the Court is still deciding a majority of the civil rights and civil liberties cases that come before it favorably to the asserted right. Of the 35 cases during the last Term covered here, 21 were decided favorably and 14 unfavorably. For the three year period, as shown in Table III, the figures are 79 decided favorably and 56 unfavorably.

Tables II and IV show a continuation of the division of the Court into two blocs, a conservative group of five (Justices Frankfurter, Clark, Harlan, Whittaker, and Stewart) and a liberal group of four (Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black, Douglas, and Brennan). The Justices are listed in Table II in the order of the proportion of favorable to unfavorable votes during the last Term. There is a sharp break between the first four and the last five, with very little variation within the two groups. Table IV, which gives the corresponding figures for three years, shows the same sharp break. The greater variation within the two groups in the cumulative figures reflects the increased polarity of the last Term. It is worth noting that Justice Clark's position in Table IV, showing the highest proportion of unfavorable votes, is due largely to his votes during the 1957-1958 Term.

In Tables V, VI, and VII, we give the votes of each of the Justices in each of the cases affecting civil rights, freedom of expression, and other criminal proceedings, respectively. The cases are listed as they are numbered, with their full citations, in the Table of Contents.

No Table was prepared for the internal security cases because all but one were decided by the same 5-4 vote and the fifth (Nelson, No. 9) was decided 5-3 with the Chief Justice not participating. The consistency of the Court in this politically sensitive area was quite striking. It was not matched by its votes in other types of cases. It might be noted that, while there were 17 cases in this category in the 1957-1958 Term, there were only seven the following year and five this year.

Civil rights and freedom of expression cases have arisen with relatively constant frequency in the last three Terms. The Court has generally voted favorably in these fields. During the 1959-1960 Term however, one civil rights case, (Wolfe, No. 7) was decided unfavorably by a 5-4 vote and, in another case (Larche, No. 4), the Court voted 7-2 to uphold a provision in the 1957 Civil Rights Act, thereby rejecting a claim that the Act violated basic civil liberties.

During the three-year period there have been nine immigration and nationality cases (in addition to those listed under internal security). Of these, five were decided unfavorably. There was no case during the past year that could be classified under this heading in the Tables.

The category of other criminal proceedings, which has somewhat the nature of a miscellaneous category, shows the least consistency in voting patterns. During the past year, 12 of the 19 cases in this group were decided favorably. The overall figure for three years is 33 favorable decisions to 32 unfavorable.

This Term's polarization is shown most clearly in Table VIII which lists the twelve cases decided by 5-4 votes. The percentage of such divisions increased substantially over the 1958-1959 Term (12 out of 35 as against 10 out of 43). In addition, Nelson, No. 9, and Easton, No. 21 (decided unfavorably by 5-3 and 4-4 votes, respectively), adhered to the usual 5-4 pattern, except for one judge not participating in each case. It will be seen that in none of these cases did a

member of the liberal bloc cast an unfavorable vote. In only three of these cases was the liberal group able to win a favorable result by obtaining the adherence of a member of the other side of the Court -- Justice Stewart in two search and seizure cases (Rios, No. 18, and Elkins, No. 19) and Justice Clark in a court-martial case (Gualiardo, No. 33). In the 1958-1959 Term also, those two judges were the only members of the conservative bloc to cross over in 5-4 cases.

In the only case in which six favorable votes were cast, a freedom of expression case, the liberal bloc was joined by Justices Stewart and Harlan (Talley, No. 14). In all, in the cases decided favorably to the asserted right by a divided Court, the judges of the liberal bloc were joined by Justice Stewart six times, Justice Harlan four times, Justices Frankfurter and Clark three times, and Justice Whittaker twice. In the cases decided unfavorably by a divided Court, the defections from the liberal bloc came from Justice Brennan twice and Chief Justice Warren once.

Despite the high proportion of 5-4 decisions, there was also a substantial number of unanimous decisions. While the proportion of such decisions was reduced somewhat from the previous Term, it was still substantially above that of the 1957-1958 Term. Of the thirty-five cases tabulated here, fourteen (40%) were decided unanimously, thirteen favorably and one unfavorably to the claimed right. In the 1958-1959 Term, 19 of the 43 cases (47%) were decided unanimously, while in the 1957-1958 Term, only 14 of 57 cases (25%) were so decided.

TABLE I.

DISPOSITION OF CASES BY COURT

1959-1960

	Favor-able	Unfavor-able	Total
Civil Rights	5	2	7
Internal Security	0	5	5
Freedom of Expression	4	0	4
Other Criminal Proceedings	12	7	19
TOTAL	21	14	35

TABLE II.

TOTAL VOTES OF JUSTICES

1959-1960

	Favorable Broad	Favorable Narrow	Favor-able	Favorable Total	Unfavor-able	Not Partic-ipating
Douglas	4	0	30	34	1	0
Black	3	1	30	34	1	0
Brennan	1	2	29	32	3	0
Warren	1	2	27	30	3	2
Stewart	1	2	16	19	15	1
Harlan	0	4	13	17	17	1
Clark	0	2	14	16	19	0
Frankfurter	0	2	14	16	19	0
Whittaker	0	2	12	14	20	1

TABLE III

DISPOSITION OF CASES BY COURT

CUMULATIVE: 1957-1960

	Favorable	Unfavorable	Total
Civil Rights	12	4	16
Internal Security	17	12	29
Freedom of Expression	13	3	16
Immigration and Nationality	4	5	9
Other Criminal Proceedings	33	32	65
TOTAL	79	56	135

TABLE IV

TOTAL VOTES OF JUSTICES

CUMULATIVE: 1957-1960

	Favorable Broad	Favorable Narrow	Favor-able	Favorable Total	Unfavor-able	Not Partic-ipating
Douglas	26	5	98	129	6	0
Black	24	7	90	121	14	0
Warren	14	9	88	111	19	5
Brennan	8	17	84	109	24	2
Frankfurter	3	14	50	67	65	3
Stewart*	4	4	29	37	37	4
Harlan	3	12	47	62	72	1
Whittaker	2	12	48	62	72	1
Clark	1	9	40	50	85	0

*Justice Stewart was not yet a member of the Court during the 1957-1958 Term.

TABLE V

VOTES IN CIVIL RIGHTS CASES: 1959-1960

Cases	Court*	Douglas	Black	Brennan	Warren	Stewart	Harlan	Clark	Frankfurter	Whittaker
Raines (1)	9-0	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
Thomas (2)	9-0	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
Alabama (3)	9-0	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
Larche (4)	2-7	F	F	U	U	U	U	U	U	U
Aaron (5)	8-0	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	NP**
Poret (6)	9-0	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
Wolfe (7)	4-5	F	F	F	F	U	U	U	U	U
Favorable		7	7	6	6	5	5	5	5	4
Unfavorable		0	0	1	1	2	2	2	2	2
Not Participating		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

* In Tables V, VI, and VII, the vote of the Court is given with the number of favorable votes first.

** In the Aaron case, the Court affirmed the judgment below without first hearing argument but Justice Whittaker noted that he would have noted probable jurisdiction. Since he neither supported affirmance nor voted against it, his vote is here treated as equivalent to not participating.

TABLE VI

VOTES IN FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION CASES: 1959-1960

Cases	Court	Douglas	Black	Brennan	Warren	Stewart	Harlan	Clark	Frankfurter	Whitaker
Bates (13)	9-0	FB	FB	FN	FN	FN	FN	FN	FN	FN
Talley(14)	6-3	FB	FB	FB	FB	FB	FN	U	U	U
Smith (15)	9-0	FB	FB	F	F	F	FN	F	F	F
Kreshik (16)	9-0	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F

Fav. Broad		3	3	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
Fav. Narrow		0	0	1	1	1	3	1	1	1
Favorable		1	1	2	2	2	1	2	2	2
Total Fav.		4	4	4	4	4	4	3	3	3
Unfavorable		0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	1
Not Part'g.		0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

TABLE VII

VOTES IN OTHER CRIMINAL PROCEEDINGS: 1959-1960

Cases	Court	Douglas	Black	Brennan	Warren	Stewart	Harlan	Clark	Frankfurter	Whittaker
Jones (17)	9-0	FB	FN	FN	FN	FN	FN	FN	FN	FN
Rios (18)	5-4	F	F	F	F	F	U	U	U	U
Elkins (19)	5-4	F	F	F	F	F	U	U	U	U
Henry (20)	7-2	F	F	F	U	F	F	U	F	F
Eaton (21)	4-4	F	F	F	F	NP	U	U	U	U
Forman (22)	0-9	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U	U
Blackburn (23)	9-0	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
Hudson (24)	7-2	F	F	F	F	F	F	U	F	U
Thompson (25)	9-0	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
Schaffer (26)	4-5	F	F	F	F	U	U	U	U	U
Gonzales (27)	4-5	F	F	F	F	U	U	U	U	U
Levine (28)	4-5	F	F	F	F	U	U	U	U	U
Sublett (29)	8-0	F	F	F	NP	F	F	F	F	F
Wilde (30)	9-0	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F	F
Parker (31)	4-5	F	F	F	F	U	U	U	U	U
Singleton (32)	7-2	F	F	F	F	F	U	F	U	F
Gualiardo (33)	5-4	F	F	F	F	U	U	F	U	U
Grisham (34)	7-2	F	F	F	F	U	F	F	F	U
De Veau (35)	3-5	F	F	U	F	U	NP	U	U	U
Fav. Broad		1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fav. Narrow		0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Favorable		17	17	16	15	9	7	7	7	6
Total Fav.		18	18	17	16	10	8	8	8	7
Unfavorable		1	1	2	2	8	10	11	11	12
Not Part'g.		0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0

TABLE VIII

VOTES IN FIVE TO FOUR DECISIONS: 1959-1960

Case	Douglas	Black	Brennan	Warren	Stewart	Harlan	Clark	Frankfurter	Whittaker
Wolfe (7)	F	F	F	F	U	U	U	U	U
Flemming (8)	F	F	F	F	U	U	U	U	U
Abel (10)	F	F	F	F	U	U	U	U	U
Kimm (11)	F	F	F	F	U	U	U	U	U
Niukkanen (12)	F	F	F	F	U	U	U	U	U
Rios (18)	F	F	F	F	F	U	U	U	U
Elkins (19)	F	F	F	F	F	U	U	U	U
Schaffer (26)	F	F	F	F	U	U	U	U	U
Gonzales (27)	F	F	F	F	U	U	U	U	U
Levine (28)	F	F	F	F	U	U	U	U	U
Parker (31)	F	F	F	F	U	U	U	U	U
Gualiardo (33)	F	F	F	F	U	U	F	U	U

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **HAROLD FLEMING**

File

11/4/60

PR —

Re the attached letter.

I called the man, who merely wanted to know if SRC would accept contributions for ACHR. I said yes.

HCF

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Institute of Human Relations • 165 East 56 Street, New York 22, N. Y. • Plaza 1-4000 • Cable Wishcom, New York

November 1, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Ed Lukas suggested that I write you at once advising you of our efforts to arrange a number of speaking engagements for Reverend Hughes to enable him to raise funds for the continuation of the Alabama Council on Human Relations beyond January 1st.

Will you be good enough to call me at my home, collect, at 7:30 P.M., on Thursday, November 3rd. The number is PYramid 6-2906 in Hicksville, New York.

I feel that discussion of this matter is appropriate before proceeding with further details and arrangements.

With kindest regards, and looking forward to hearing from you Thursday evening, I am

Sincerely,

Leonard Zion

Leonard Zion

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STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE • 15 East 84th St. • New York 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

June 24, 1954

Mr. George Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear George:

I am sending you under separate cover a copy of the latest edition of the AJCongress -- NAACP Balance Sheet of Group Relations, "Civil Rights in the United States, 1953." I am sure that you have become familiar with it over the past few years and will agree with me that it is indeed a unique reference work and an invaluable research tool for anyone working in the field of intergroup relations. In recognition of this, many civil rights organizations throughout the country have placed with us substantial orders for it (some several hundred at a time) and have distributed copies to public officials, to members of group relations commissions, and to professional workers in civic, labor and intergroup relations agencies and the like.

In view of the great expansion of your program throughout the South and in connection with the historic segregation decision recently handed down by the Supreme Court, it is our hope that you will be in a position to order a large supply of Balance Sheets for the use of your people. In any educational undertaking such as yours the Balance Sheet cannot but be a tremendous asset. As a matter of fact, it is for just such organizations as yours and for the work that you are doing, that it has been prepared for the last six years.

Do let us hear from you soon.

Cordially yours,

Will

Will Maslow

RECEIVED JUN 28 1954 Southern Regional Council

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Memorandum from . . . . AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
15 East 84th Street, New York 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

RECEIVED JAN 11 1957

HCP

January 2, 1957

To: Community Relations Councils
Group Relations Agencies and
Welfare Funds

From: Will Maslow

Subject: Reorganization of AJCongress Staff

There has been a reorganization within the staff of the American Jewish Congress and a reallocation of duties and responsibilities. I have been appointed Director of the Department of Public Affairs of the American Jewish Congress which supervises the work of three commissions: the Commission on Law and Social Action, the Commission on Community Interrelations and the Commission on Internal Affairs and on Israel. Leo Pfeffer has been appointed Director of the Commission on Law and Social Action; Dr. Don Hager, Director of the Commission on Community Interrelations; and Dr. Edward Glick, Director of the Commission on International Affairs and of Israel.

To standardize procedures and make for prompt replies to any requests you may have for assistance from us, I would suggest that you write initially to the Directors of the respective Commissions in regard to any matter within the scope of activities of their Commissions.

I will, of course, be happy to hear from any of you at any time.

VIA AIR MAIL

November 21, 1957

Mr. Will Maslow
American Jewish Congress
Department of Public Affairs
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 84th Street
New York 26, N. Y.

Dear Will:

Thanks for your recent letter suggesting that SRC stage a conference on Negro suffrage in the South. While the proposal in itself is a good one, I think that the objective is being largely achieved down here through more piecemeal methods. Let me summarize these briefly and see if you agree:

(1) The Southern interagency group, which last met on November 5 - 6, spent a good deal of time on the subject of voting. We heard what the NAACP is planning and discussed the parts that each of our agencies could play in the overall effort to increase registration of qualified Negroes.

(2) As you probably know, the NAACP just held a major planning conference on voting here in Atlanta.

(3) SRC is convening a region-wide group of leading white church women to plan ways in which their constituents can be activated as observers at their community registration offices. Our hope is that various of the church women's groups will make this a part of their formal program for the coming year.

(4) Our several agencies are committed to gathering and pooling all evidence they can get on evidence of official intent to disfranchise and actual instances of voting discrimination.

It does occur to me that your idea might better be furthered by a national meeting, with the NAACP and/or one or two of the national agencies as conveners. If such a meeting were undertaken, we'd be glad to cooperate in every way.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

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DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

WILL MASLOW, Director

Commission on Community Interrelations
Commission on International Affairs and on Israel
Commission on Law and Social Action

November 11, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Your recent excellent pamphlet on Negro suffrage prompts me to suggest to you that the SRC convene a conference on Negro suffrage in the South.

The conference would have the following functions:

1) To determine how the Negroes of the South can best be encouraged to vote.
2) To consider the best method of attacking obstructions on the right to vote.
3) To determine how best to stimulate the Federal administration to vigorous enforcement of the new Civil Rights Act.

It should be attended by the following:

1) representatives of all Southern agencies concerned with the problem, including church groups.
2) representatives of all the Southern Negro associations that are interested in increasing Negro registration and Negro voting.
3) representatives of Northern agencies such as ACLU, AJCongress, ADL, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, etc.
4) representatives of the NAACP.

It should even be possible to get a grant from some foundation to cover all expenses.

I would appreciate your reactions to this proposal and whether you think any practical benefit would be derived from it.

Sincerely,

Will

Will Maslow

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March 18, 1958

TO: Group Relations Agencies
Jewish Community Councils

FROM: Will Maslow, Director, Department of Public Affairs

I thought you might be interested in the enclosed analysis of the pamphlet, "The Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation", recently published by the Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry. We have distributed this to various division and chapter leaders in the AJCongress and they have found it helpful in stimulating discussion of many of the complex issues involved in the desegregation problem.

This analysis was prepared by Naomi Levine, Director of Program and Education

mtr

SUMMARY OF "PSYCHIATRIC ASPECTS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION"

A REPORT ISSUED BY THE GROUP FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF PSYCHIATRY, 1957

Program Department
American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, N.Y.

SUMMARY OF "PSYCHIATRIC ASPECTS OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION,"

A REPORT ISSUED BY THE GROUP FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF PSYCHIATRY, 1957.

I. Introduction

Desegregation is not merely a legal problem. It is also a social problem, an economic one, and above all a psychological problem. Were it not for the irrational fears and prejudice associated with it in the minds of many Americans, both in the North and in the South, the legal, economic and social difficulties would be easier to solve.

II. Psychological Ills Resulting from Segregation

A. The individual

The effects of segregation upon the Negro are obvious. It causes him humiliation, it relegates him to second-class citizenship, it denies him free and equal economic, social and political opportunities, and it denies him the right to develop whatever inner potentials he may possess. As a result, his capacity to learn and to aspire are seriously limited.

The white person, too, suffers as a result of segregation -- in a less obvious way. Many white persons gain a false feeling of superiority merely by imagining that they are "better than the Negroes." Such an evaluation of oneself is unreal and produces a false sense of one's worth. It also breeds expressions of hostility and aggression between white and Negro. Anxiety that may spring from other problems finds its outlet in such hostility; this makes it more difficult to treat the real cause of the anxiety.

B. The community

Segregation is not only harmful to individuals but is equally harmful to the whole community. Segregated schools, for example, provide inferior and inadequate educational facilities for the Negro and keep him from gaining the full advantage of free educational opportunities. Segregated housing creates black ghetto slums which breed crime, delinquency, disease, etc. Discrimination in employment and education force the Negro into the lowest rung on the economic ladder and this in turn helps to reinforce the slum conditions where Negroes reside. These social ills moreover are not confined to the segregated part of the community. They affect the whole community. Disease, poor housing, inadequate health service, delinquency and crime can never be confined to any

single section of a town or city. Criminals can move freely into any section of the community; and disease knows no barriers or residential boundaries. Segregation moreover, produces racial tension which by its very nature affects the entire community.

C. Country

A chronic state of racial tension drains off the energies of a country - energies that might otherwise be applied more constructively. The existence of a large proportion of our population in an economically, educationally and socially under-developed state robs the country as a whole of a substantial part of its human resources. Segregation moreover lessens the prestige of the United States abroad especially among the non-white peoples of the world. The United States cannot win support in the great struggle between East and West unless it demonstrates to the world at large that it puts into practice the principles of democracy which it preaches so vigorously.

III. Racial Myths and Prejudice

A. The creation of the myths

Myths and rationalizations are always developed as a defense mechanism whenever a person suffers mental confusion as a result of a conflict. The psychiatrist explains that the formation of this myth "provides a rational answer to what appears to be an insoluble problem." In the United States we have had to rationalize between our great belief in equality and Christian principles and our actual treatment of the Negro. To solve this dilemma we have created various myths about the Negroes - depicting them as "little better than savage animals, irresponsible, intellectually inferior, unable to control excessive sexual impulses, etc." Having created such myths it becomes easier to discriminate and subjugate the Negro, for we are now able to assure ourselves that the principles of the Constitution cannot possibly apply to "savage animals of inferior intellect."

B. Myths and their effect on Negro-White relationships

1. Group relations

Segregation of the Negro and white, reinforced by the existence of such "myths" has been accompanied by a generally recognized difference in the social status of the two groups. Merely by being a member of a white group an individual receives special privileges; and merely by being a member of a Negro group, one is deprived of these privileges and is treated as a second-class citizen. Many highly educated Negroes, for example, are forced to show deference to a white person merely because of the color of this person's skin.

This difference in social status moreover creates differences in political power and economic status. It forces the Negro to work in less desirable jobs with less pay, longer hours with more menial tasks to perform. It robs the Negro of political strength and excludes him from many government positions of authority. As a result the myth of Negro inferiority is reinforced by social reality. For those who believe in the myth of Negro inferiority can point to the inferior social, economic and political condition of the Negro and say "I am right; Negroes are inferior; look how they live."

2. Personal relationships

a) Uncle Tom role

Personal relationships between Negroes and whites are also affected by the existence of these myths. The white person thinks that the Negro should be fun loving, loyal and capable of hard work, etc. Conversely the white person should be diligent, plan for the future, be independent, a leader, and utilize Negroes for hard work. The Negro is expected to repress his natural drives in order to live up to the mythical roles created for him; and the white person is expected to force the Negro to continue in these roles through threats, fears or paternal protectiveness. This kind of unreal relationship is bound to cause anger, resentment and fear between Negro and white.

b) False sense of security

On the deepest personal level believing in the myth of white supremacy and Negro inferiority helps a white person to gain a sense of self-esteem and security. Unfortunately, the use of the myth as a defense against insecurity is self-defeating. It does not really solve the reasons for a person's anxiety and insecurity. Unfortunately many Negroes themselves unconsciously begin to believe the myth. If a child is repeatedly treated as if he were no better than a dirty stupid animal, he will either come to believe this or develop defenses against it. This explains the reaction of some Negroes who feel dirty because of their skin color or who feel guilty of the efforts of Negro leaders to fight for equality.

C. Fears relating to sex

The higher social status group commonly considers the lower group as more primitive - and as more potent sexually. (This is true not only of Negro-white relationships but also as between various class levels. The lower economic class is always classified as more potent.) Thus, according to popular folklore, all Negro males are extremely potent sexually; and all Negro females are sexually more responsive. There are no facts to support this.

The jealousy and fear of the white male inflamed by this myth of Negro potency was responsible for the creation of the white supremacy codes set up ostensibly to protect white women. These codes provide the most savage reprisals against Negro men who are charged with having or desiring sex relations with white women. It is interesting to note, however, that these codes also provide immunity to the white male who has sex relations with a Negro female.

The fear and hatred founded and maintained by racial sex mythology has entered so deeply into the emotions of many Southerners, that it has formed a psychological barrier against the Negroes. The image of the oversexed Negro to the white Southerner is very real and very frightening. It will probably outlast any sudden removal of the psychical barriers of segregation. This myth is all the more difficult to correct because certain surface facts do seem to make it agree with objective reality. For example, studies show that extensive sexual behavior is far more prevalent among low-social-economic classes with disorganized family living. The Negro is by and large a member of this "low socio -economic class." Any extensive or impulsive sexual behavior by the Negro is due to this fact and not to the color of his skin. Once this is understood the problem of Negro-white relationships can be more constructively dealt with.

D. Extra marital and marital relationships

The fear of intermarriage and the desire to preserve racial purity are always important arguments in defense of segregation. Actually when you test these arguments factually and rationally they fall apart. The mixing of white and Negro genes has been going on for many hundreds of years. There are no pure races. "Mankind has always been and still is a mongrel lot." Out-of-wedlock relationships between the races have always been a part of our social structure - particularly in cases where the man is white and the female is Negro. If the white Southerner was truly interested in preserving the purity of the white race - he would be as concerned with these extra marital relationships as he is with the marriage relationships. As matters stand, he is not. The Negro female mistress and the white male relationship has always been an accepted part of the Southern "way of life." It has produced and will continue to produce racial intermingling. In fact, 78 per cent of the United States Negroes who were interviewed in a recent survey testified to some white or Indian ancestry. Those who oppose school integration today on the ground that it will lead to racial mixture, fail to recognize that this is already an accomplished fact.

There is no evidence, moreover, that integration will produce more intermarriage. The expectation voiced by many people that

school desegregation will result in a great rise in the rate of intermarriage seems to be an expression of their bias and fear, rather than a reliable prediction. As a matter of fact, the information on which to base predictions with regard to racial intermarriage is extremely sparse and rather confusing.

The most authoritative current work on the subject of intermarriage, "Negro-White Intermarriage in Recent Times," by Wirth, Louis Goldhamer and Herbert opens with the statement, "Only limited and unsatisfactory data are available on Negro-white intermarriage in the United States. The many factors that determine fluctuations in the rate of racial intermarriage are far from clear. In Boston, where legal school desegregation has been in effect for decades, there was a relatively high rate in the years immediately after 1900 and a marked decrease in the next decades despite a constant ratio of Negroes to the total population. In urban New York State, other than New York City, the ratio climbed between 1916-1924 and then dropped steadily for the next ten years. No satisfactory explanation for this shift has been established. The facts conclude that legal school desegregation per se does not influence the rate of intermarriage in ways that are yet predictable."

Perhaps integration will produce greater mutuality and shared experiences between whites and Negroes. If this occurs, it would not necessarily alter the present course of biological mixing which is going on any way through extra marital relationships. One might expect, however, that there may be a shift from illicit interracial union to the more legalized unions of marriage.

IV. Attitude Changes

A. Introduction

Reaction to the Supreme Court decision on desegregation has varied from community to community throughout the South. In some areas it has met with violent opposition; in many other areas it is being implemented peacefully. It is wrong to assume, however, that even in areas where it is being implemented peacefully, that there are marked changes in peoples attitudes. Such attitude changes involve many psychological processes and cannot be quickly changed by court decisions or legislation.

B. Goals of attitude changes

Ideally the ultimate goal of relationships between Negroes and whites would be to accept the Negro as an individual not as a member of a group; to accept him as a human being entitled to all the rights and privileges that belong to all human beings. It is unrealistic to expect that this goal will be acheived

among our current adult generation. It would require a fundamental change in attitudes; and such a change requires a complete restructuring of a personality. The way a person feels and reacts to a minority group is intimately tied up with how he feels towards himself, his family, his friends, etc. A good deal depends on the experiences and impressions he received as a child. These cannot be radically changed in most cases without individual psychological help. While we should work toward the ultimate goal, therefore, we should not be disappointed if the change in attitudes is more limited than what we would like to see achieved in this generation.

C. Increase of hostility

In many areas the Supreme Court decision has led to increased anti-Negro hostility. This may be due to a fear of Negro retaliation if and when the Negro could break out of his shackles. There is no evidence to support this fear. The Negroes have been resorting to lawful action, community mobilization and to a non-violent passive resistance sponsored largely by the Negro churches.

D. Stages in attitude changes

1. A first stage in a change in attitude between whites and Negroes is a mental process called "compartmentalization." For example, in Northern housing projects Negroes and whites will live next door to each other in friendly relationships without any tension; and yet a white person living in such a project may object to being called by his first name by the Negro publicly in the streets. Another example of compartmentalization is the case of the white parents that have no objections to having their children go to the same school as Negroes - yet they do not want them to visit with each other socially. This attitude is clearly an inbetween stage in the acceptance of desegregation.

2. Denial of differences. Another inbetween stage consists of denying that there are any differences between Negroes and whites. This is unreal; there are differences - due to the vastly different life patterns that both groups are subject to. To deny this difference can be dangerous. For example, Negro children in an integrated school may need special care and guidance to stimulate increased inspiration and motivation. Knowing a child's race like knowing his age or sex could help meet his special educational needs. Acceptance of differences can be constructive and need not imply inferiority.

3. Mascot attitudes. A third inbetween stage consists of overdoing one's admiration for Negro talents - their cuteness, their gift of music, their gayety, etc. White persons in this group

are usually proud when they invite Negroes to their home. They do not realize that by behaving in this way they are not treating the Negro as an individual. They are actually overlooking his real attributes and are employing fantasies in their acceptance.

E. How do you handle people going through these different stages?

All of these inbetween stages are steps forward in the acceptance of the Negro. The big question is how do you handle persons in these inbetween stages so as to promote further changes in their basic attitudes. There are two ways. (1) To aim at increasing a person's awareness of the nature of this inbetween stage or (2) by leaving him alone on the assumption that each stage has its own specific function and needs to run its course before people are ready to move on. There is no hard or fast rule that can be established about which method is more effective. Each case must be handled on its own facts. It is important to remember, however, that in each stage discussed above there is a readiness to move forward. The speed with which adults reach each stage will affect the manner in which their children will develop a new orientation toward other groups.

F. The effect of the "group" on attitudes

1. The need to be part of a group

Everyone needs to belong to various groups; and these groups play an important role in influencing behavior and attitudes. The family, the church, the community, voluntary organizations - all of these exert powerful influences in shaping attitudes.

2. Taking a stand

There are always mixed reasons for people taking a stand. It may be the result of group pressure, it may be in order to gain approval; or it may be due to fear of authority, etc. One thing is clear. It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, for most individuals to take sides on an issue against the overwhelming majority of the local community, unless they have some direct personal support from at least one or two members of the community.

3. Public and private attitudes

Many times people express one attitude in public and other attitudes in private - with wide discrepancy between the public and private attitude. A person's public statements are influenced by his immediate interests and may change with each situation. He may want to get on the bandwagon because it is expedient. Usually a person will try to rationalize this public attitude making it appear altruistic.

4. Reenforcing convictions.

Once a person has made his decision - he usually tries to find arguments to reenforce it. Many times the more doubtful he is about his attitude the more he will suppress the doubt and become a vigorous supporter of the position he espouses.

5. The need for community planning in integration programs.

The points discussed above indicate the need for communities to develop clear-cut policies on integration and to plan carefully on all levels to effectuate a smooth transition from segregated to desegregated schools. The school boards, the church, the voluntary agencies, all must give public support to desegregation. This helps shape the attitudes of the individuals in the community. It helps assure them that they have support for their position - support reinforced by authority.

G. The role of authority in changing attitudes

1. The Southern white is faced with a dilemma; what government authority should he obey. Should he obey the Federal government, the state government, the school district, etc. There are different levels of authority which confuse him. He is more prone to obey that authority which is nearest - because it is more real and closer to him.

2. Many times implies enforcement of authority. This threat of coercion (imaginary or real) may lead to open defiance. It is natural for people to respond defiantly against authority.

3. There is no question that the white citizen in the South is faced with conflicting authority and pressures. That is why he is more susceptible to the influence of a leader. He needs somebody to help him decide on the position to take. His own feelings towards authority are mixed and confused. His final attitudes depend on the balance of these conflicts and which ones are stronger and more persuasive to him.

4. The place of the leader in this field, therefore, has become extremely important. There are all kinds of leaders coming to the fore in the integration struggle. Their motives are mixed; they range from the most socially altruistic to the crudest personal aggrandizement. Training leaders in recognition of the role they must play in the present desegregation crisis can help in establishing constructive action for integration.

5. Participation of citizens in government

When we consider the use of government authority in enforcing segregation we must take into account two features. One is

the fact that the Negro is disenfranchised in the South and political power is kept in the hands of the whites. The second fact to be considered is the philosophy of states' rights which is still significant in the South. States' rights are tied up with self-respect and independence in the South. The Southerner reacts badly against being "told to do something" by Northern outsiders. Many people feel that the citizens of the South would accept integration more effectively if they participated in the decisions which they were told to implement.

The Southern white must be made aware of the fact that the decision of the United States Supreme Court was made democratically; for the Supreme Court represents all the people of our country, North and South. He must be made aware of the fact that to permit him to continue to damage his fellow citizen (the Negro) is as unthinkable as to guarantee him the freedom to kill and to steal.

It is clear, however, that integration will be achieved most effectively where school boards, PTAs and local citizens' groups become involved in the whole process. They must be called upon to help make the decisions as to the methods of integration. They must be given a feeling that they have "a say in the matter."

V. The Responses of Various Groups to Desegregation

What are the psychological consequences of school desegregation for the various groups intimately involved?

A. The children

1. The adjustment for the Negro child is a difficult one. Some children feel a sense of rejection marked by increased hostility and fear. However, as soon as a favorable school climate is produced, the children's racial loyalties can be expected to give way to school and white identification.

2. In the initial steps of adjustment there will be many different individual reactions among the children - depending on each child's specific history. For example, a child who feels unloved and unjustly dealt with in its family will often identify strongly with children in the larger "school family" whom he imagines are also unloved and unjustly dealt with. New experiences, however, with important adult figures at school may do much toward putting a child on the pathway toward resolving old conflicts and developing a better integrated concept of himself.

3. Becoming a member of a new group often stirs up a whole sequence of behavior mechanisms. Some individuals react to the impact of their newness in a group by over expectation of acceptance, thus

making many mistakes in group behavior which they would not have made in their old groups. Others tend to develop near-paranoid interpretations of the behavior by the group expecting rejection even where none occurs, or by imagining that they are being mistreated when they are not. Some hide behind a cloak of shyness, and withdraw from participation in the group. A teacher must be aware of these different reactions in order to help the child.

4. Unfortunately, at present the achievement levels of white and Negro children of the same age vary widely in most communities. The quality of teaching and school equipment have been inferior for the Negro child. This has been coupled with a poorer educational level of the parents, as well as less developed intellectual and cultural interests. Consequently, children in Negro schools are at a disadvantage when compared with children of the same grade from white schools. I.Q. levels in the two groups may also be different. Proponents of segregation point to this as evidence of innate inequality, while integrationists attribute it to inferior opportunity. The consensus of expert opinion, as expressed by leading scientific organizations and the vast majority of recognized social science authorities, is that there is no scientific evidence of inborn difference in intelligence between Negroes and whites. There is general recognition that the school achievement of Negro children, especially from segregated schools, is lower on the average than white children, although some Negro children do better than the average white child.

5. A final source of difficulty which may be mentioned is the fact that in some desegregated schools groups of children may be thrown together who, because of socio-economic differences and incompatibilities of personality type, would not mix regardless of their ethnic origin. For instance, middle-class, conforming children, whether white or Negro, will have trouble integrating with predelinquent, aggressive children from an underprivileged group. Such troubles may be falsely explained as racial when they are primarily social and psychological.

B. <u>The educator</u>

This period will be a difficult period for teachers and educators. Certainly teachers are not immune from the conflicted attitudes which beset the rest of the population in regard to race relations and desegregation. It is particularly important to emphasize that well-intentioned efforts to overlook the problems for the sake of surface harmony are likely to prove harmful in the long run. Children are particularly sensitive to conflicts in basic attitudes between adults. In the home, such conflicts between parents are observed by a child and lead to disturbed behavior even when parents fondly believe they have concealed them

by "never quarreling in front of the children." So, too, in school, conflicting attitudes in a teacher, or opposing attitudes between teachers, even when kept from open expression, may cause loyalty struggles in the children which will interfere with learning. Wise leadership in the school must, therefore, provide opportunities for airing and resolving the inevitable differences which realistically can be expected to arise.

C. The parents

Although children are directly involved in school desegregation, their attitudes and behavior are largely affected by their parents.

White parents may fear that academic standards will be lowered by the admission of Negro children, or that the child or family will lose status in the community, or that their children will be exposed to lower moral standards and to communicable diseases. White parents may also have fears in regard to relatively direct contact with Negro parents, at parent-teacher meetings, etc.

Negro parents, having no less concern for the welfare and future of their children, are also affected by doubts and fears regarding desegregation. Will their children be able to compete satisfactorily in a desegregated school with higher standards? Will they receive fair and impartial treatment from the teachers? Will the white children hurt them physically or emotionally? What indignities should they, the parents, anticipate in attending a parent-teacher meeting?

Some of the apprehensions of parents are realistic, at least in part, but the evidence provided by studies of areas which have been desegregated indicates that some of these fears dissipate quickly when experience demonstrates either that they were ill-founded or that the new problems can be solved. For example, research studies of desegregated housing in previously segregated areas suggest that there is an initial feeling of loss of status on the part of white tenants which corrects itself rather quickly. After an initial sense of loss of status, the tenants' individual feelings adjusted themselves to the realities of everyday living (as had happened throughout their lives in other situations). The signs of a sense of loss of status disappeared.

White parents with fears of loss of status may also be reassured by reports from areas where school desegregation has taken place, which indicate that status problems may be lessened by making attendance at desegregated schools not a matter of personal decision, but requiring desegregation of all the schools of a given community. Partial desegregation apparently encourages resistance. When all schools are desegregated, no child has a special advantage or handicap.

The fact that many Negro children will be relatively backward academically is primarily a problem for the school teachers and administrators. All good integration programs provide special guidance, counselling for the minority child, enriched programs, smaller classes, etc. to help bridge the gap between the white and Negro child. Educators will need strong support from parents in meeting this problem. Gifted children of either race need not suffer academically from desegregation unless overcrowding, poor teaching, or other educational handicaps are present.

Similar considerations should lessen fears of white parents that their children may suffer a lowering of moral standards or catch communicable diseases from the Negro children. Neither delinquency nor communicable diseases are primarily related to race. Both are directly related to the complex social, psychological, and economic forces that form the ingredients of the pattern of inferior status of the Negro. As segregation and discrimination is lessened, you will find a similar decrease in delinquency, crime, diseases, etc. among Negro children.

FBR: Please note & return for filing to MF

VIA AIR MAIL

April 23, 1958

Mr. Will Maslow
American Jewish Congress
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Will:

Thank you for your two recent letters.

We appreciate very much your sending us the names of the liberal Dallasites whom Judge Justine Wise Polier met there recently. When a member of our staff is next in Dallas, we shall be in touch with them.

As to legal advice, our silence to date does not mean that the need has been met. However, the civil liberties question which is pressing us most heavily right now arises from the threat of police action against interracial meetings in Birmingham. What is needed there is not so much legal analysis as advice and possible representation by local legal counsel. We have been in communication with Rowland Watts of ACLU on this matter, but so far it has not been resolved.

As situations come to the fore that call for analysis of legislation, administrative actions, or court rulings, we will no doubt be calling on you. It's good to know that the resources of the American Jewish Congress are available for this purpose.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE · 15 EAST 84TH STREET · NEW YORK 28, N. Y. · TRAFALGAR 9-4500

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

WILL MASLOW, Director

Commission on Community Interrelations
Commission on International Affairs and on Israel
Commission on Law and Social Action

April 16, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

It occurred to some of us here that we might put you in touch with some well informed, liberal residents of Dallas who might help in the desegregation plans now being formulated. Their names and addresses follow:

Mr. & Mrs. Bernard Schaenen
4701 Miron Drive
Dallas, Texas

Mr. & Mrs. Sidney Lee
5012 Brookview
Dallas, Texas

Mr. Morris Jaffe
5332 Wateka
Dallas, Texas

If you do approach them would you be good enough to explain that you are doing so at request of Judge Justine Wise Polier who met them recently in Dallas.

Sincerely,

Will

Will Maslow

NATIONAL OFFICERS

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THELMA RICHMAN, Philadelphia

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DEPARTMENT OF
PUBLIC AFFAIRS

WILL MASLOW, Director

Commission on Community Interrelations
Commission on International Affairs and on Israel
Commission on Law and Social Action

April 17, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

You will recall that during the Southern Inter-Agency Conference in Atlanta last Winter, we agreed that CLSA would be delighted to offer legal advice and information about any legal or legislative problem dealing with civil rights originating in the South. We have received no request for information. Does that mean no problems have arisen or that for some reason or another the project has not worked out?

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Will

Will Maslow

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MEMORANDUM April 23, 1958

To: Fred B. Routh

From: Harold Fleming

Note the names of the Dallas people suggested by Will Maslow. Obviously Gus Falk is not the kind to be in touch with them, but I hope we can follow-up, through our own channels and others, those that would be suitable.

Please keep me posted on this, so I can let Maslow know when and if.

May 21, 1958

Mr. Will Maslow
American Jewish Congress
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Will:

This is belated but grateful acknowledgement of the copy of your May 6th memorandum on "Southern Bombings." We should like very much to have a dozen copies of it and a similar number of the memorandum on FBI jurisdiction which you mentioned as in preparation.

I read with great interest the newspaper accounts of the meeting in Miami.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

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DEPARTMENT OF
PUBLIC AFFAIRS

WILL MASLOW, Director

Commission on Community Interrelations
Commission on International Affairs and on Israel
Commission on Law and Social Action

May 8, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I enclose a copy of a directive we have just sent out on the Southern bombings. If you think it might be helpful to some of your Southern affiliates, I should be glad to send you extra copies.

We are now working on a memorandum to show that Rogers is wrong and that the FBI has jurisdiction to at least begin an investigation.

Sincerely,

Will

Will Maslow

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Memorandum from . . . . AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
15 East 84th Street, New York 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

May 6, 1958

TO: National Officers
Division and Chapter Presidents
Division and Chapter CLSA Chairmen
Field Staff

FROM: Shad Polier, National Chairman, Commission on Law & Social Action

RE: Southern Bombings

Six bombings or attempted bombings of Jewish synagogues and community centers in Florida, Tennessee, Alabama and North Carolina have taken place in the last six months. The consensus of expert opinion is that only intervention by the Federal government and particularly by the FBI can prevent other dynamite assaults or lead to the arrests of those responsible for these criminal outrages. Attached is a memorandum by Will Maslow analyzing the absolute refusal of the U.S. Attorney General to allow the FBI to intervene. Attached also is a copy of a telegram by Dr. Israel Goldstein to Attorney General Rogers urging such intervention.

The position of the Attorney General has been challenged by the United States Senators from Alabama, Florida and Tennessee. It can be reversed if public opinion is sufficiently aroused. It is imperative therefore that

1. Telegrams be sent to your Senators and Representatives urging them to communicate with the Attorney General requesting an FBI investigation of the Southern bombings.

2. Telegrams be sent to your Representatives urging them to support H.R. 11806 (described in the attached reprint of a letter to the New York Times), a bill introduced by Rep. J. Carlton Loser of Nashville. The Loser bill would eliminate doubts as to the FBI's jurisdiction to investigate these bombings. Hearings on the Loser bill will be held shortly by a House Judiciary Subcommittee.

3. Write to your local newspaper urging such an FBI investigation and to your local radio stations urging public discussion of this issue.

4. Try to obtain similar statements and support for an FBI investigation from non-Jewish organizations, religious bodies, and labor, veteran and service associations. Attached is a copy of a telegram from Dr. Edwin T. Dahlberg, president of the National Council of Churches of Christ In The U.S.A., to the Attorney General urging an FBI investigation.

We would appreciate receiving copies of any reply you may receive from your Senators or Representatives.

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T E L E G R A M

May 2, 1958

Hon. William P. Rogers
Attorney General
Washington 25, D.C.

Six bombings and attempted bombings of Jewish places of worship in Alabama, Florida, North Carolina and Tennessee have occurred in the last six months. No arrests have yet been made. There is evidence suggesting the possibility, if not the likelihood, that these incidents are interconnected and that they are all the work of a single group operating in a number of states and calling itself "The Confederate Underground." It appears also that the incidents are connected with equally outrageous assaults upon the Negro community of the South and a particularly crude effort to intimidate a Federal judge.

The American Jewish Congress has learned from the office of Mayor Hayden Burns of Jacksonville, Fla., that you have rejected a request, transmitted to you by both Florida senators, that you send a representative of the Department of Justice to attend a conference tomorrow to consider means of dealing with this outbreak of violence. The Mayors and police officials of more than 30 cities in the Southeast, including all those in which dynamitings or attempted dynamitings have recently occurred, have agreed to attend this conference. The Department of Justice was urged to appear in order to give these city officials the benefit of its extensive experience in crime detection and otherwise to perform its constitutional duty to assist the states, when requested to do so, in the preservation of law and order. Your rejection of this request is totally incomprehensible.

The American Jewish Congress urges you to reverse your present hands-off policy on racist violence. That policy has no justification, constitutional, statutory or political. We call upon you to direct the Department of Justice to investigate the recent outrages to determine whether Federal laws have been violated and to bring to justice any person who has engaged in such a violation. There is no justification for the Department's present policy of inaction. There

is ample reason to believe that Federal law may have been violated. That should be enough for initiation of an investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Surely, there is no reason why, in this matter alone, the FBI should follow the stultifying course of not intervening until proof of Federal crime is established.

The threat to "shoot down...in cold blood" the Federal judge who ordered desegregation of the first grades in Nashville public schools is itself sufficient to require Federal action against the so-called "Confederate Underground" wherever it appears. The attacks upon Jewish centers and synagogues and Negro schools are apparently part of a broad conspiracy, operating in a number of states, to prevent citizens from asserting their rights under the Federal Constitution and from complying with a Supreme Court decision. They are an effort to block by intimidation any resort to Federal courts for the vindication of Federal rights.

The Department of Justice has ample basis here for investigating to discover whether Federal law has been violated. It has frequently in the past taken such action without first requiring conclusive evidence that a Federal crime has occurred. Thus, it has moved in quickly in kidnapping cases without any evidence that there has been the kind of movement across state lines that would justify invoking the Lindbergh Anti-Kidnapping Law. In other examples of racist violence, notably in the 1947 lynching of Willie Earle and the bombings in Miami in 1951, the FBI sent in its investigators without awaiting proof of Federal involvement. At the very least, the FBI should follow the precedent it set in 1921 when it started an investigation of the Ku Klux Klan which it continued for more than a year even though no Federal law violations were found.

Perhaps it is not possible to say at this stage that Federal laws have been violated by the outrages described above. Neither is it possible to say with any assurance that they have not. It is the responsibility of the Federal government to find out. That obligation is particularly clear when widespread physical damage has occurred, with grave jeopardy to life and limb, in an avowed effort to frustrate implementation of a United States Supreme Court decision enforcing a basic constitutional right. The people of the United States will not be able to reconcile inaction by the Department of Justice in this grave matter with its reputation for prompt, effective and impartial apprehension of criminals.

Israel Goldstein, President

C
O
P
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April 29, 1958

TELEGRAM

TO: Attorney General William P. Rogers
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

The National Council of Churches has noted reports of the bombings of a Negro school and a Jewish center at Jacksonville and the attempted bombing of Temple Beth-El at Birmingham, Ala. When the recent bombings at Miami, Florida and Nashville, Tenn. are also considered, these events suggest that there may be concerted action involving people in several states to commit violence against religious institutions. We feel that this situation warrants a thorough investigation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

The General Board of the National Council of Churches has repeatedly spoken out against the use of violence to intimidate people and thereby to deny them the use of their basic rights. Among the threatened rights are the freedom of speech, the free exercise of religion, the right of people to peaceably assemble and the equal protection of the law.

We now believe that those responsible for these acts of violence, who are unapprehended, are increasingly extending their vicious activities to include religious institutions in many states. Thus we urge strong action by the Attorney General's office and the Federal Bureau of Investigation to apprehend the perpetrators of these outrageous crimes.

Edwin T. Dahlberg
President, National
Council of Churches

THE BOMBINGS IN THE SOUTH

In the last six months, there have been six bombings or attempted bombings of Jewish synagogues and community centers. The list follows:

1. Charlotte, N.C.	Nov. 11,1957	Temple Beth El	6 sticks of dynamite found with defective fuse
2. Gastonia, N.C.	Feb. 9,1958	Temple Emanuel	30 sticks of dynamite with attached half-burned fuse found outside of temple
3. Nashville,Tenn.	March 16,1958	Jewish Community Center	$ 30,000 damage done by dynamite
4. Miami, Fla.	March 16,1958	Temple Beth El	$6,000 damage by dynamite
5. Jacksonville,Fla.	April 28, 1958	Jewish Community Center	$2,000 damage caused by nitroglycerine
6. Birmingham,Ala.	April 28,1958	Temple Beth El	54 sticks of dynamite found with fuse wet by rain

The Howard School for Negroes in Chattanooga, Tenn., was damaged by an explosion (Jan. 19, 1958), and bombs blasted the James Weldon Johnson Junior High School (for Negroes) in Jacksonville a few minutes after the Jewish Center explosion on April 28, 1958.

During this period, the new Hattie Cotton Elementary School (for Negroes) in Nashville was virtually destroyed by dynamite (Sept. 10, 1957).

This series of explosions is not unprecedented in the South. From June to December, 1951, Miami suffered no less than thirteen different dynamitings, the explosives having been placed in front of Jewish community centers and synagogues, a Roman Catholic Church, the local high school, the county court house and a Negro housing project. Two lives were lost in the last blast.

The bombings were obviously not the work of a single individual. The explosive used in the Jacksonville bombings was nitroglycerine which explodes on impact but the two bombings that night occurred almost simultaneously although they were a few miles apart.

No one was ever arrested for any of these crimes, although some local Ku Klux Klan leaders caught redhanded in Charlotte, N.C., carrying dynamite with fuses attached were given heavy jail sentences in March, 1958.

Generally, the dynamiters apparently sought merely to intimidate the community. The bombs were timed to explode when the blasted buildings were unoccupied. Most often, but not always, either the explosives were placed where they would not destroy a building or the quantities used were not sufficient.

Immediately after the Jewish community center explosion in Nashville and Jacksonville, local newspapers received telephone calls from unknown persons who each time identified themselves as "The Confederate Underground" and announced that they had just blown up a "center of integration." The Jacksonville message also warned: "Jews must be driven out of Florida except at Miami Beach. Any Negro who votes in Florida will be killed.....The bombings will continue until segregation is restored everywhere in the South." In Nashville, the dynamiters warned that they would "shoot down in cold blood" Federal Judge William E. Miller who some months before had ordered the local school board to begin desegregating the public schools of Nashville.

The choice of some of the targets for the blasts demonstrates that they were selected merely because they served the Jewish or Negro community. In Jacksonville, Gastonia and Charlotte desegregation is not a local issue and no group in the town is seeking to make it one. In Miami, Temple Beth El, an orthodox synagogue has no social action program and neither its rabbi nor its officers have made any statement on desegregation or indeed on any controversial issue.

The public reaction to the bombings was one of outrage and mortification. In Miami and Nashville large rewards were offered by state and municipal officers and many private individuals spontaneously offered cash contributions to pay for the damaged buildings.

Local police reacted quickly in the cities involved. Guards were placed around other Jewish and Negro property and the police chiefs in the various cities began to exchange information and to plan concerted action.

Requests for intervention by the Federal Bureau of Investigation were made at once, not only by Jewish groups but by government officials. Mayor Hayden Burns of Jacksonville appealed for help from the FBI, a plea that was supported by the six United States Senators from Florida, Tennessee and Alabama. However, U.S. Attorney General William P. Rogers, Jr., insisting that the FBI could only investigate "Federal" crimes, refused to allow the FBI to enter the investigation. Challenging this position in a telegram sent on May 2 to the Attorney General, Dr. Israel Goldstein, president of the American Jewish Congress, inquired how the FBI could be sure that no Federal laws had been violated until an investigation had been made. It also was pointed out that the FBI had not been so fussy in prior years, investigating a bombing assault in Florida solely because a U.S. mail box had been damaged by the blast.

But the Attorney General clung obstinately to his hands-off policy, even rejecting an invitation to assign an officer of the Department of Justice to attend a conference held in Jacksonville on May 3 of the mayors and police chiefs of 28 Southern cities called to coordinate their investigation. Six Southern Senators had appealed to the Department of Justice to accept the invitation. (The American Jewish Congress disclosed this invitation and its rejection in a press release issued on May 2, 1958.)

FBI intervention is imperative at this juncture because a regional investigation of bombings in at least four states cannot be conducted except by a Federal agency. Despite their obvious goodwill and good faith, local police forces in the South obviously lack the resources and experience of the FBI, an agency with a budget of more than $70,000,000 and with 7,000 field agents.

But apart from efficient police investigation, the Southern state governments have a greater responsibility: to reverse their present policy of organizing massive resistance to the nation's desegregation policy affirmed by the Supreme Court in its decision of May 17, 1954. It is this encouragement of lawless resistance to court orders that is ultimately responsible for the assassins who hurl nitroglycerine or plant dynamite. The Nashville Association of Churches put it well in a statement issued after the bombing of the Nashville Jewish Community Center:

> "Although violence may be the work of a few, we believe that many sincere citizens have unwittingly contributed to the attitude which leads to such violence by their refusal to express themselves firmly in favor of law, order and justice. We therefore call upon all religious people in Nashville to work toward the elimination of loose, irresponsible thinking and toward the firm establishment of divine discipline in the community."

The Jewish community in the South, a tiny minority of 265,000 in a population of 40,000,000, has perhaps by this time learned that the strategy of silence, of being neutral while the fight for desegregation rages, simply does not buy protection from bombs. Jewish institutions are dynamited because the twisted KKK mentality responsible for these criminal outrages hates the Jew, the Negro and the Catholic regardless of what he says or does. Jewish communal leaders and rabbis must realize that they have a stake in desegregation and in obtaining prompt compliance to the Supreme Court's mandates. They must seek every constructive opportunity to join with others in defending these mandates. In discouraging lawless resistance to these mandates, they will be upholding law and order and protecting their own security.

Will Maslow

May 5, 1958.

Letters to The Times

To Act on Bombings

F. B. I. Intervention Advocated in Southern Attacks

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The bombing of the Jacksonville, Fla., Jewish community center on April 28 and the unsuccessful effort that same day to dynamite a Jewish temple in Birmingham, Ala., represent the fifth and sixth of such outrages in the last six months.

On Nov. 11, 1957, six sticks of dynamite sputtered out in front of Temple Beth-El in Charlotte, N. C. On Feb. 9 thirty sticks of dynamite with an attached half-burned fuse were found in front of Temple Emanuel in Gastonia, N. C. On March 16 $30,000 damage was done by dynamite placed outside the school annex of Temple Beth-El in Miami, Fla. That same day the Jewish community center in Nashville, Tenn., was bombed.

Nor were Jewish institutions the only target. In September, 1957, the Hattie Cotton public school in Nashville was bombed, suffering extensive damage, and on April 28 a public school attended exclusively by Negroes was bombed in Jacksonville.

No one has ever been arrested for any of these crimes, although some local Ku Klux Klan leaders in Charlotte, caught redhanded carrying dynamite with fuses and detonator caps attached, were convicted and given heavy jail sentences in March.

Tracking Perpetrators

There is some indication that those responsible for the Nashville Jewish community center bombing hurled the nitroglycerin at the Jacksonville center. Each time local newspapers were telephoned immediately after the explosions. The unknown caller identified himself as "the Confederate Underground" and announced that "we" had just blown up a "center of integration." Although state and local police in these various Southern cities have apparently done all within their power to track down the bombers, there is no indication that they will be successful.

From June to December, 1951, Miami suffered no less than thirteen different dynamitings, the explosives having been placed in front of Jewish community centers and synagogues, a Roman Catholic church, the Miami High School and the Dade County Court House. No one was ever arrested for the attacks.

What is desperately needed at this juncture is the intervention of the F. B. I. It is true that their jurisdiction is limited to the investigation of Federal crimes. But there was a threat in Nashville to assassinate a Federal judge, obviously a Federal crime, and the possibility that the Nashville bombers are also responsible for the attack in Florida should be ground enough to justify an inquiry in every state in which dynamite has been used to set up a curtain of intimidation around the segregation issue.

Federal Crime

The United States Congress in the meantime should quickly enact H. R. 11806, a bill introduced by Representative J. Carlton Loser of Tennessee. The Loser bill would make it a Federal crime to ship explosives in interstate commerce to be used in violation of Federal or state law. The bill also creates a rebuttable presumption that any explosive illegally possessed or used was transported in interstate commerce.

Such a bill would remove any possible doubt about the F. B. I.'s authority to investigate such bombings. Its passage would demonstrate the Federal Government's conviction that it has the responsibility to prevent or punish such bombings.

WILL MASLOW,
General Counsel, American Jewish Congress.

New York, April 29, 1958.

American Jewish Congress

STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE • 15 EAST 84th STREET • NEW YORK 28, N. Y.

June 13, 1958

Mr. Will Maslow
Director of Public Affairs
American Jewish Congress
15 East 80th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Will:

Many thanks for the copies of your two statements. These will be very helpful to us in clarifying these issues in our own staff and in our State Councils on Human Relations.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Rcd 6/23/58

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DEPARTMENT OF
PUBLIC AFFAIRS

WILL MASLOW, Director

Commission on Community Interrelations
Commission on International Affairs and on Israel
Commission on Law and Social Action

June 20, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

The Minutes that I have just received for the May 27-28 meeting of the Southern Inter-Agency Conference do not contain a page two. Would you be good enough to send me another copy?

Sincerely,

Will

Will Maslow

Rec'd 6/23/58 M.F.

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July 7, 1958

Mr. Will Maslow
American Jewish Congress
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Will:

I am sorry that problems of timing caused me to default on your request for names in Norfolk. Your letter arrived last Monday, and by the time I returned to the office and saw it you would have already left for Norfolk, if I understood your plans correctly.

I would have suggested that you see Mr. William S. Meachum, of the Norfolk Virginian Pilot, some of the leaders of the Women's Interracial Council, such as Mrs. Louis Jaffe and Mrs. Arnold Strauss, and also one of the members of the Young family which runs the Negro newspaper, The Journal and Guide. But all this is academic, since I suppose you have already been and returned.

Try us again next time and I will try to deliver more promptly.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

WILL MASLOW, Director

Commission on Community Interrelations
Commission on International Affairs and on Israel
Commission on Law and Social Action

June 27, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern National Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am planning to go to Norfolk, Virginia next week to discuss the problem of school desegregation with the local Jewish community. If you know the names and addresses of any groups or individuals working in that city on the side of the angels, I would be grateful if you can send them to me.

Sincerely yours,

Will

Will Maslow

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October 20, 1958

Mr. Will Maslow
American Jewish Congress
15 East Eighty-fourth Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Will:

At Haskell Lazere's suggestion, I am sending you the enclosed draft copy of a report on violence, intimidation, and reprisals co-sponsored by several of the organizations active in the interagency group. Haskell writes me that he has communicated to you the substance of our discussions at the last meeting, therefore, I will only say that we are in the process of working out the mechanics of publication and release. Once it is out, we hope that the other organizations will be willing to buy a quantity of copies at cost.

Since this is literally our last copy, I am not able to send Haskell one. Perhaps you could forward this one on to him after you and your colleagues have had a chance to look at it.

With best personal regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1

cc: Haskell L. Lazere

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SOUTHEAST REGIONAL OFFICE: Room ~~206~~ 714, Congress Bldg. • 111 N. E. 2nd Ave. • Miami 32, Fla. • FRanklin 9-6195

HASKELL L. LAZERE
Director

October 15, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I neglected to obtain a couple of copies of the fact-finding report which we discussed at the meeting last week. I would suggest that you send one to Will Maslow immediately and also send me one if you have an extra one available. I've already written to Maslow concerning the meeting and the fact-finding publication.

It may interest you to know that we are having a meeting here Monday to discuss the role of the Dade County Council in re the latest bombing. I will take the opportunity at that time to implement some of the suggestions we discussed at our meeting in Atlanta.

I see by the morning paper that arrests have been made, and I hope that the police can prove the guilt of those picked up.

Cordially,

Haskell

Haskell L. Lazere,
Director

HLL:fk
cc: Will Maslow

VIA AIR MAIL

November 5, 1958

Mr. Will Maslow
American Jewish Congress
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 64th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Will:

Thanks for your letter of October 29 on the fact-finding study, and the interesting chart you have prepared. I also have the copy of your letter to Clyde Sellers concerning the Montgomery bombings.

To comment first on the latter, the enclosed clip from the New York Times tells of the acquittal of the two men charged in the Montgomery bombings. This left standing a second charge of dynamiting against Britt, but on November 26, 1957, the state dropped this and charges against two other men accused of bombing a taxi stand and the Rev. Ralph Abernathy's home. At the same time, officials dropped the boycott indictments against 89 Negroes and appealed for restoration of racial harmony.

As for the alleged confessions of Britt and Livingston (to which Pearson evidently referred), the defense accused city police of using "coercion, intimidation and brutality" and maintained that the defendants did not make the statements voluntarily. The confessions were not introduced as signed documents, but through a police officer's testimony.

Regarding the other questions you raise, numbered correspondingly:

(1) The other two Negro churches damaged by bombs (listed under Alabama 5) were the Bell Street Baptist Church and the Mount Olive Church.

(3) The A.P., I.N.S., Atlanta Daily World, Christian Science Monitor, and New York Times all agree on the January 10, 1957 date for the Montgomery bombings and on other essential details. We don't have the Birmingham World story, so can't comment on the discrepancies to which you refer; but I should think it's the Birmingham World that is in error.

(4) The Beaumont, Texas, bombings were taken from the March, 1957, Southern School News, which would indicate they had occurred a month or so earlier, but it seems unlikely they would date back to November. Regarding the bombing of the place of business of a state senator, you will have noted that our item reports the bombing of a truck owned by State Senator Kilpatrick. This, also, is from SSN. The only other clipping available here, is one of January 30, 1957, from the Atlanta Daily World, which tells of the three bombings, apparently the previous day, in Beaumont. It refers to the bombing of the Kilpatrick flash storage company, along with the other two listed by SSN. However, we used the SSN story, both because the report was based on news in the general press entirely, and since it was assumed that the later SSN item was more likely to be correct because of the additional time for checking--hence, the senator's car rather than the business firm. It seems likely that the November 4 date in the transcript was incorrect.

(5) Edward Cline, 44, the man given two to 10 year prison sentence in the Clinton High bomb conspiracy. According to an INS story in the Atlanta Daily World of February 14, 1958, his attorney said he would appeal but we do not find any follow-up clippings.

(6) No conviction of the five KKK members charged in the Gaffney bombing of the Sanders home. Two were acquitted of charges of assault with intent to kill, two were no-billed earlier by the Cherokee County grand jury, and the fifth was killed accidentally when his car fell off a jack and crushed him.

I wish I could give you a publication date for the study. The latest publication plan (by the National Council of Churches) has just collapsed, and I must now re-poll the steering committee on how we are to proceed. As soon as I know definitely, I will write you again.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (N.Y. Times clip " 2 In Montgomery Freed in Bombing")

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DEPARTMENT OF
PUBLIC AFFAIRS

WILL MASLOW, Director

Commission on Community Interrelations
Commission on International Affairs and on Israel
Commission on Law and Social Action

October 29, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E. - Rm. 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have prepared the enclosed chart based upon your "Report on Violence, Intimations and Reprisals" as well as on material from the ADL and our own files.

You will notice several corrections of your dates and incidents which you might want to call to the attention of your editor of this material. There are also some disturbing gaps in your material which ought to be closed, for example, what happened to the five KKK members charged in December, 1957 with responsibility for the Sanders bombing in Gaffney, South Carolina.

Can you estimate when your document will be ready for release? It is important that we have it available when the hearings on the anti-dynamite bills begin in Congress next January.

Sincerely,

Will

Will Maslow

P.S. Perhaps it would be useful if I list all of my questions:

1) Can you name the two unidentified Negro churches listed under Alabama 5.
2) Drew Pearson reported on October 27 that the police in Montgomery arrested those guilty of the bombings and obtained written confessions from them. Do you know anything about this?
3) The Birmingham World of December 8, 1957 has a round-up story about the bombings, giving different details and different dates from your report.

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The clipping is reprinted on Page 16 of the hearings held on June 18,1958 before Subcommittee No.3 of the House Judiciary Committee.

4) You date the Beaumont, Texas bombings as March. The clippings in the transcript of the hearings referred to them as taking place on November 4 and include the very important bombings of a place of business of a Texan State Senator.

5) Note the item under Tennessee 12. Do you have any more information about this conviction?

DRAFT DRAFT

BOMBINGS AND ATTEMPTED BOMBINGS IN THE ELEVEN SOUTHERN STATES FROM JANUARY 1, 1955 TO DATE

ALABAMA

1.	Montgomery, Ala.	Jan. 31, 1956	Home of Rev. Martin Luther King., Jr. Negro leader	Bomb blew out windows and damaged front porch. King had organized bus boycott in Dec. 1955.
2.	Birmingham, Ala.	Apr. 10, 1956	Homes of Negroes on 12th Place North	Fountain Heights sections nicknamed "Dynamite Hill" - association of whites sought to prevent sales to Negroes.
3.	Montgomery, Ala.	Aug. 25, 1956	Home of Rev. Robert Graetz	Graetz is the white pastor of an all-Negro Lutheran Church and a member of the boycott association in Montgomery.
4.	Birmingham, Ala.	Dec. 31, 1956	Home of Otis Flowers, Negro, in Woodlawn	
5-10. ~~5.~~	Montgomery, Ala.	Jan. 10, 1957	Four Negro churches and home of Negro minister of one church and home of white minister of another church	Outbreak of violence began shortly after bus segregation was ended by Federal court order in December, 1956. Churches identified were First Baptist Church and Hutchinson Street Baptist Church. Ministers were Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy and Rev. Robert Graetz. Second explosion in Graetz's home.
11. ~~6.~~	Montgomery, Ala.	Jan. 27, 1957	Unsuccessful attempt on home of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.	Twelve sticks of dynamite were tossed on the porch but failed to explode. Second attempt on King home.
12. ~~7.~~	Montgomery, Ala.	Jan. 27, 1957	Negro home and a filling station	Bomb tossed between both buildings. Three Negroes suffered cuts and scratches.

8. Mobile, Ala.	Feb. 18, 1957	Home of Walter Johnson, Negro	Little damage, small bomb thrown by white boy on bicycle. Johnson lived in mixed neighborhood. Reported by press as fifth of a series of recent bombing attempts in Mobile.
9. Birmingham, Ala.	Apr. 10, 1957	Negro homes on 12th Place, North	
10. Birmingham, Ala.	Apr. 1957	Negro home on 11th Court North	Six persons in home at time uninjured.
11. Bessemer, Ala.	Apr. 28, 1957	Allen Temple A.M.E. Church (Negro)	Explosion occurred during service. 200 persons present, no one injured. Bomb went off in alley behind the church. Minister not active in integration fight.
12. Birmingham, Ala.	Apr. 28, 1957	Home of Asbury Howard, Negro civic leader and vice-president of an international union.	Howard not active in any integration drive
13. Birmingham, Ala.	Oct. 19, 1957	Negro home on 12th Place, North	Heavy property damage
14. Bessemer, Ala.	Nov. 1, 1957	Home of David Hood, Jr., Negro lawyer	Damage $1,000. Hood had sued to open public parks to Negroes. Only two nights earlier, he had dismissed three guards who had protected his home for three weeks. The house had been circled with floodlights. Hood was convicted of carrying a pistol without a permit. He had not been able to obtain a renewal of a permit which had expired.
15. Birmingham, Ala.	Dec. 7, 1957	Home of Robert Greer, Negro, 13th Street North	Two separate blasts in two different rooms. Reported by A.P. as fourth bombing in Fountain Heights in few months.

16. Birmingham, Ala.	Dec. 25, 1957	Home of Rev. Dr. F. L. Shuttlesworth, Negro minister	Explosion on Christmas night. Shuttlesworth had led a one-day campaign in defiance of city bus segregation laws. Home heavily damaged.
17. Birmingham, Ala.	Dec. 31, 1957	Home of Otis Flowers, Negro, in East Birmingham	Blast blew out a wall; 12-year-old boy suffered a cut hand. Home in white neighborhood. Prior warning by fiery cross.
18. Birmingham, Ala.	Apr. 29, 1958	Unsuccessful attempt on Temple Beth El	Fifty-four sticks of dynamite left in a satchel at the temple failed to explode. Fuse wet by rain.
19. Birmingham, Ala.	June 29, 1958	Attempt on Negro Baptist Church	Smoking package of dynamite in front of church thrown into street where it exploded. F. L. Shuttlesworth, Negro integration leader, pastor of church.

ARKANSAS

1.	Little Rock, Ark.	Dec. 31, 1957	Unsuccessful effort to bomb home of Mrs. L. C. Bates	Crude bomb in a bottle exploded in driveway causing no damage to home of NAACP leader.

FLORIDA

1. Miami, Fla.	Mar. 16, 1958	School annex of Temple Beth El	$6,000 damage. First terror explosion in Miami since 1951.
2. Jacksonville, Fla.	Apr. 28, 1958	Jewish Center	$2,000 damage. Telephone threat received immediately after explosion from "Confederate Underground."
3. Jacksonville, Fla.	Apr. 28, 1958	James Weldon Johnson Junior High School (for Negroes)	$20,000 damage. School four miles away from Jewish Center. Both explosions within half hour.

GEORGIA

1. Atlanta, Ga.	Mar. 25, 1956	Negro home	Home, in mixed neighborhood, destroyed.
2. Atlanta, Ga.	Apr. 17, 1956	Home of Mrs. Gertrude Anderson, Negro woman, on Old Know Street.	West Side Improving Association sought unsuccessfully to buy Anderson home
3. Atlanta, Ga.	July 22, 1956	Negro home	Heavy damage to home in predominantly white neighborhood.
4. Americus, Ga.	July 23, 1956	Roadside market at Koinonia Farm	$3,000 damage. Farm is an interracial religious cooperative. Its leader had aided Negroes seeking admission to white school.
5. Americus, Ga.	Jan. 14, 1957	Roadside market, Koinonia Farm	Second blast, $7,000 damage, market destroyed.
6. Ringgold, Ga.	Nov. 29, 1957	Unsuccessful attempt on tenant farm home of Phillip Huggins, Negro	Huggins had been warned two months earlier by group of robed men to leave country. Seven sticks of dynamite found with burned out fuse under front porch.
7. Atlanta, Ga.	Mar. 17, 1958	Unoccupied home sold to Negro	Hood was in predominantly white neighborhood.
8. Columbus, Ga.	July 2, 1958	Negro home	Home, in mixed neighborhood, partly destroyed.
9. Atlanta, Ga.	Oct. 12, 1958	Temple of Hebrew Benevolent Congregation	$200,000 damage caused by estimated 30-40 sticks of dynamite.

NORTH CAROLINA

1.	Greensboro, N.C.	Oct. 2, 1957	Home of Elijah Herring, Negro	Herring's children had attended an all-white school.
2.	Charlotte, N.C.	Nov. 5, 1957	Three blasts in Negro neighborhood	Vacant house partly destroyed.
3.	Charlotte, N.C.	Nov. 11, 1957	Unsuccessful effort to bomb Temple Beth El	Six sticks of dynamite with partly burned 14-foot fuse found outside the Temple.
4.	Charlotte, N.C.	Jan. 1, 1958	Marquee of drive-in theatre.	Theatre admits both white and Negro patrons.
5.	Gastonia, N.C.	Feb. 9, 1958	Unsuccessful effort to bomb Temple Emanuel	Thirty sticks of dynamite found outside of Temple. Fuse had burned to within 1½ inches of dynamite.
6.	Charlotte, N.C.	Mar. 21, 1958	Negro school	Three members of a KKK group were convicted of plotting to plant a home-made bomb in a Negro school on February 15. Discovered by police undercover agent. Three men began serving prison sentences.
7.	Durham, N.C.	July 7, 1958	Home of Rev. Warren Carr, white	Minister headed Durham Human Relations Committee.

SOUTH CAROLINA

1. Gaffney, S. C.	Nov. 16, 1957	Attempt on home of Dr. James H. Sanders, a white physician	Mrs. Sanders had contributed to a publication entitled "South Carolinians Speak - a Moderate Approach to Race Relations."
2. Gaffney, S.C.	Nov. 19, 1957	Second unsuccessful attempt on Sanders home	
3. Gaffney, S. C.	Nov. 20, 1957	Home of Dr. Sanders	Third bomb in four days. Five KKK members charged in Dec. 1957 with the bombing.
4. Cowpens, S. C.	Dec. 19, 1957	Home of Lewis Ford, Negro tenant farmer	White owner could give no reason for bombs. City Council and local newspaper offered reward.

TENNESSEE

1. Clinton, Tenn.	Sept. 1956	Five dynamite blasts in Negro section	Federal Court had ordered admission of 12 Negroes to Clinton High School in August, 1956.
2. Knoxville, Tenn.	Feb. 19, 1957	Bombing of municipal auditorium	Single stick of dynamite tossed from passing car while Louis Armstrong's band was playing for a segregated audience. Bomb exploded 200 feet from building.
3. Clinton, Tenn.	Mar. 1957	Blast in Negro neighborhood	Suitcase loaded with dynamite exploded, injuring a woman, a baby and damaging a restaurant. White residents launched drive to restore Negro property damaged.
4. Chattanooga, Tenn.	May 25, 1957	Home of R. H. Craig, Negro lawyer	Craig had urged more jobs for Negroes in County government. Earlier crosses were burned on property and guns shot into his home.
5. Jersey, Tenn.	Aug. 13, 1957	Home of Negro couple	Newspapers also reported that a dynamite attempt on a Negro restaurant occurred a few days earlier.
6. Nashville, Tenn.	Sept. 10, 1957	Destruction of one wing of Hattie Cotton public school in East Nashville.	A Negro child had been admitted as first step in integration plan.
7. Chattanooga, Tenn.	Oct. 27, 1957	Explosion in field near Negro residential area	Sixty-five houses being built in new subdivision designed exclusively for Negroes.
8. Chattanooga, Tenn.	Oct. 28, 1957	Home of Negro couple in Negro section.	
9. Chattanooga, Tenn.	Nov. 5, 1957	Second home in Negro section	Third bombing in less than 2 weeks.

TENNESSEE (continued)

10. Chattanooga, Tenn.	Jan. 19, 1958	Howard School (for Negroes)	Bomb home-made. Damage $1,000.
11. Chattanooga, Tenn.	Jan. 27, 1958	Phyllis Wheatley Branch of YWCA (for Negroes)	
12. Clinton, Tenn.	Feb. 13, 1958	One man convicted of conspiring to dynamite integrated Clinton High School	Two sacks of dynamite found across a river from the school last fall. Two men told the sheriff they had been offered $500 to blast the school, according to press accounts.
13. Nashville, Tenn.	Mar. 16, 1958	Jewish Community Center	$6,000 damage. Telephone call from "Confederate underground." Threat also against Federal Judge who had issued integration order.
14. Clinton, Tenn.	Oct. 5, 1958	Clinton High School (integrated)	Three dynamite blasts. $300,000 damage.

TEXAS

1. Beaumont, Texas	Jan. 7, 1957	Attempt on home of Dr. Ed Sprott, Negro physician	Physician was former NAACP official.
2. Beaumont, Texas	Jan. 9, 1957	Home of Grover Lee Myles, Negro	Home in integrated neighborhood.
3. Beaumont, Texas	Nov. 4, 1957	Storage company of State Senator Rufus Kilpatrick	Kilpatrick had aided in delaying anti-integration bill.
4. Beaumont, Texas	Nov. 4, 1957	Home of white retired car dealer, C. R. Smith	He believed it was caused by his "middle of road" stand on integration.
5. Beaumont, Texas	Nov. 4, 1957	Entrance of St. Michael's Greek Orthodox Church	The pastor of St. Michael said he had taken no stand on integration but had received a telephone warning "we wanted to get the foreigners." All three blasts occurred in the evening.

October 30, 1958

Hon. Clyde Sellers
Commissioner of Public Safety
Montgomery, Ala.

My dear Commissioner:

Drew Pearson, in his column of October 27, from Atlanta, commends you highly for your "forthright and efficient" work in apprehending those guilty of the bombings of churches in your city and obtaining written confession from them.

There has been no report of these arrests or confessions in the New York papers, or at any rate I have not seen them. I would appreciate it therefore if you could give me whatever information is a matter of public orcord, or if it is more convenient for you, to send me clippings of the convictions and confessions.

We will be grateful for your cooperation in this matter.

Very truly yours,

Will Maslow

bcc - Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Exec. Dir.
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. - Rm. 432
Atlanta, Georgia

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE · 15 EAST 84TH STREET · NEW YORK 28, N. Y. · TRAFALGAR 9-4500

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

WILL MASLOW, Director

Commission on Community Interrelations
Commission on International Affairs and on Israel
Commission on Law and Social Action

October 27, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. - Rm. 432
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I have just gone through the round up of intimidation, reprisals and violence since January, 1955 which was prepared by the Southern interagency group. The material will be exceedingly useful for many purposes especially in the fight for legislation next January. I hope it can be produced as cheaply as possible so that the material can be widely distributed. You should also seek to have it placed into the Congressional Record by some friendly Senator, thus making it available to a national audience.

My only comment about the format is that you should perhaps summarize the count under each item in the introductory chapter. For example, I counted some 34 bombings reported. This figure should be in a summary.

Poor Haskell will have to wait until the document is printed because we need it daily up here.

Sincerely,

Will

Will Maslow

mtr
cc: H.L. Lazere

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November 18, 1958

Mr. Will Maslow
American Jewish Congress
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Will:

Thanks for the revised version of your useful chart on bombings and attempted bombings.

In answer to your further question (Alabama 25), our files indicate only that the three men were arrested and charged. As far as we know, further action on the case is still to come.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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DEPARTMENT OF
PUBLIC AFFAIRS

WILL MASLOW, Director

Commission on Community Interrelations
Commission on International Affairs and on Israel
Commission on Law and Social Action

November 11, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I deeply appreciate the time and trouble you took to answer my all too numerous requests. Here is a revised, but still not final copy of the chart.

I now have one other question. Do you know what happened to the three men arrested for the Blackwell bombings, see Alabama 25.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Will

Will Maslow

WM:rf
Enc.

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November 26, 1958

Mr. Will Maslow
American Jewish Congress
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Will:

Thanks for your two most recent letters. This is in reply to both.

I have heard of the Eaton book but haven't read it; prompted by your recommendation, I'll make a special effort to do so. Eaton is a historian. The latest address we have found for him is 2995 Tate's Creek Road, Route 67, Lexington, Kentucky. This suggests that he may be at the University of Kentucky.

The Mississippi Valley Historical Review is published by the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, 1500 "R" Street, Lincoln 8, Nebraska. Perhaps they can supply a copy of the December 1942 issue.

We are aware of the paucity of complaints to the Commission on Civil Rights and are doing what we can to spread the word. We are currently doing some field studies of voter registration practices in the Black Belt which may result in some complaints. The problem, as you know, is finding persons with first-hand knowledge who can stand the gaff.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **JOHN CONSTABLE**

11/25/58

HCF:

The Mississippi Valley Historical Review is published by Mississippi Valley Historical Association, 1500 R Street, Lincoln 8, Nebraska.

Clement Eaton is a professor of history and the latest Who's Who lists his home address as 2995 Tate's Creek Road, Route 67, Lexington, Kentucky. I would presume he is at the University of Kentucky.

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DEPARTMENT OF
PUBLIC AFFAIRS

WILL MASLOW, Director

Commission on Community Interrelations
Commission on International Affairs and on Israel
Commission on Law and Social Action

November 20, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I am reading a fascinating book first published in ~~1950~~ 1940 by Clement Eaton, entitled "Freedom of Thought in the Old South." If you have not read it, I urge you to, because of the frightening similarity between then and now. Have you heard of this man Eaton and do you know whether he can be located now?

The book is published by Peter Smith. Incidentally, he cites an article that he himself has written on Southern mob violence in the December 1942 issue of the Mississippi Valley Historical Review. Do you know where that is published and how I can get a copy?

Best regards,

Sincerely yours,

Will

Will Maslow

WM:ea

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DEPARTMENT OF
PUBLIC AFFAIRS

WILL MASLOW, Director

Commission on Community Interrelations
Commission on International Affairs and on Israel
Commission on Law and Social Action

November 21, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Audobon Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I met yesterday with two representatives of the Commission on Civil Rights. They are worried about the small number of complaints the Commission has received and are fearful of an attack upon them because of this paucity.

I remember hearing Mrs. Tilly say that her churchwomen were going to watch polling places. Are they in a position to file complaints? You understand that the complainant does not himself have to be a person who was aggrieved.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Will

Will Maslow

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CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Report: "Statement of Will Maslow on behalf of the American Jewish Congress on Pending Civil Rights Bills submitted to Subcommittee No. 5 of the HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES COMMITTEE ON THE JUDICIARY"

REGARDING:

Testimony on Civil Rights Bills

(Sent to SRC by Leo Pfeffer)

DATE

March 26, 1959

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Research Files - 4th Floor

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF
. . . . HAROLD C. FLEMING . . . .

Send 6 copies of the violence report
to Will Maslow, American Jewish Congress.

Will Maslow
Director
Department of Public Affairs
American Jewish Congress
15 East Eighty Fourth St
New York 28, New York

Done
7/10/59

July 14, 1959

AIR MAIL SPECIAL

Mr. Will Maslow, Director
American Jewish Congress
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Will:

I've delayed a week in answering your recent letter, pending return to the office of the staff member who is best acquainted with Norfolk. I did, however, send the copies of "Intimidation, Reprisal, and Violence," which should have reached you by now. They are supplied with our compliments.

The attitude survey, as you briefly describe it, sounds like an interesting and useful project. Without knowing more about the purpose of the investigation and the proposed use of the findings, I can't make any fundamental judgment about the choice of cities. But certainly Norfolk and Montgomery, in different ways, have much to commend them.

Montgomery, of course, represents an inflamed situation where racial tension has been accompanied by overt appeals to anti-Semitism; I gather that feelings of insecurity and anxiety in the Jewish community are accordingly greater there than in most other Southern cities.

Norfolk has had a milder racial experience, but anti-semitic lieterature has apparently had fairly wide circulation there and Jewish leaders have had to wrestle with the question of their community roles in a period of contested social change.

The only question in my mind is whether there would be virtue in including, for purposes of comparison, a Southern city which has not experienced severe racial tensions and where the sense of threat in the Jewish community is less marked. Perhaps one of the major cities in Texas or in North Carolina would qualify.

In any case, I am enclosing a short list of names for both Norfolk and Montgomery, with the thought that these and other contacts would direct Dr. Fiskman to as many more interviewees as he might need. At the risk of crudity, I am indicating the race of each individual as a possible convenience to the interviewer.

If we can be of any further help, call on me.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/sl
Enclosure:

Suggested Norfolk Contacts

1. Rev. James Brewer (W), 1st Unitarian Church (Also Mrs. Brewer, League of Women Voters)

2. Dr. and Mrs. Forrest White (W), 1079 Algonquin Rd. (he is chariman Norfolk Committee for Public Schools)

3. Lenoir Chambers (W), editor, Norfolk Virginian-Pilot.

4. Thomas Young (N), president, Norfolk Journal and Guide.

5. Rev. Richard Martin (N), 1410 E. Brambleton Rd (key Negro minister)

6. Prof. G. Brown (W), director of evening studies, Norfolk Division, Virginia State College.

7. Rev. and Mrs. James Chambers (N), 708 Tazwell Rd., Portsmouth. (He is a minister. She is active in Womens' Council for Inter-racial Cooperation.)

8. Al Hofheimer (W), 5000 Edgewater Drive, businessman, Public School Committee.

9. Robert Stern (W), 1322 Magnolia Rd., teacher, Public School Committee.

Suggested Montgomery Contacts

1. Rev. Thomas R. Thrasher (W), Church of the Ascension (Episcopal), 315 Clanton Street. (Chairman, Ala. Council on Human Relations)

2. Dr. H. Councill Trenholm (N), Pres., Ala. State College. (Alternatively, J.T. Brooks or L.D. Reddick of the same institution.)

3. Mrs. J.F. McLeod (W), 1540 College Street.

4. Mrs. Moreland Smith (W), 3236 Bankhead Avenue.

5. Mrs. Earl Andrews (W), 3125 Audubon Road.

The women listed above are all Protestant church women who have been active in interracial activities through the "Fellowship of the Concerned" and denominational programs. Martin Luther King, Jr., is an obvious additional suggestion.

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DEPARTMENT OF
PUBLIC AFFAIRS
WILL MASLOW, Director

Commission on Community Interrelations
Commission on International Affairs and on Israel
Commission on Law and Social Action

July 2, 1959

RECEIVED JUL 6 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Harold:

Judge Justine Polier has been interested for some time in the attitudes of rank and file Southern Jews on the problems of integration. She has been able to obtain some funds from a foundation for a preliminary experimental project which would involve a field trip in two Southern cities by qualified social psychologists. Dr. Joshua Fishman of the Institute of Human Relations of the University of Pennsylvania has agreed to undertake the project. An advisory committee supervising the project felt that the two best cities for such a purpose were Norfolk, Virginia and Montgomery, Alabama. Dr. Fishman plans to visit these cities this summer if the appropriate introductions can be arranged.

I should like to ask you, first, whether you agree on the choice of cities. Secondly, can you give us the names of knowledgeable persons in each of these two cities whom Dr. Fishman could meet and who in turn could introduce him to other persons in the community?

Needless to say, Dr. Fishman wants to meet not only Jews but white and Negro Christians as well.

Finally, the advisory committee believed that it would be well not to publicize the project although, of course, the persons whom Dr. Fishman should meet should understand the purpose of his visit.

Any help you can give us will be appreciated.

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Incidentally, could you send us ½ dozen copies of the roundup of Southern violence. We should be glad to pay whatever they cost.

Sincerely,

Will

Will Maslow

MF what does he get now?
HCF

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DEPARTMENT OF
PUBLIC AFFAIRS

WILL MASLOW, Director

Commission on Community Interrelations
Commission on International Affairs and on Israel
Commission on Law and Social Action

December 8, 1959

Send Plse to News Release Mg.

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., NE
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Would you be good enough to place me on your mailing list so that I receive your news releases? This will be of great help to me and save you a lot of wear and tear because my habit is to write to you whenever I see your name mentioned in the papers.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Will

Will Maslow

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December 21, 1959

Mr. Will Maslow
American Jewish Congress
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Will:

Although we sent you a copy of our recent statement right after your letter of December 8th came in, I find that I haven't replied.

We'll be happy to add you to our news release list. I believe you receive our printed materials and other mailings -- which account for most of what we put out.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Memorandum from . . . . AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
15 East 84th Street, New York 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

MAY 11, 1960

TO: NATIONAL JEWISH AGENCIES
JEWISH COMMUNITY RELATIONS COUNCILS
GROUP RELATIONS AGENCIES
FROM: DR. JOACHIM PRINZ

file
Maslow

I TAKE PLEASURE IN ANNOUNCING THAT MR. WILL MASLOW HAS BEEN NAMED ACTING EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS. I KNOW THAT HE IS NO STRANGER TO YOU, HAVING BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH THE CONGRESS FOR THE LAST 15 YEARS IN THE COURSE OF WHICH HE HAS BEEN DIRECTOR OF THE COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION, DIRECTOR OF THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS AND GENERAL COUNSEL.

I KNOW YOU WILL BE ABLE TO COUNT UPON HIM IN THE MANY JOINT TASKS IN WHICH OUR RESPECTIVE AGENCIES ARE ENGAGED.

CLSA Reports
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file

A MODEL STATE HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION BILL

TITLE

STATE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RELATIONS

1.0. Policy

In the State of with its great population consisting of large numbers of people of every race, color, religion, national origin and ancestry, there is no greater danger to the health, morals, safety and welfare of the state and its inhabitants than the existence of groups prejudiced against one another and antagonistic to each other because of differences of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

The legislature hereby finds and declares that prejudice, intolerance, bigotry and discrimination and disorder occasioned thereby threaten the rights and proper privileges of its inhabitants and menace the institutions and foundations of a free, democratic state. A state agency is hereby created through which the State of officially may encourage and bring about mutual understanding and respect among all groups in the state, eliminate prejudice, discrimination and disorder occasioned thereby and give effect to the guarantee of equal rights for all assured by the constitution and the laws of this state and of the United States of America.

2.0. Definitions

As used in this law:

(1) "Discrimination" shall mean any difference in treatment based on race, religion, color, national origin or ancestry ~~and~~ shall include segregation, except that it shall not be discrimination for any religious or denominational institution to prefer members of its own religion or denomination.

(2) "Religious or denominational institution" shall mean an institution which is operated, supervised or controlled by a religious or denominational organization.

3.0. Commission on Human Relations

There is hereby created a commission on human relations. It shall consist of fifteen members, broadly representative of the social, economic and cultural interests of the state, to be appointed by the governor, one of whom shall be designated by him as its chairman. Of the fifteen members first appointed, five shall be appointed for one year, five for two years and five for three years; thereafter, all appointments to the commission shall be for a term of three years. In the event of the death or resignation of any member, his successor shall be appointed to serve for the unexpired period of the term for which such member had been appointed. Members shall serve without compensation but shall be reimbursed for actual and necessary expenses.

4.0. Functions

The functions of the commission shall be:

(1) To foster mutual understanding and respect among all racial, religious and ethnic groups in the State of ;

(2) To encourage equality of treatment for, and prevent discrimination against, any racial, religious or ethnic group or its members;

(3) To cooperate with governmental and non-governmental agencies and organizations having like or kindred functions; and

(4) To make such investigations and studies in the field of human relations as in the judgment of the commission will aid in effectuating its general purposes.

5.0. Powers and Duties

The Commission is empowered:

(1) To act as conciliator in matters involving race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry but no decision of the Commission shall be binding upon any of the parties to the conciliation.

(2) To work together with Federal, state and city agencies in developing courses of instruction on techniques for achieving harmonious intergroup relations within the State of for presentation to state employees and in public and private schools, public libraries, museums and other suitable places.

(3) To enlist the cooperation of the various racial, religious and ethnic groups, community organizations, labor organizations, fraternal and benevolent associations and other groups in the State of in programs and campaigns devoted to eliminating group prejudice, intolerance and discrimination.

(4) To create such advisory committees as in its judgment will aid in effectuating the purposes of this law and to empower them to study the problems of prejudice and discrimination and disorder occasioned thereby in any field of human relationship;

(5) To receive and investigate complaints and to initiate its own investigations of (a) racial, religious and ethnic group tensions and prejudice and disorder occasioned thereby; (b) discrimination against any person or group of persons, whether practiced by private persons or organizations or by state officials or agencies.

(6) To hold both public and private hearings, compel the attendance of witnesses, administer oaths, take the testimony of any person under oath and in connection therewith to require the production of any evidence relating to any matter under investigation or in question before the commission. The powers enumerated in this sub-section may be exercised by any three or more members of the commission so authorized by it. The commission after the completion of any public hearing, shall make a public report in writing to the governor setting forth the facts found by it and its recommendations and shall use its best efforts to bring about compliance with its recommendations;

(7) To issue publications and reports of investigations and research designed to promote good will and to minimize or eliminate prejudice and discrimination and disorder occasioned thereby;

(8) To appoint an executive director and, subject to the provisions of the state civil service law, such additional personnel as it may deem necessary and to fix their compensation within the limits of funds made available to the commission.

(9) To recommend to the governor and the state legislature such legislation as will aid in carrying out the purposes of this law;

(10) To submit an annual report to the governor and the state legislature.

6.0. Relations with State Departments and Agencies

So far as practicable, the services of all other state departments and agencies shall be made available by their respective heads to the commission for the carrying out of the functions herein stated. Information in the possession of any department or agency shall be furnished to the commission when it is requested. Whenever necessary and requested by the commission, one or more attorneys from the staff of the state attorney general shall be made available to it to assist in the conduct of its investigations or hearings.

7.0. Separability

If any provision of this law or the application of such provision to any person or circumstance shall be held invalid, the remainder of such law or the application of such provision to persons or circumstances other than those to which it is held invalid shall not be affected thereby.

8.0. Effective Date

This law shall become effective .

February 9, 1955

CLSA Reports
COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION
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DIGEST OF MODEL STATE HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION BILL

1. Introduction

You are no doubt familiar with the operation of state and municipal statutory commissions empowered to take action against discrimination in employment, education, public accommodations and the like. In recent years a new type of commission has been developed which has no regulatory functions but which attacks the underlying problems of racial and religious prejudice and intergroup hostility. These commissions, particularly those in Wisconsin and Minnesota, have been successful in dealing with problems no FEP commission is authorized to handle. In response to a number of requests we have drafted a model bill for the establishment of such a commission, a copy of which is enclosed.

2. Powers and Duties

The bill creates a commission consisting of fifteen members including a chairman, appointed by the governor, to be broadly representative of the social, economic and cultural interests of the state. Members serve without compensation.

The Commission would be empowered to receive and investigate (and initiate its own investigations of) complaints of group hostility, tension and prejudice and would also be authorized to investigate discrimination against individuals and groups, both by private persons or organizations and by state officials or agencies.

It could hold public and private hearings at which it could compel the attendance of witnesses, the production of evidence and take testimony under oath. It would be authorized to use its efforts to bring about compliance with its recommendations. It might issue general publications and reports of investigations and research and would be empowered to recommend to the governor and state legislature such legislation as would aid in limiting prejudice or discrimination.

The Commission would function through an executive director and a civil service staff. The services of other departments in the state government are also to be made available.

3. Program

As part of its overall program, the Commission would collect information on local conditions, the existence of tensions, the extent of discrimination and on problems arising from population and neighborhood changes. It would engage in "trouble-shooting" or "tension control" by watching for antagonisms and by taking remedial action to remove the causes of tension. It would have an educational program designed to disseminate information, promote good will and influence attitudes. It would encourage citizen participation in the pressing problems of intergroup relations. Finally, it is directed in cooperation with other governmental agencies to develop educational and training programs for its employees.

The Commission's decisions and recommendations would be advisory and not binding on anyone. It would be authorized to cooperate with private civic organizations and to create advisory committees of private citizens.

2/9/55
AB

October 29, '56

Dear Mrs. Polier,

Thanks a lot. Didn'T realize the minutes were your own; but try to be careful of the files!

Quite true about Scotland. Shall be sailing March 8, 1957. I have always wanted to become an Economist, and I quit trying when the New Deal came along. So now I'll get back on the track, and read the groaning shelves of Economics b oks I've collected. And smoke hon. pipe, and sit by hon. Peat Fire: and hope for all my friends to come over and stay in the guest-house next door. Heathery walks, across the moors seventeen miles to the next pub! Do come!

No money, or no income, but I can eat up my little lumps of capital, one lump a year, and make out until I am pensionable. If no income, no tax, which helps.

Hate to leave, but SRC will be in the best of hands, and will probably do a better job than ever.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

American Jewish Congress

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ISAAC TOUBIN, Executive Director

STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE, 15 EAST 84th STREET • NEW YORK 28, N. Y. • TRAFALGAR 9-4500

October 24, 1956

RECEIVED OCT 27 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. NE
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear George:

I am grateful to you for your frank comment on the minutes and shall certainly be happy to file your comment in our record. I did try to be as accurate as possible from rather extensive notes which I myself took, but things have a way of looking harsher in cold print than they seem when spoken.

What is this I hear -- that you are planning to retire from this country to the mists of Scotland. Can it be true? What shall we do without you?

Shad joins me in sending you our warmest greetings,

As ever,

Justine

Justine Wise Polier

JWP:ag

AJC

Memorandum from . . . . AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

15 East 84th Street, New York 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

Fred Routh

January 7, 1957

TO: Community Relations Councils
Group Relations Agencies
Field Staff

FROM: Don J. Hager

In December, 1954, the New York City Board of Education stated ". . . racially homogeneous public schools are educationally unsound." In the effort to achieve optimum integration in the public schools of New York City, the Board created a Commission on Integration. This Commission and its various subcommissions (Zoning, Teachers Assignments and Personnel, Physical Plant and Maintenance, Educational Standards and Curriculum, Guidance, Educational Stimulation, and Community Relations and Information) were to study and report upon plans to achieve more racially balanced schools.

The attached report prepared by the subcommission on Zoning establishes ". . . the objective of racial integration as a cardinal principle of zoning." It contains a series of carefully considered proposals for achieving integration in elementary, junior and senior high schools. It recommends the development of a comprehensive zoning plan for integration to be administered by a Central Zoning Unit, thus removing the power to set school district lines from local assistant superintendents and placing it in the hands of a central planning authority.

It is our view that this report will prove to be a useful guide to integration in other large urban centers. We will endeavor to send you other materials, from time to time, concerning the process of integration in the public schools of New York City.

Att.

REPORT TO THE

COMMISSION ON INTEGRATION
BOARD OF EDUCATION
CITY OF NEW YORK

BY

SUB-COMMISSION ON

ZONING

December 14, 1956

MEMBERSHIP OF THE

SUB-COMMISSION ON

ZONING

Miss Ella J. Baker

Mr. Manuel Cabranes

Dr. William Jansen

Mr. Vito F. Lanza

Mrs. Wolfgang S. Schwabacher

Mrs. Morris Shapiro
Chairman

Dec.10,1956

REPORT OF THE SUB-COMMISSION ON ZONING

GENERAL COMMENT

The sub-commission on Zoning of the Board of Education's Commission on Integration has given careful and considered attention to the conditions that exist in New York City that tend to separate children of different ethnic origins and proposes a plan to achieve more racially balanced schools.

New York City's public elementary and junior high schools are neighborhood schools and the school populations, therefore, reflect the ethnic composition of the school district. This means that children within a given composition of the community area determined by school officials attend the school in that area. This is the basic cause for the condition whereby many of our schools have homogeneous populations, commonly called de facto segregation.

The Supreme Court decision of May, 1954 had the effect of declaring unconstitutional those state or local laws which mandate school segregation. In this sense it has no application in New York City since the State of New York has for many years prohibited by law such school segregation. In writing its decision, the Supreme Court established the premise upon which it based that decision:

> "We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools soley on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other 'tangible' factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does.
>
> ". . . . To separate them from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone . . ."

This conclusion would appear valid no matter how the segregation comes about, if it is solely on basis of race.

Although the law governing New York City public institutions forbids all forms of discrimination, there are factors that tend to perpetuate homogeneous schools and to impede efforts toward integration in our schools. Such factors include our housing pattern, our long tradition of the concept of the neighborhood school, community attitudes, misinformation, zoning criteria which did not emphasize more racially balanced schools, pressures on school officials to violate district boundaries and falsifications of address by parents to prevent their children from attending schools with Negro and Puerto Rican children.

Taking all of the above facts into consideration, the sub-commission on Zoning made its study with the awareness that zoning is one of the key points in the efforts of the Board of Education".... to devise and put into operation a plan which will prevent the further development of such schools (racially homogeneous) and would integrate the existing ones as quickly as practicable."*

The sub-commission's first task was to examine present major zoning criteria which are the determinants of zone lines: distance from home to school, maximum utilization of school space, transportation, topographical barriers and continuity of instruction.

The Board of Education, in affirming the spirit of the Supreme Court decision, stated "....that racially homogeneous public schools are educationally undesirable."* In the light of this, it is clearly necessary to re-evaluate the

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*Quotation from policy statement of the Board of Education - December, 1954.

neighborhood-school concept and the major zoning criteria which, in addition to integration, are the determinants of zone lines. These are:

1. Distance from home to school--This means that the proximity of the schools to the homes of the children who attend it is a major consideration in deciding on the boundary lines. This is particularly true of the elementary schools. A half-mile is considered beyond walking distance for pupils in the kindergarten through second grade, a mile for pupils in the third through the eighth grade.
2. Maximum utilization of school space -- in the face of mounting enrollments, it is necessary to adjust zone lines to make the most efficient use of existing school facilities.
3. Transportation -- Where it is necessary for children to use public transportation, the convenience and accessibility of such transportation has been a factor in setting zone lines. In instances where children are assigned to schools beyond the distance limits mentioned in Item 1, transportation by various means, including special bus, is provided.
4. Topographical barriers -- Lakes, rivers, canals, railroads, street crossings, bridges, parks, highways and other natural and man-made obstacles are factors which often have an intruding influence with respect to school zoning.
5. Continuity of instruction -- It is an objective to avoid shifting the same pupils several times because of adjustments in school boundaries.

The clear and positive integration policy, as stated by the Board of Education, means that all of the existing zoning criteria must now be reviewed at the highest level in the light of their effect on school integration.

The local Assistant Superintendent is the school official to whom is assigned the task of determining the boundary lines for the elementary schools and the feeder pattern for the junior high schools in his districts. It is Board of Education policy that the local Assistant Superintendent consult with parent groups before establishing the zone lines in his districts.

In its examination, the sub-commission on Zoning found the need for a clear, positive zoning policy to promote racially balanced schools.

The formulation of a comprehensive zoning plan (explained in Recommendation II) incorporating the philosophies, policies and procedures to accomplish integration to the extent possible in the city schools; securing necessary information on residential patterns, population trends, etc.; the evaluation of future zoning practices as they affect integration; are functions in part beyond the scope of a local Assistant Superintendent.

There may be instances where integration can be achieved, while the usual consideration is given to the zoning factors mentioned above. In other cases, it may be necessary to modify the application of these criteria in order to attain maximum integration. The advantages to the children to be gained from the consideration of these criteria must be weighed against the advantages to be gained from education in integrated classrooms.

Since these factors have very little effect on students of senior high school age, it would seem possible to obtain a reasonable racial balance in the larger number of academic and vocational high schools in our system. Suggestions

for methods to change the percentages of the various racial groups entering high school are beyond the purview of this sub-commission. However, efforts should be made to distribute this total population so as to have each such high school population reasonably reflect the ethnic make-up of the over-all high school population and so as to avoid having any such high school composed sole ly of one ethnic group. Specialized high schools present other complications since special examinations are used as part of the basis for admission. Present admission requirements should be studied with a view to determining a method to identify potentially able students who have been environmentally disadvantaged.* The pilot project in identification, guidance and stimulation of students now being conducted at Junior High School 43, Manhattan, as the result of a recommendation of the sub-commission on Guidance, may provide valuable information for this purpose.

At the junior high school level, the aforementioned zoning criteria must be taken into consideration to a greater extent than the high schools. However, there is considerably more flexibility than in the case of elementary schools. By a careful selection of feeder schools and/or establishment of zone lines, it is possible to improve the racial balance in junior high schools, both in fringe areas and those not too remote from fringe areas.

At the elementary school level, the boundary lines of schools located in or sufficiently close to fringe areas can be drawn to achieve reasonable balance. However, for schools where this method is not possible, there are other methods

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* In the integration of high schools, a study should be made of the program adjustments that may be necessary for integration.

such as the following which have been brought to the attention of the sub-commission. These are listed with the understanding that the circumstances for each particular school must be carefully examined to determine which, if any, of these methods can be applied successfully in the furtherance of integration. Care must also be exercised that none of these methods is used to the detriment of integration.

1. Permissive zoning (that is, permission to attend a school other than that to which a child is assigned) can be used to provide children in a school with homogeneous population the opportunity to attend an integrated school.
2. Selective use of bus transportation (for example, where an under-utilized school is within a reasonable distance by bus of a school with homogeneous population, children may be transferred from the latter school to the under-utilized one).
3. Change of organization of school (such as converting junior high to elementary school) -- This method can be used to help reduce the number of years a child spends in a homogeneous setting.

Every effort must be exercised to maintain high educational standards in integrated schools to stimulate students and parents and school staff. Recommendations in this regard of the sub-commission on Educational Standards and that on Physical Plant and Maintenance are noted.

From these methods and others which may be devised by the professional staff, the local Assistant Superintendent and the Central Zoning Unit proposed in our recommendations may select those which can be applied in each instance.

The above examination of the problem at the various school levels and the formal recommendations which follow are designed to help the Board of Education mitigate the effects of the segregated residence pattern, a condition which affects the public schools but with which the Board cannot deal directly.

However, it must be remembered that this pattern is caused in part by attitudes of prejudice, indifference and misunderstanding which must be corrected eventually if integration is to be complete. Education in a democratic setting has meaning as preparation for living in a democratic setting. The steps taken in the zoning program must be accompanied by a community relations program that engenders support for integration on the part of parents of all groups. Although valuable time and effort should not be expended counteracting evasive actions of confused, insecure or misguided parents, they must be helped to understand the change which is taking place in their communities and the constructive ways in which to meet this change. Intelligent guidance can ease their rigidity and provide them with greater security. This places a serious responsibility on the agencies that will be charged with the implementation of the zoning program. They must, by the exercise of good judgment, choose the path that assures constant progress and thus final success in achieving the Board of Education objectives.

In order to further the objective of the Board of Education to establish integrated schools to the extent possible, the sub-commission on Zoning recommends:

I. That the Board of Education establish the objective of racial integration as a cardinal principle of zoning. In so doing, all members of the professional staff who do now, or will in the future, have any part in the

assignment of children to, or the location of regular schools, special schools and special classes, must be made conscious of this principle. They must seize each opportunity to implement it.

II. That a comprehensive plan be formulated by the Superintendent of Schools and, in general, be administered by a Central Zoning Unit. The comprehensive zoning plan should:

1. Provide guide posts for the Assistant Superintendent to help him determine the proper weight to be given to the principle of securing racially balanced schools as well as other principles of zoning, mentioned heretofore, as he prepares zoning proposals for the schools of his districts for submission to the Central Zoning Unit.
2. Devise a set of criteria by which the Central Zoning Unit can determine the extent to which each local zoning plan fits into the comprehensive plan.
3. Establish priorities for groups of schools and provide a timetable for the accomplishment of integration in the schools.
4. Describe procedures which the Central Zoning Unit and the Assistant Superintendent can use in reaching objectives such as redrawing boundary lines, placement of special classes and courses, selective use of bus transportation, rearrangement of feeder patterns and permissive zoning to promote integration only. The comprehensive plan should be presented by the Superintendent of Schools to the Board of Education in sufficient time to permit the plan to be put into operation in September, 1957.

III. That an Advisory Council on Zoning be organized on a city-wide basis, composed of representatives of city departments and agencies such as the City Planning Commission, Housing Aurhority, Traffic Department, Commission on Intergroup Relations, etc., for the following purposes:

1. Provide for the mutual interchange of information to assist in composing racially balanced schools and communities.
2. Coordinate present plans of these departments and agencies to assist in composing racially balanced schools and communities.
3. Develop comprehensive, long-term plans for the purpose of furthering the establishment of more racially balanced schools and communities.
4. Provide for the participation of interested civic groups in devising plans for racially balanced schools and communities. (This may be on a formal basis by way of a committee of representatives of these groups or other means deemed most feasible.)
5. Provide advice and information to all member departments and agencies for the purpose of furthering the establishment of more racially balanced schools and communities.

It is further recommended that, upon agreement by the Board that such a council be organized and that the Board of Education be a member of this council, the Liaison sub-commission of the Commission on Integration be requested to suggest more specifically the composition and functions of such a council.

IV. That a Central Zoning Unit be established by the Superintendent of Schools for the purpose of preparing and coordinating city-wide zoning plans in

order to achieve maximum integration in the public schools. This unit would perform the following functions:

1. Compare the zoning proposals of each Assistant Superintendent before the beginning of each school year with the comprehensive plan for zoning and consult with the Assistant Superintendent concerning such changes as are indicated. The Central Zoning Unit will then prepare for the Superintendent of Schools the zoning plans for the districts.
2. Evaluate the efficiency of the comprehensive plan in securing more racially balanced schools and recommend to the Superintendent of Schools for presentation to the Board of Education changes to make the comprehensive plan more effective.
3. Report periodically to the Superintendent of Schools so that he may advise the Board of Education on the effectiveness of zoning policies and procedures and recommend changes for improvement.
4. Hear appeals from the parent and community groups on zoning proposals and zoning changes by an Assistant Superintendent and make recommendations to the Superintendent of Schools for his guidance in making decisions on appeals.
5. Provide a means whereby civic groups may present their suggestions regarding over-all zoning plans.
6. Establish and maintain comprehensive city-wide zoning maps showing the following: school district boundaries and patterns of feeder schools, the racial and ethnic composition of the school population (a sufficiently good estimate of this can be obtained without recourse to direct questioning of children or parents), school utilization, site selection and planned

districting for new schools, topographical characteristics and planned capital improvements having an impact on school utilization. This unit would maintain records of the composition of the school population by age and residence.

7. Devise administrative procedures to assist Assistant Superintendents and principals in combatting falsifications of address and other evasions of the proper school zones.

8. Provide for the use of the Advisory Council the information necessary to its deliberations in regard to school matters.

9. Provide information to the Assistant Superintendent to aid him in the formulation of his zoning proposals.

10. Coordinate zoning plans with the unit charged with the responsibility of making site recommendations.

V. That the following zoning duties be assigned by the Superintendent of Schools to the Assistant Superintendents:

1. Each Assistant Superintendent, after consultation with parent and community groups, and with the advice of the Central Zoning Unit, will prepare zoning proposals for the schools in his districts for the following year. These proposals will be prepared in accordance with the comprehensive plan for integration and submitted to the Central Zoning Unit at the time specified by that Unit.

2. During the school year, changes in the adopted zoning plan are to be made by the Assistant Superintendent if, in his judgment, a change in the determinants of his plan warrants such adjustment, and if, in his judgment, the changes do not conflict with the comprehensive plan or the program of

integration and require no consideration by the Central Zoning Unit. However, any such change should be reported immediately to the Central Zoning Unit for incorporation in its records and on its maps.

3. The Assistant Superintendent should make public, within his districts, his proposals on zoning and invite constructive comment and suggestions by parent and community groups involved in the changes.

4. The Assistant Superintendent should take appropriate steps to develop within his districts an understanding of and positive attitudes towards more racially balanced schools as part of a good intergroup relations program.

5. The Assistant Superintendent should present to the Superintendent of Schools through the Central Zoning Unit suggestions for more effective action through zoning to achieve more racially balanced schools.

VI. That a broad community relations program be developed. Such a program would be in addition to the efforts of each Assistant Superintendent in this regard. It should be designed to obtain the active assistance of the community in securing and maintaining heterogeneous school populations. This is crucial if this program of integration in the schools is to take full effect in other areas of community life. We invite the attention of the Community Relations sub-commission to this item.

Some of these recommendations may require additional budget funds; however, there are many recommendations which can be implemented without extra funds. This sub-commission believes that the objectives to be gained definitely justify the expenditure required.

Specific Problems

The sub-commission invited three community groups who had expressed grievances with regard to zoning. It heard these protests in the belief that this action would be helpful in developing a set of zoning principles and a machinery for implementing them. In conducting these hearings, the sub-commission did not assume that it had aministrative jurisdictions or that its function included adjudication of individual complaints. This conclusion was supported by the Executive Committee of the Commission and by the Commission itself. At that time, the opinion was expressed that no sub-commission should be involved in the operations and techniques that rightfully belong to the professional staff. The summary of these hearings is appended at the end of this report.

Appendix

Hearing No. 1: Presentation by the Brooklyn Branch NAACP: Junior High School 258 is a new school in Brooklyn that is an all Negro School. Near it, under construction, is J.H.S. 61, Brooklyn, which the Board of Education promises will be an integrated school. The plaintiff charges that " a serious error of judgment was made in the location of J.H.S. 258" and asks that J.H.S. 258 be re-organized to make it an integrated school.

Hearing No. 2: Presentation by the Parents' Association of Public School 93, Manhattan: The plaintiff was concerned over the population trend which is in the direction of more Negro and Puerto Rican children in P.S. 93 than in P.S. 75 and P.S. 166, Manhattan, neighboring schools. It was

suggested that integration could be furthered by transferring the I.G.C. classes in P.S. 75 to P.S. 93 and by making the school more attractive physically.*

Hearing No. 3: Presentation by the Forest Houses Neighborhood Committee: Two high schools in The Bronx, Grace Dodge Vocational H.S. and Jane Addams Vocational H.S., offer courses in Beauty Culture. Jane Addamss' courses are predominantly filled with Negroes. Grace Dodge's courses are taken mostly by whites. It was suggested that all beauty culture courses be given at Jane Addams and that all Bronx students desiring such courses be restricted to the Bronx school.

---

* Reference is made to recommendation 2 of the Report of the sub-commission on Educational Standards and Curriculum for whatever bearing that recommendation may have on this particular situation.

January 28, 1957

ask Jack again about distribution

Dr. Don Hager
Director
Commission on Community Interrelations
American Jewish Congress
15 East Eighty-Fourth Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Don:

Thought you might want to see the full text of this.

It was good being with you last week.

Regards,

Harold

HCF/eab
Encl. copy of "Belief in Natural White Supremacy is Bunk" Asheville Citizen-Times, 1/20/57

TO

Southern Regional Dir.
Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Exec., Dir.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. -Rm 432
Atlanta 3, Georga

DATE 2/8/57

from: THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
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February 11, 1957

(Dictated February 8th)

Mr. Don J. Hager
Director
Commission on Community Interrelations
American Jewish Congress
Fifteen East Eighty-Fourth Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Don:

The price of New South is 20¢ per individual issue and 15¢ each in quantities of fifty copies.

The Fund for the Republic is distributing copies of the Scientific American article. You might check with Ed Reed there to see if they still have some on hand.

Enclosed is a chronology of segregation developments that you might find useful for reference purposes.

I was glad to get a reprint of your article on intercultural education. I am looking forward to reading it.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Encls.

American Jewish Congress

ISRAEL GOLDSTEIN, *President*
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February 4, 1957

Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Could you give me the price of 150 - 200 copies of the November, 1956 (Vol 11, No 11) issue of the New South? Also, do you happen to know who is distributing reprints of the article that appeared in the December, 1956, issue of the Scientific American -- Attitudes Toward Desegregation (Hyman and Sheatsley)?

Many thanks for sending me the photostat of the piece in the Ashville Citizen-Times on white supremacy (the bunk, that is).

Cordially,

Don

Don J. Hager
Director

THE

ATLANTA CHAPTER

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

41 EXCHANGE PLACE, S. E., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA · JAckson 3-8451

February 19, 1957

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SAMUEL LUBIN
Area Director

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Wesley Memorial Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I am herewith enclosing three copies of a newspaper story and editorial which appeared in the Birmingham Post Herald recently.

I, personally, believe that these two items are among the most significant to appear in the Southern Press in quite some time in terms of their use in promoting the concept of "maintaining law and order" in the face of rising racial tension and unrest.

This appears to be one of the first admissions on the part of Southern Industrial Leadership, as well as a Newspaper Editor, that effects of violence regarding racial problems has affected, and will continue to affect, the growth of southern industrial development. I know of the Council's great interest in developing a program in this area, and I feel that these two items will be of value to you.

I shall be out of town on a field trip during the next few days, but upon my return, would like an opportunity to meet with you and discuss the implications of the use of this and similar material in the South.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Samuel Lubin

SAMUEL LUBIN
Atlanta Area Director

SL:ru
Encl.

cc: Shapiro, Lucas, Birnbaum, Murray, Samet

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February 20, 1957

Mr. Samuel Lubin
Atlanta Area Director
The American Jewish Committee
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Lubin:

Thanks for your letter of February 19th, enclosing copies of the story and editorial in the Birmingham Post Herald. This is unquestionably a promising beginning on the assumption of responsibility by the economic leadership of the South.

I am about to leave for Washington and New York, where I will see Ed Lukas and possibly many other friends at AJC. I will be gone for about ten days, but as soon as I am back I want to get together with you.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab
Dictated but not read

AJC

March 7, 1957

Dr. Theodore Leskes
American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Ted:

Harold Fleming was talking with Dave Freeman and Adam Yarmolinsky of the Fund for the Republic the other day and they had not seen the very excellent memo done by Julius Cohen on tax exemption which appeared in the 1956 report of the NAIRO Commission on Civil Rights. Would you, therefore, please send to each of them a marked copy of the report?

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

BLIND COPY: Mr. Adam Yarmolinsky
Mr. Dave Freeman

American Jewish Congress - General

March 18, 1957

Miss Justine Wise Polier
Women's Division, American Jewish Congress
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Miss Polier:

I have marked my appointment calendar for May 7th with the following notation, "Women's Division, American Jewish Congress, Shoreham Hotel, Washington, D.C." I shall be very pleased to speak to the Women's Division on the challenge of integration as it affects the education of our children. Thank you for the kind words about my work in this field. I shall be in correspondence with you later with some suggested topics which I would like to cover in this speech.

I hate to mention this, but we are running short of funds in our travel budget and it will be necessary for my expenses to be covered.

Please let me hear from you.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Future Spkr -

March 29, 1957

Mr. Julius Schatz, Director
Community Service Bureau
Women's Division, American Jewish Congress
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Mr. Schatz:

I am looking forward to addressing a session of the National Convention of the Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress on Tuesday evening, May 7th.

I would appreciate it if you would make a reservation for a single room with shower at the Shoreham Hotel, or another close by if all the reservations are gone, for the night of May 7th. I will arrange my own transportation and send you an expense account afterward. I use an air travel card and this is the simplest way of making arrangements. I want to thank you for your generosity in assuming the burden of my travel expenses.

One additional bit of information that would be helpful to me is the format of the evening program, e.g., length of speech and whether or not a question and answer or discussion period follows.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Women's Division

American Jewish Congress

Stephen Wise Congress House 15 East 84th Street New York 28, N. Y. TRafalgar 9-4500

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Commission on Jewish Living

MRS. LEONARD LEVINE
Director

March 27, 1957

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

We are most grateful to you for having accepted our invitation to participate in the forthcoming National Convention of the Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress on Tuesday evening, May 7th.

This will be an evening session that will begin at 8:30 P. M. and conclude about 11:00 P. M.

Our Convention will be held at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, D. C. and the session that you will address will take place in the Terrace Room.

It is expected that more than one thousand persons will participate and they will include delegates, guests and community representatives.

We will assume the burden of your travel and hotel expenses. Please be good enough to suggest the mode of travel, your requirements for hotel reservations and other specific arrangements. We will do whatever is most convenient and as soon as we hear from you we will confirm all specific requests with a follow up letter.

If you require additional information, please feel free to direct your questions to my attention. Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Julius Schatz

Julius Schatz, Director
Community Service Bureau

JS:jg

American Jewish Congress

April 9, 1957

Mr. Julius Schatz, Director
Community Service Bureau
American Jewish Congress
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Mr. Schatz:

I have received your letter of April 4 with further information about my participation in the May 7 meeting of the Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress. I have received several communiques from various members of the Women's Division, and believe I now have a sufficient grasp of what is expected of me at this session.

You asked if there is anything further you can do to assist me with hotel reservations and the like. I wrote you on March 29 and said I would appreciate it if you could make a reservation for a single room with shower at the Shoreham Hotel or another one close by if the Shoreham reservations were all gone for the night of May 7. I use an air travel card, and will arrange my own transportation and AJC can reimburse SRC at a later date. I want to thank you for your generosity in assuming the burden of my travel expenses.

Mrs. Polier called on Friday and asked for a biography and a glossy print for publicity purposes. I got those off Air Mail Special Delivery Friday morning. I note that you ask in the last paragraph of your letter of April 4 for several biographies and glossy prints. I will get these off to you this afternoon or, better yet, will enclose them with this letter.

I look forward to being with you on May 7th. Warm regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm
Enclosures

April 24, 1957

Mr. Don Hager
Director
Commission on Community Interrelations
American Jewish Congress
Fifteen East Eighty-Fourth Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Don:

Life has been moving so fast for me that I failed to take advantage of your invitation to comment in advance of publication on "Children Together." But having read it carefully, I did want to let you know that I think it is an excellent job. I hope it will get the wide use it deserves.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/eab

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

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April 1, 1957

Mr. Harold C.Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Conference
63 Auburn Avenue, N E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Enclosed is a draft of a study manual on the problems of integration in public education, recently prepared by the American Jewish Congress. This has been prepared as a guide for adult discussion groups and contains basic information on various aspects of the problem of integration in the North as well as in the South, plus questions for stimulating group discussion.

While the storm center of struggle concerning desegregation and integration has been in the South, the attempts at achieving integration in the North have exposed the hidden conflicts of many Northerners as well, who approve equality in theory but retain many social and emotional conflicts concerning equality in practice. We feel, therefore, that it is extremely important that community organizations begin a more concentrated program designed to bring into public discussion the problems of intergroup tension, the causes of discrimination and prejudice and the need for the North as well as the South to bridge the gap between belief and behavior.

We have prepared this manual as part of a community education program on this subject, not only for chapters in the AJCongress but for all community groups interested in encouraging public discussion of these problems. Because of your special knowledge and interest in public education, we are sending you a draft copy of this manual and would appreciate any comments or suggestions you may have--before we go to print.

Sincerely yours,

Don Hager

Don Hager
Director
Commission on Community Interrelations

DH:gg
Encl.

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303

Future Speaking engagements

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April 25, 1957

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Routh:

In connection with your appearance before our Women's Division Convention on May 7th at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, D. C., I have arranged for hotel and travel accommodations.

Enclosed is:

1. A room confirmed reservation for May 7th.
2. You have indicated that you will make your own travel arrangements and we, of course, will reimburse you.

If you have any questions concerning these arrangements, will you be good enough to communicate with me immediately.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Julius Schatz

Julius Schatz, Director
Community Service Bureau

JS:jg
Encl.

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CLASS OF SERVICE

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WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1201

SYMBOLS

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NL = Night Letter

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The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

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FREDERICK B ROUTH ASSISTANT DIRECTOR SOUTHERN
REGIONAL COUNCIL=63 AUBURN AVE N E ATLA=

URGENT WE RECEIVE EXCERPTS YOUR PRESENTATION AT CONVENTION
OF AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS WOMEN'S DIVISION STO P 600
WORDS WILL SUFFICE STOP MANY THANKS=
EDITH BRODSKY PRESS REPRESENTATIVE=

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THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

J C
F I

Memorandum from . . . .

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15 East 84th Street, New York 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

I don't think we can help on this.
HCD

RECEIVED MAY 20 1957

May 8, 1957

To: Group Relations Agencies
Community Relations Councils

RECEIVED MAY 20 1957

From: Leo Pfeffer

Subject: Moral and Spiritual Values Programs

At the request of the National Community Relations Advisory Council, the American Jewish Congress is conducting a survey of the various "moral and spiritual values" programs now being used or proposed for use in the public schools throughout the country.

We ask your cooperation in obtaining the following material and information:

1. Printed or mimeographed copies of moral and spiritual values statements and program guides issued by the State Department of Education or local Boards of Education. Please include the date on which the program was instituted and specify whether it is still in existence.

2. Reports on the reactions of the community (both the Jewish community and other groups) to the moral and spiritual values programs.

3. Reports on any incidents of sectarian intrusion or indoctrination which resulted from the introduction of moral and spiritual values programs.

4. An estimation of how moral and spiritual values programs in your community worked in general; whether the program was a success, a failure, etc.

We are interested most in obtaining the printed or mimeographed copies of official statements and programs proposed or already in use. Since compiling the information requested in sections 2, 3 and 4 above may take some time, please send the printed programs and statements referred to in section 1 above as soon as available and the other material as it is gathered.

Please mail the materials directly to me at our National Office, 15 East 84th Street, New York 28, N.Y.

May 9, 1957

Mr. Julius Schatz, Director
Community Service Bureau
Women's Division, American Jewish Congress
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Mr. Schatz:

It was a real pleasure to be with the ladies of the Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress at their annual meeting. They certainly constitute a progressive force for good. They were a stimulating audience and I fully enjoyed my part in the conference.

Enclosed is a copy of the expenses which I incurred in making this trip. I'm not sure you are the person in the Congress who should receive them, but if not, please pass them on to the proper person.

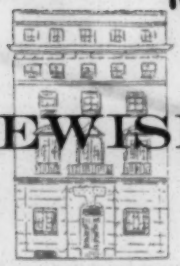
With kind regards,

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm
Enclosures

RECEIVED MAY 22 1957



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OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

May 20, 1957

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Conference
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Several weeks ago we sent you a draft copy of the enclosed pamphlet. We want you to see it now in final form.

Your comments will be welcomed.

Sincerely yours,

Isaac Toubin

Isaac Toubin

enc.

May 23, 1957

Mrs. Thelma Richman
Women's Division
American Jewish Congress
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Thelma Richman:

Thank you for your letter of May 14th with the very kind words about my part in the panel on the evening of May 7th. I enjoyed being with the Women's Division of the A. J. Congress. I found them to be an intelligent and attentive audience.

I too was happy that I could attend the less formal gatherings later in the evening. There is nothing like face to face contact in small groups to help people know and understand each other. Any time I can be of help to you or the Women's Division, please let me know.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

May 24, 1957

Mr. Julius Schatz
Community Service Bureau
American Jewish Congress
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Mr. Schatz:

Thank you for your letter of May 22nd and the check covering my expenses in connection with attendance at the Convention of the Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress.

Once again may I say that I found the Convention both stimulating and constructive, and I hope that you will call on the staff of the Southern Regional Council at any time in the future when our services may be of use to you.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

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May 22, 1957

Mr. Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

May I again express our appreciation for your having participated in our Women's Division Convention.

Enclosed please find a check for $86.77 to cover your expense itemization in connection with this trip.

Thanks, with regards.

Sincerely yours,

Julius Schatz

Julius Schatz, Director
Community Service Bureau

S:O
Enc.

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May 23, 1957

Mrs. Thelma Richman
Women's Division
American Jewish Congress
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Thelma Richman:

Thank you for your letter of May 14th with the very kind words about my part in the panel on the evening of May 7th. I enjoyed being with the Women's Division of the A. J. Congress. I found them to be an intelligent and attentive audience.

I too was happy that I could attend the less formal gatherings later in the evening. There is nothing like face to face contact in small groups to help people know and understand each other. Any time I can be of help to you or the Women's Division, please let me know.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

Women's Division

Put Sph.

American Jewish Congress

Stephen Wise Congress House 15 East 84th Street New York 28, N. Y. TRafalgar 9-4500

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Commission on Jewish Living

MRS. LEONARD LEVINE
Director

May 14th, 1957

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

My Dear Mr. Routh:

May I take this opportunity to thank you once again for being with us on Tuesday evening, May 7th, and adding so much to that very wonderful session on integration. It is good to see people such as you at work in an area of such critical importance to the American people. I speak not only of the brilliance of your presentation, but your friendly and warm personality.

I am delighted that you joined us at some of our less formal gatherings later in the evening and look forward to seeing you and to working with you in the future.

Sincerely yours,

Thelma Richman

Thelma Richman

TR:mtr

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

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May 13, 1957

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

We really enjoyed having you with us at our Women's Division Convention. The reports were all enthusiastic and I am certain that your contribution was a very important one to help make the Convention enjoyable, interesting, and successful.

I am referring your expense itemization to our controller's office and you will receive a check very soon. Thanks again and I hope that we will have the pleasure of calling upon you again in the near future.

With regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Julius Schatz

Julius Schatz, Director
Community Service Bureau

JS:jg

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Memorandum from . . . . AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

15 East 84th Street, New York 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

May 24, 1957

To: AJCongress Field Staff
Community Relations Councils
Group Relations Agencies

RECEIVED JUN 5 1957

From: Will Maslow, Director
Department of Public Affairs, AJCongress

You may perhaps be interested in the enclosed report of a panel discussion conducted recently by the American Association for the United Nations on the question "Should the United States Ratify International Conventions?" Since the conference, held last March, our government has apparently revised its policy of five-years standing and is now prepared to vote favorable for a convention against forced labor at the annual conference of the International Labor Organization which opens June 5, 1957.

Enc.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE UNITED NATIONS

PEOPLES SECTION

(Originated by Carlyle Morgan of the Christian Science Monitor in 1947)

BULLETIN

April, 1957

Remember your opinion is important! Please send us your comments before May 15th.

MAJOR ISSUES BEFORE THE UNITED NATIONS: WHAT IS THE UNITED STATES RESPONSIBILITY?

The annual Conference of National Organizations called by the American Association for the United Nations met in Washington, D. C. March 3-5, 1957. Some ninety organizations were represented at the Conference, which considered five major issues before the United Nations and the responsibility of the United States in respect to them: The New Challenge to the General Assembly; New Dimensions for Economic Development; Possibilities for Disarmament; To Promote Justice for the Individual — Should the United States Ratify International Conventions?; and A Positive Solution for the Middle East.

Findings of each Section Meeting were presented to the final plenary session of the Conference. We wish we could present all of them, but space limits us to presenting the findings on three of these major issues: The New Challenge to the General Assembly; New Dimensions for Economic Development; and To Promote Justice for the Individual — Should the United States Ratify International Conventions?

In reading and discussing the findings of the Section Meetings given below, we suggest that members keep in mind the following questions:

How effective do you think the UN has been in solving these major issues?

What might the UN do in the future?

How would you assess the role of the United States?

What should the US position be in the future?

What might individuals and organizations do?

How closely do you think these findings reflect opinion in your community?

The New Challenge to the General Assembly

The Section on "The New Challenge to the General Assembly" met under the chairmanship of Arthur N. Holcombe, Chairman, Commission to Study the Organization of Peace. Speakers were Harding Bancroft, former U. S. Representative, UN Collective Measures Committee, and Frank P. Graham. Panel members were Adrian S. Fisher, former Legal Adviser, Department of State, and William R. Frye, UN Correspondent, Christian Science Monitor. Mrs. Marion McVitty, United World Federalists, served as rapporteur. We present below Mrs. McVitty's report.

Professor Holcombe, as Chairman, gave focus to the question of the New Challenge to the General Assembly at the opening of the session in two brief statements. He pointed out that the very success of the UN Assembly in dealing with issues on which the Security Council failed has created the new challenge and new problems. Likewise, Professor Holcombe noted that success in achieving greater universality of membership in the UN, which we all desired, has created the challenge and problems connected with the new members.

Dr. Frank Graham, in his address, inspired the group with his conception of the broad principles that must inspirit the UN and the world's peoples, and which must underlie United States leadership.

The moral foundations of the UN, he pointed out, are in the hearts and minds of people everywhere. The atomic age, Dr. Graham said, has made the world fatefully interdependent. The atomic age makes the UN an essential organization. Representation of the world's two and one-half billion people, a majority of whom are non-white, makes the General Assembly the most essential organ of the UN.

Dr. Graham warned that the fuses attached to an atomic explosion are: exploitation, colonialism, racism, the arms race, and absolute national sovereignty. United States leadership in the world forum must be based on demonstrating the right principles in this country. This country must help to organize the instruments of freedom, justice and peace; and to help apply UN Charter principles with equal justice for all, friend and foe alike. The new challenge to the UN, Dr. Graham concludes, is also a new challenge to the United States.

Mr. Harding Bancroft gave a careful analysis of the major elements in the current UN situation. He pointed out that the United Nations has not developed according to plan, but it is his belief that the evolutionary process now going on is a suitable means for adapting the UN to present needs.

In his view, no Charter amendments are required, since adequate methods for peaceful settlement of disputes are available if the nations will use them; and although the UN has been weakest in taking enforcement measures, the Charter provides all the necessary provisions for making enforcement effective.

Mr. Bancroft stated that Korea and the Mid-East crisis have created a rather general receptivity to the taking of collective enforcement action. Advantage of this receptivity should be taken, he believed, to insure that the UN will have a Peace Force in being. Mr. Bancroft then outlined his conception of how such a force should be created. The Assembly should set up a special body to study the question. It should negotiate the size and composition of the force, its training, cost and functions. A permanent nucleus force might be made up of small national units and a unit of volunteers individually re-

cruited. Such a nucleus could be appropriately expanded to meet specific needs for its services. The Assembly, Mr. Bancroft thought, would need to set up a smaller executive group to administer the force and exercise great wisdom in its use.

Mr. Bancroft was not fearful of the new Assembly authority in spite of the new members which have increased the potential power of the Afro-Asian nations. Mr. Bancroft pointed out that in actual practice such blocs are seldom unified enough to vote all together on major issues.

Mr. Bancroft warned that in working through the UN, the US must not merely obey the majority, but must take leadership in devising solutions to international problems.

Mr. Fisher posed certain questions to focus group discussion. He pointed out that the Assembly is unwieldy as a body to administer a UN force. How can this be overcome, he asked? The command of a UN force should be under the Secretariat, but will all nations have confidence in the impartiality of the Secretariat?

The UN, Mr. Fisher noted, had put troops into Egypt, but not into Hungary. If this seems unjust, he asked, would it have been better to have had no UN at all, or for the UN to have done nothing in either case?

The session was opened to general discussion by the Chairman, and many searching questions from the participants were met with earnest response from Mr. Bancroft and the panel members.

From this discussion, it appeared to be clear that there was consensus in the group on two aspects of the question.

First, in spite of the new responsibilities, and even powers, of the Assembly, the new members, and the old voting system, there was a common belief that the US should continue to make the UN the cornerstone of its foreign policy, that it should act within the UN as much as possible, and that diplomatic negotiations outside the UN should be in the main used to underpin the efforts of the UN itself.

Second, there seemed to be general agreement that the UN should have in being at least the nucleus of a peace force which could aid in achieving peaceful settlements, not as a fighting force, but as the symbol of world moral opinion.

Questions from the group indicated also several areas of common concern on which more study was needed, or new efforts should be made.

There was considerable interest in the possibility of UN legal procedures to back up the functions of a UN force, if they are to operate as international police.

Concern was also expressed that the International Court of Justice might be used more effectively both in the peaceful settlement of disputes and interpretation of the Charter.

Present concepts of national sovereignty were recognized as a stumbling block to effective UN and International Court efforts. Participants seemed to feel that modification of absolute sovereignty was desirable. It was suggested that sovereignty was not the only principle in the Charter, and that legal minds might be able to find a formulation by which other Charter principles might be capable of overriding it.

Some participants felt that Charter amendments should be considered in relation both to disarmament and to the UN force. Time did not permit a very exhaustive discussion of that question, which might also be the object of further study.

The factual statements of the speakers had done much to allay the fears of the group as to the possibility of adverse action being effected by bloc voting in the Assembly. Nevertheless, it was evident that the group recognized the need for careful consultation by UN delegates with both the Western powers and the Asian-African nations in the interest of furthering responsible action by the UN to achieve peace with justice for all.

In summary, it may be said that the group as a whole was more than ever confident of the essential role of the United Nations, and that its attitude toward the new challenge of the Assembly was one of willingness to support new methods, and to pursue thoughtful studies as to the ways and means for further strengthening the United Nations.

New Dimensions for Economic Development

The Section on "New Dimensions for Economic Development" met under the chairmanship of Wallace J. Campbell, Cooperative League of USA. The speakers were Roy Blough, Columbia University, and Reuben G. Gustavson, Resources for the Future. Panelists were Daniel Benedict, AFL-CIO; Halvor O. Ekern, Office of Special Assistant to the Secretary of State, Department of State; and Theodore Geiger, National Planning Association. Edward F. Snyder, Friends Committee on National Legislation, was rapporteur. Following is Mr. Snyder's report.

The Section . . . was very ably led by Wallace Campbell and it was most appropriately begun by Reuben Gustavson who spoke of the application of atomic energy for peaceful purposes as one of these very important new dimensions . . . He reminded us that atomic research and development has been accomplished by no one country's scientists . . . He indicated very briefly just some of the benefits which atomic energy . . . can bestow in producing fertilizers, in increasing the productivity of plants, in telling man about the extent and flow of underground water, and in treating many of man's most terrible diseases.

Roy Blough . . . pointed out that industrialization is only a part of economic development, which also includes development of agriculture, transportation facilities, power resources, and so on. He made three points. . . .

1. That the less developed countries are extremely anxious to industrialize.

2. That capital is not their only need. They need skilled labor and skilled management. There must not be a rigid social structure which prevents the development of talent. Age-old customs and attitudes often stand in the way of rapid industrialization.

3. That the kinds of capital used to assist industrialization are important. Both public and private capital are needed. . . .

Roy Blough also discussed the UN Technical Assistance Program. He pointed out that in the last six years, 78 countries have pledged over $142 million to the special fund . . .; experts from 77 countries and the facilities and experience of 105 countries and territories have aided 131 countries and territories; 5,000 experts have gone out; 10,000 fellowships for training have been granted. The nations receiving assistance have contributed local currency expenses of from $60 million to $65 million.

These very significant figures were brought out — the per capita contributions to the UNETAP showed: first, Canada with 13.2¢ per person; then Denmark, Norway and Sweden; and US fifth with 9.5¢ per capita. . . .

There are many new fields which have not yet been touched in this area of technical assistance. Even without these new fields, the Expanded Program could constructively use $50 million a year, which is nearly twice as much as the present program . . . Yet the US Congress last year approved an amendment which limits future US contributions to the UNETAP to ⅓ of all contributions. In past years it has been 50%. So, if this amendment stands, the US contribution to this program will be cut approximately one-third. . . .

Mr. Blough also outlined one other problem — the question of the administration of the Technical Assistance Programs of the UN and the Specialized Agencies. At present the US makes its contribution to the UN Expanded Program. But certain farm organizations . . . have advocated separate US con-

tributions . . . He pointed out that the cooperation and coordination achieved through the Expanded Program saves money, minimizes confusion, and obviates frustration. . . .

Dan Benedict pointed out that apparently one strong argument put forward for separate contributions to each of the various specialized agencies was that the Soviet Union was not a member of the Food and Agriculture Organization. But the Soviet Union can become a member of FAO at any time if it chooses to do so.

More basically, the US must determine whether it desires to meet the challenge of communism in the world or pull out and leave the field to communist countries.

He also pointed out the great need for a SUNFED program for the underdeveloped countries and the values of such a program to the US.

Theodore Geiger reminded us . . . that never before has there been such a concerted and cooperative effort to spread technical knowledge and skills . . .; that in the last analysis this whole program comes down to people and that lack of properly trained persons is one of the biggest restricting factors in the whole technical assistance field. . . .

The following findings are drawn from the statements of the speakers, of the panel members and from the comments from the floor. . . .

1. To date, the development of atomic power has resulted largely from national efforts to increase military strength. Atomic energy can, however, be of the greatest benefit to mankind in all his activities. But man can enter into this new era of abundance only if he can parallel his technological and scientific skills with a growing reverence for life, appreciation of human dignity, and a willingness to cooperate for the good of all. . . .

2. The creation of the International Atomic Energy Agency will open up a new dimension in the field of technical assistance and economic development. All nations, whether highly industrialized or underdeveloped, can benefit from this program. . . .

3. The Statute of the International Atomic Energy Agency . . . should be approved overwhelmingly by the US Senate.

4. Despite the emphasis on economic development by the underdeveloped countries, the gap in productivity between the highly developed countries and the less developed countries is widening. Means must be found to increase the rate of development in less advanced countries while developing and strengthening democratic institutions. If such methods are not available to these nations, they may sacrifice freedom for economic development. There is an urgent need for a much larger long-range economic development program channelled, wherever possible, through the UN.

5. The UN is the most acceptable channel for supplying technical skills and capital to the less economically developed countries. The UN Expanded Technical Assistance Program should be increased to the limit of its capacity. The US should contribute its full share to the UNETAP and should not be restricted by an arbitrary one-third limitation. At the same time, the US technical assistance and humanitarian economic aid programs should be continued.

6. The US should vigorously support the creation of a Special UN Fund for Economic Development or a similar program to supplement the work of the Technical Assistance Programs and to finance the construction of facilities which offer no satisfactory return to private capital but which create the conditions under which private investment can contribute substantially to economic development. SUNFED should be undertaken now when it is needed to raise living standards, reduce tensions and help create stable, free governments, rather than awaiting the signing of a disarmament agreement.

7. A worldwide program of technical assistance is obviously complex and it is therefore necessary to coordinate the work of the technical assistance programs of the UN and the specialized agencies. The US should continue to make its contribution to the Expanded Program . . . rather than breaking up this contribution into separate sums for the UN and the specialized agencies. . . .

8. The US should actively meet the challenge of the presence in the UN and in the specialized agencies of nations having differing ideologies . . . and should not withdraw because such nations are members.

9. A key problem facing both the US and the UN technical assistance programs is the lack of persons with adequate skills, tolerance, respect for differing cultures, and willingness to work in less economically developed countries. New efforts should be made to recruit, train, and properly use and compensate persons for these programs.

10. Further exploration should be made of the role which the technical assistance programs of the non-governmental organizations, educational institutions, and foundations can play in supplementing technical assistance programs of the various nations and of international organizations. Cooperatives should be encouraged in underdeveloped countries.

11. . . . all organizations and individuals are encouraged to give active support to greatly expanded efforts in the technical assistance and economic development field. . . .

To Promote Justice for the Individual: Should the US Ratify International Conventions?

The Section on "Should the United States Ratify International Conventions?" met under the chairmanship of Dean C. J. Nuesse, Catholic University of America. The keynote speaker was Congressman Henry Reuss of Wisconsin. Panel members were: Roger N. Baldwin, American Civil Liberties Union; Frieda Miller, former Technical Assistance Expert, ILO; Harry Pollak, AFL-CIO; Morris S. Rosenthal, Vice Chairman, Arbitration Commission, International Chamber of Commerce; and Quincy Wright, Professor of International Law. Will Maslow, American Jewish Congress, was the rapporteur. We present below Mr. Maslow's report.

. . . The answer from the panelists [to the above question] was unanimously "yes," and I would say that the overwhelming consensus in the audience was similarly "yes."

I think perhaps therefore I would be most helpful if I were to summarize the discussion during our sessions. . . .

Perhaps the best way this story can be told is chronologically. From 1946 to 1953 the United States played its rightful role, and perhaps we might almost use the term leading role, in the United Nations in the effort to promote human rights. Our own Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt was chariman of the Commission on Human Rights and during that period the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was promulgated . . . The same period also witnessed the promulgation of the Genocide Convention to which now 55 countries have acceded.

In 1953, however, a threat to this whole move developed when Senator Bricker of Ohio proposed his so-called Bricker Amendment . . . What Senator Bricker was trying to do was to prevent the US from entering into multilateral treaties which affected civil rights or which in any way encroached upon the rights of States. He also sought to prevent the US Government from increasing its powers to enact legislation by the enactment of treaties.

Originally this move had a great deal of at least nominal support in the Senate. At this point, Secretary Dulles in his testimony in April 1953 [before a Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee] although he opposed the Bricker Amendment on behalf of the Administration, announced that the US would no longer participate in the movement to promote human rights by international treaty. And he stated, in fact he pledged, that the US Government would not submit any such treaties for ratification.

Thus, although Senator Bricker was not able to achieve the two-thirds vote for his amendment required by the Constitution, he was able by intimidation to accomplish all that he sought. And some of the audience felt that the Bricker Amendment was still a potential threat.

Since that time in 1953 no multilateral treaties for the promotion of human rights have been signed by our Government. The one convention, the Genocide Convention, which had been signed and indeed submitted to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, languished there. The State Department has taken no action to hasten its ratification.

And, lastly, we have even gone further and announced in advance to the UN that we will not sign any treaty before we even know the provisions of the treaty.

Our representatives in the UN are apparently unwilling or unable to tell the international community that it is the fear of Senator Bricker and what he stands for that prompts this abdication of US responsibility. And, therefore, all sorts of answers are given . . . When the Slavery Convention, a Convention to which the US became a party in 1926, was being revised last year, our representative announced that we would not sign the convention because there is no slavery in the United States.

There are comparable situations, as Mr. Morris Rosenthal . . . pointed out to us. The US now has a Federal Statute which allows the Federal Courts to recognize a commercial arbitration award made in another country. An effort was made by treaty to expand this concept of having the courts of one's own country recognize these commercial arbitration agreements which are so necessary in the conduct of international trade. Our Government not only refused to sign the treaty or to participate in its drafting, it strenuously opposed even placing the subject on the agenda of the Economic and Social Council.

The net result is that the foreign businessman can obtain recognition of a commercial arbitration award in this country, but the American businessman cannot obtain it in other countries. . . .

Since then there have been other conventions promulgated by the UN, conventions on the political rights of women, the status of married women, conventions on dependency and so on, but none of these has been signed by the US.

When Secretary Dulles announced this new policy of the United States in 1953, he advanced a substitute which was called the US Action Program . . . The Program consists of three parts. It is the Program now followed by our representatives in the United Nations.

In lieu of promoting human rights by treaty, it was proposed, first, that member states should sumbit annual reports to a United Nations body on the progress of civil rights.

Second, that the Secretariat should offer technical assistance to any country that sought it in promoting civil rights.

And, third, that United Nations organs should undertake studies of individual civil rights. . . .

The panel felt that this new Action Program was accomplishing very little. It was pointed out that first of all when a member state of the UN reports on what is happening in its country, that report is hardly likely to be an accurate picture of denial of civil rights. It is more likely to be misleading than helpful.

Second, as far as the technical assistance is concerned, when a country asks the UN to provide technical assistance in order to improve civil rights and civil liberties, it is in such an advanced state that it does not need that assistance and can get it elsewhere very easily.

And, third, it was pointed out that because of the very method by which the UN operates, it is difficult to get out of such a body a critical study dealing with controversial matters . . . So we cannot look to these organs of the UN to promote studies that will become classics in their field. On the contrary, more useful work is likely to come from individual scholars who are not tied down because they are representatives of their Government.

It was pointed out, I think by Professor Wright, that this move to promote human rights by multilateral treaties, is not merely a humanitarian effort, but that there are national interests of the US that are being served by such treaties. He pointed out, for example, that we cannot control narcotics traffic except by international action. He pointed out likewise that in the propaganda phase of the cold war we were unduly hampering ourselves when Russia recognizes and signs the Genocide Convention and the US does not. We simply put ourselves in a ridiculous position in the United Nations.

Finally, it was pointed out that raising living standards and reducing tensions were all means of helping to reduce the possibilities of war, the chief reason for the creation of the United Nations.

Professor Wright also pointed out that one of the great weaknesses of the new Action Program of the State Department is that it left untouched the basic difficulty in this area, the problem of domestic jurisdiction . . . As long as you are dealing only with reports and studies and technical assistance, a country like South Africa can insist that the UN has no jurisdiction to deal with its domestic problems. However, once a treaty is signed, then the problem is no longer a domestic question. It becomes a question of international law and the fulfillment or non-fulfillment of that obligation is an international question.

In conclusion, the panel felt that the most helpful way in which the UN could proceed was not by attempting to draft a complete catalogue of human rights (this effort has only led to interminable discussion and wrangling because the nations in the world, in different stages of development, necessarily had different notions as to what was primary and salient), but that the best method of proceeding was by dealing with one right at a time, e.g. slavery, genocide, arbitrary exile, discrimination, and education and so on.

Finally, the panel agreed that perhaps one of the best methods to get some action in our own country was to get some support for the resolution advanced by Senator Humphrey, I think it is Senate Joint Resolution 117, in which Senator Humphrey called upon the State Department to sign and submit to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee these treaties designed to promote human rights . . . The panel also stressed the importance of more education in the grass roots, particularly among teachers in public schools.

For a copy of the complete

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OF NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Washington, D.C. March 3, 4 and 5

Write to

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FOR THE UNITED NATIONS

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American Jewish Congress

May 24, 1957

Mr. Julius Schatz
Community Service Bureau
American Jewish Congress
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Mr. Schatz:

Thank you for your letter of May 22nd and the check covering my expenses in connection with attendance at the Convention of the Women's Division of the American Jewish Congress.

Once again may I say that I found the Convention both stimulating and constructive, and I hope that you will call on the staff of the Southern Regional Council at any time in the future when our services may be of use to you.

Sincerely yours,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:mm

July 8, 1957

Mr. Samuel Lubin
The American Jewish Committee
41 Exchange Place
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Sam:

Thanks for reading the little pamphlet I lent Harold Murray. I was impressed that the Fairfax (Virginia) Citizens Council made the effort to look up each speaker at the Woman's Division annual meeting.

Best personal regards,

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:lec

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Atlanta Area Office

TO: MR. FRED ROUTH

Mr. Harold Murray borrowed this when he was here and wishes to return it to you.

Thanks very much.

Samuel Lubin

Area Director

41 EXCHANGE PLACE

JAckson 3-8451 ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

July 22, 1957

Mr. Joseph B. Robison
Senior Staff Counsel
American Jewis Congress
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Mr. Robison:

Please send us fifteen copies of the American Jewish Congress' pamphlet ASSAULT UPON FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION. Bill us for cost.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

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WILL MASLOW, General Counsel

June 24, 1957

Florence B. Irving
Research Assistant
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Miss Irving:

Pursuant to your request of June 19, we are enclosing herewith a copy of our new pamphlet ASSAULT UPON FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION--A STUDY OF THE SOUTHERN ATTACK ON THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE. This copy is being sent to you without charge.

If you should require additional copies the price will be 50 cents for individual copies and 35 cents for each copy in bulk orders of 100 or more.

Yours sincerely,

Joseph B. Robison
Senior Staff Counsel

a/w
Encl.

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Memorandum from . . . . AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

15 East 84th Street, New York 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

August 19, 1957

TO: Speakers and Artists

We are now checking and revising our biographical records and files. Enclosed is a copy of your biography.

Will you be good enough to look it over carefully and make all necessary deletions, additions and changes. If there are none, please initial the biography with the notation "O.K."

Please return the corrected biography immediately to the Community Service Bureau, American Jewish Congress, 15 East 84th Street, New York 28, N.Y.

Julius Schatz

Enc.

303

September 11, 1957

Mr. Julian Schatz
American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Mr. Schatz:

This is in reply to your memorandum of August 19, relative to the biographical sketch of Dr. George Sinclair Mitchell. Dr. Mitchell is no longer with the Council but is living in Glencoe, Argyll, SCOTLAND.

We are returning the sketch to you in the event you wish to mail it to him there.

Sincerely,

(Miss) L. E. Cummings
Secretary to the Director
of Information

lec
Encl.

October 2, 1957

Mr. Gustave Falk
American Jewish Committee
523 Fidelity Buildings
Dallas 2, Texas

Dear Gustave:

It was good to talk with you yesterday about the possibilities of my stopping off in Dallas to talk with the AJC. This I shall be glad to do.

I am writing our Director, Ed Kloppe, in Austin about inviting you to the inter-agency meeting to be held on October 11 and 12. I have asked him to make hotel reservations for you the night of the 11th.

You asked for some biographical material about me. I was reared in south Florida, received my A.B. and M.A. degrees at the University of Miami, and did my doctoral work at the Center for Human Relations Studies at New York University. During World War II I served as an officer in Naval Air Intelligence. I taught at the University of Miami in the Department of Human Relations for three years. I have been with the Southern Regional Council as Assistant Director for the past three years.

I trust this is sufficient information for your purpose.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

cc: Mr. Kloppe

FBR:fcl

AJC

October 25, 1957

Mr. Gustave Falk, Area Director
The American Jewish Committee
523 Fidelity Building
Dallas 2, Texas

Dear Gus:

Thank you for your letter of October 24 with the many enclosures. Unfortunately they did not include a copy of the material on the economic aspects of this problem which you showed me on the plane between Austin and Dallas. I would still very much like to have a copy of this particular clip.

I am arriving in Dallas on the 5th as scheduled on Delta flight 911, arriving in Dallas at 1.02 in the afternoon and I shall leave Dallas for Atlanta the next morning at 8.25. Would you please make reservations for me at the Adolphus or the Baker?

I shall be glad to comply with the twenty minutes restriction. As a friend of mine from Texas said: "If you can't strike oil in twenty minutes quit boring." As to paying for my expenses I will submit a voucher upon my return to Atlanta and you can reimburse the Council.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

FBR Replied Oct. 25, 1957.

AJC

SOUTHWEST AREA OFFICE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

GUSTAVE F. FALK
Area Director

523 FIDELITY BLDG.
DALLAS 2, TEXAS
Tel. RIverside 7-2830

October 24, 1957

Mr. Frederick Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.

Dear Fred:

I delayed my letter to you about your visit to Dallas on November 5 until I was able to send you an announcement of this event, which is enclosed herewith. We are looking forward to having you with us.

Would you want me to make a hotel reservation for you or will you take care of this matter yourself. How long do you plan to remain in Dallas?

The program will be divided into two parts, 1) A background statement by yourself and 2) An audience discussion period. Please note that the meeting will begin at 8:00 P.M. and adjourn at 10:00 P.M. followed by a social hour.

We would like you to give an overall review and development of the desegregation issue in the south; the preparation necessary for communities to make, collectively and individually, in order to avoid the breakdown of law and order; the role and responsibility of the citizen in affecting a peaceful solution to the problem; and the challenge which the Dallas community will have to face in the implementation of the integration process in February.

This background statement should not exceed 20 minutes and should pose rather than resolve the problem for the purpose of stimulating and guiding the discussion which will follow. I realize that this is a large order, but I know that you are well-qualified to handle the situation. You will also have the opportunity to speak about your Southern Regional Council, its aims and program. The discussion period will afford you the opportunity of amplifying your remarks and to answer questions which will undoubtedly be thrown at you.

Have you heard from Ed Kloppe? He was in Dallas for 2 days last week, but I have not received any further word from him. How is the inventory proceeding? During your Dallas visit, I would like to arrange a meeting for you with a local layman who is playing a leadership role in the type of program which we considered effective at

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231-5-57
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our conference in Austin.

Enclosed are newspaper items and a report on the Griffin meeting in Houston. I thought you would be interested in seeing them.

While our Chapter is unable to pay an honorarium for your services, we shall meet your expenses for the trip. Would you prefer to send us your expense account after your visit, or have an advance for transportation, etc.? Please let me know.

I am looking forward to seeing you.

Cordially,

Gustave

Gustave Falk

GF:im
Encl.
cc: Jack Goren

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EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
ALBERT GOLDSTEIN

ASSISTANT DIRECTOR
IRWIN L. GLATSTEIN

October 23, 1957

Mr. Gus Falk
American Jewish Committee
523 Fidelity Bldg.
Dallas, Texas

Dear Gus

Carroll Jacob called and asked me to send you a report on the Griffin meeting last evening.

About 2700 persons turned out, a polyglot audience and one it was difficult to assess. About 50 state legislators attended an earlier dinner sponsored by the Citizens Council honoring Griffin, and most of them actually made it to the meeting.

Martin Dies introduced Griffin, in a nice rabble-rouser--but the rabble did not rouse. There was repeated applause, usually on cue, but there was something lacking. Dies attacked, by thinly veiled innuendo, Lyndon Johnson and Sam Rayburn for their part in the civil rights bill.

Griffin's speech was a pitch for a 3rd party to unify the south, and an offer to be the man on the white horse.

Both Griffin and Bob Milner, the Houston oil man who is one of the prime movers of Citizens Council and chairman of the event, repeatedly made the point that segregation is no longer the issue, but states rights was the cause. Both repudiated use of force and violence (although a few weeks ago Milner offered to recruit 2000 Texans to march to the defense of Little Rock. He could have afforded it, too.)

The speeches were hackneyed, and there is no pointing in wearing out a typewriter ribbon quoting them.

Literature was distributed, mostly reprint stuff from the American Mercury, Free Men Speak, etc. Only one piece, quoting some of McQuire's pieces from American Mercury, could be construed as anti-semitic. One piece attacked the Texas Baptist Convention.

From my observation few persons were responding to the membership drive in Citizens Council and not many more were seen making contributions to the pretty, but somewhat shopworn, ladies soliciting (contributions, that is).

In a word, it was a dull meeting; suprisingly sedate and well mannered; and much below the excitement level of one of our typical hot precinct meetings during the gubernatorial election.

The platform committee was made up of an amalgam of Citizens Council, Minute Women and Constitution Party notables.

One of the aftermaths (can there be a plural) will be a hassle with our Citizen Council superintendent of schools and Minute Women board over the use of two high school groups (band and glee club) to entertain. Some of the clergymen, who were involved in our earlier statement, have been protesting, and several of our school board members have agreed to take the matter up at the next meeting of the school board.

Milner felt that criticism was growing sufficiently so that he had to comment on the non-radical nature of Citizens Council, a criticism that has gained considerable courrency among the clergy--radicals being those who resort to lawlessness and violence to contravene the law.

And on that good word, I'll conclude.

Cordially,

Irvin L. Clatstein

ILC/rr

cc: Carroll Jacob
Frank Freed

10/4/57 Chronicle

Houston Post 10/4/57

Fred Routh

Governor Of Georgia Slated For Talk Here

Gov Marvin Griffin of Georgia, who refused to attend President Eisenhower's conference with a group of Southern governors Tuesday when Eisenhower broadened the discussion beyond the question of removal of federal troops, from Little Rock, Ark., will speak in Houston Tuesday, Oct 22.

Gov. Griffin will speak at the Music Hall at 8 p.m. The public will be invited and there will be no admission charge.

The invitation was made during the visit of a group of prominent Houstonians to Atlanta last week.

Constitution, Rights

His subject will be "The Constitution and States Rights." He is expected to deal with the Little Rock situation and the use of federal troops there.

Griffin was one of five governors named at the conference of governors to meet with Eisenhower after the President sent troops into the Arkansas capital to force admission of nine Negro children to a high school there.

However, Gov Griffin said the President had not agreed to limit the discussion to removal of the troops, and refused to attend.

Reservation

He telegraphed Gov. Luther Hodges of North Carolina, head of the governors' conference, saying he would not discuss with the President at this meeting "the operation of public schools of Georgia."

Griffin was elected governor in 1954 after serving as lieutenant governor. He is a Bainbridge, Ga., newspaper publisher.

GOV MARVIN GRIFFIN
States Rights Speech

Griffin To Speak Here; Sponsorship Is Uncertain

The Citizens Council of America in Texas, Inc, has rented the Music Hall for the night of Oct 22 for an address by Gov Marvin Griffin of Georgia, Francis Deering, director of the City Public Properties Division said Friday.

Despite this, and the fact that Deering said the Council's recording secretary, Mrs Sam H. Davis, made the reservation, Council Chairman Robert L. Milner said the organization isn't sponsoring Griffin's appearance.

MILNER, WHO asked that his and other council officials' names not be used, said the $300 rental fee was being paid by "several patriotic organizations."

Gov Griffin is to speak at 8 PM on "The Constitution and States Rights." The public has been invited to hear the address and no admission will be charged.

Gov Griffin this week refused to attend a conference of Southern governors in Washington with President Eisenhower. He said he withdrew from the conference when Mr Eisenhower indicated he would broaden the discussions to cover other integration matters than the withdrawal of federal troops from Central High School in Little Rock, Ark.

THE GEORGIA chief executive wired Gov Luther Hodges of North Carolina, head of the governor's conference, that he would not discuss "the operation of public schools of Georgia" in the meeting with Mr. Eisenhower.

The 50-year-old governor is a native of Georgia and a newspaper publisher and radio station owner.

HE GOT HIS political start in 1935, winning a seat in the Georgia General Assembly. He served until 1936 when he moved up to become executive secretary to the governor. From 1944 through 1947 he was adjutant general and in 1948 became lieutenant governor. Griffin moved into the governor's mansion in 1951.

GOV. MARVIN GRIFFIN
To Speak In Houston

Chronicle 10/4/57

Georgia's Gov Griffin Advised To 'Stay Home'

Houston Post 10/7/57

CORPUS CHRISTI — (AP) — The Corpus Christi Caller-Times Sunday advised Gov Marvin Griffin of Georgia to "stay home."

The comment followed reports that "an unidentified group of prominent Houstonians," had invited Griffin to speak there Oct 22 on "The Constitution and States' Rights."

"NO THOUGHTFUL Texan will welcome this aggressive advocate of white supremacy and militant segregationist to the Lone Star State," the Caller-Times said.

"For Griffin has left his ominous footprints in Arkansas. Texas neither wants nor needs his footprints here."

"The Texas approach to the integration of its public schools is exclusively a Texas problem. It is admittedly one of the most serious problems that has faced the state—at least the eastern part—since 1861. No outside agitator, whether it be John Kasper or Marvin Griffin, has any place in Texas trying to tell Texans how to run their business."

● Gov Marvin Griffin will speak in Houston at 8 PM Tuesday, Oct 22, at the Music Hall.

ALTHOUGH THE Citizens Council of America in Texas, Inc, rented the hall, it denied sponsorship.

CROSS COUNTRY

By WELDON OWENS
Times Herald Staff Writer

in Air Purifies

a good trend in my precinct. They're having ings to iron out the everyday wrinkles in com- The panel pattern is popular for airing prob-

the best things in the world for a problem

ke the other night in IRVING. Fowler Brock moderator, and school parents poured in with xities. Panel members were Mrs. W. H. Hef- s. Earl Campbell and Jim Eardley.

ybody got down to brass tacks, and little hat could have—without air—putrefied, were Simply by airing.

Georgia Governor Urges Racist Unity

HOUSTON (AP)—Gov. Marvin Griffin of Georgia last night called for formation of "the biggest, most resolute organization in the South we have ever had" to halt integration and protect states' rights.

"The time has come in the South when we must unite," Griffin told an audience of 2,700 predominantly pro-segregationists which included 60 members of the Texas Legislature.

"If we organize, become resolute, nothing will be able to move us, not one foot," Griffin said.

He said he wouldn't be a candidate for President in 1960, but would support a third party candidate, "if it means the salvation of this country and the protection of the people's rights under the Constitution."

The entire crowd joined in singing "Dixie" and "The Eyes of Texas" to the music of a white high school band. During the meeting several persons in the audience waved small Confederate flags.

"MONSTROUS SITUATION"

Griffin said the Supreme Court desegregation rulings have brought the South "face to face with a monstrous situation which threatens . . . strife never before seen in our country."

Criticizing President Eisenhower's dispatch of troops to Little Rock, Griffin said the action would set a precedent, which if allowed to continue, "will sound the death-knell of constitutional government as we have known it in America."

He said Southern states were "falling in line to win this battle through legal means and through court action." He said the South is "unanimously opposing violent measures of any kind."

COURT VIEWS HIT

Gov. Griffin said the desegregation rulings ignored state constitutions and long-standing precedents.

"Instead, the court based its rulings on the opinions of certain individuals which the court termed 'modern authorities' in the field of psychology, sociology and anthropology," he said.

Griffin charged that Democratic and Republican leaders "have been vying with each other to see who could drive the knife deeper into the backs of the people of the South."

He said he was not a moderate and warned Southern politicians that "no longer can they pussy-foot" on segregation.

His speech was sponsored by the Citizens Council of America in Texas, Inc., a pro-segregation organization.

Griffin and his party were to fly to Georgia today.

Home workshops, with the increase of "do it yourself" fans using power tools, are becoming as dangerous for eye accidents as industrial plants. The National Society for Prevention of Blindness urges wearing of eye protection in home workshops.

Poisonous snakes native to Texas are copperheads, water moccasins, rattlers and coral snakes.

The acreage of forest land in Russia is more than 44 per cent of the country's total area.

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when you need it most!
The Lone Star Cadillac name plate on the rear of your car will bring immediate roadside assistance from any of our 165 loyal employees. For more than 23 years it has been Lone Star employee policy to stop and aid our friends and customers.
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DALLAS - DESEGREGATION

Times Call for Statesmanship

THE INTEGRATION crisis has so many aspects—legal, social, moral, political and practical—that it is difficult for anyone to appreciate its full significance.

Not since the War Between the States has there come up any domestic situation more disturbing to the public and more conductive to discord and bitterness than the current one.

Thus far the controversy has been characterized more by emotional outbursts and uncautious official action than by calm deliberation, patience and forethought. Zealots on both sides of the question have dominated the picture and have made more difficult the task of citizens and authorities who wish to solve peaceably the problems involved.

If the crisis continues to generate bitterness and violence the real sufferers will be the children, both Negro and white. They will be psychologically upset, their classwork will be interrupted, and, in some states, public school systems may be wrecked.

Politicians are speculating on how the controversy will affect their respective parties, when they might be better employed in considering the welfare of the children and in seeking a wise solution for a problem that can be solved only by patriotic statesmanship. To paraphrase an old saw, it is time for all parties to come to the aid of their country.

The Supreme Court precipitated the crisis and the high tribunal in its wisdom should be able to clarify its position and simplify the practical task of executives who are guided by its decrees. The Constitution was established to, among other things, "insure domestic tranquillity," and it must be interpreted to that end if it is to "promote the general welfare."

When the ominous threat of atomic warfare hangs over all mankind, and when sinister foes of our way of life are rampant, it is deplorable for citizens of the United States and their constituted officials to speak and act as though they gave no thought to the consequences of their statements and actions. If there ever was a time for calmness on the part of our public and our officialdom, that time is now.

DALLAS TIMES HERALD 10/23/57

DALLAS CHAPTER

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

D-DAY - IN - DALLAS

A CHAPTER EVENING DISCUSSION MEETING

ON

Tuesday, November 5, 1957

8:00 P.M.

Temple Emanuel - Rooms A & B

8500 Hillcrest Road

***

Discussion Leader

Federick B. Routh, Atlanta, Georgia

Assistant Director, Southern Regional Council

***

D ALLAS

ESEGREGATION

DAY IN FEBRUARY

THE WHAT - THE HOW - THE WHERETO

Attendance limited to Members and their Invited Guests

Please Return the Enclosed ATTENDANCE CARD

SOCIAL HOUR - REFRESHMENTS

SOUTHWEST AREA OFFICE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

GUSTAVE F. FALK
Area Director

523 FIDELITY BLDG.
DALLAS 2, TEXAS
Tel. RIverside 7-2830

AJC

October 28, 1957

for our "economic" files - FBR

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Fred:

In reply to your letter of October 25th the newspaper items which were inadvertently omitted from your letter are enclosed herewith.

A hotel reservation has been made for you at the Statler-Hilton for November 5th. Please telephone me from the hotel. I would like to have a dinner date with you.

Cordially yours,

Gustave

Gustave Falk

GF:im
Encl.

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NATIONAL OFFICE: 386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

231-5-57
261

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

COMMUNITY AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

HOW SOUTHERN COMMUNITIES CAN PREVENT THE DETERIORATION OF GROUP RELATIONS UNDER THE IMPACT OF SEGREGATIONIST AGITATION

Findings and Recommendations Based on Visits to Little Rock, Ark., Memphis, Tenn., and Nashville, Tenn. in October, 1957.

S. ANDHIL FINEBERG

SUMMARY:

Governor Faubus has galvanized all elements of the South from the most respectable to the most disreputable in what they consider to be a last ditch defense of their most cherished mores. The segregation issue has taken a place in popular thought far beyond its true importance. Other questions of public interest have gone by the board.

While the conflict threatens comparatively few communities with physical violence, it produces widespread divisivness and many subtle forms of cruelty and injustice which inflict great injury on Negroes and also whites who resist the popular views. The danger should not be conceived only in terms of lawlessness and disorder. Channels of communication and freedom of expression have been destroyed in some communities. These essentials of civic life will be destroyed in many more cities unless immediate steps are taken to prevent the kind of social collapse that has occurred in Little Rock.

Circumstances vary greatly in different cities. In the main, the same program can be useful wherever the overwhelming majority of whites are committed to the "Southern way of life." This program must be based on the common denominators of good citizenship which are valid whether one is for desegregation or against it. In most instances this effort must be separate from efforts to further the acceptance of integration.

No one pattern of organization will meet the needs of all areas, or of all the cities that are within one area. Three main types of organization are described in this report. Even where none of these three suggested structures fits the locale or where it is desirable but not feasible, a study of these plans will provide suggestions for interested local citizens from which they can produce a practical design to meet their own needs.

Each of the three organizational plans is described briefly in this report. Much lengthier and more detailed descriptions are available on request in Supplements I, II and III.

Recent interviews in Little Rock, Nashville and Memphis furnished grist for this report. The reporter's conclusions have been influenced also by his observations in Gary, Indiana (1947) and in Baltimore and in Washington (in 1954) during the opening of schools on a desegregated basis there, as well as by conversations in 1957 in some communities where desegregation has not begun (such as Waco, Texas - Baton Rouge, Louisiana - and Meridian, Mississippi). A great amount of reading and discussion regarding developments in other cities (such as Milford, Clinton and Louisville) is also reflected here.

1. The Need for Perspective:

Pressure groups have been forming throughout the South to preserve Southern mores and especially to defeat the attempts of the federal government to enforce the Supreme Court decision requiring school desegregation. These groups, generally known as White Citizens Councils, have four advantages over proponents of desegregation in their own communities. (1) They are organized to achieve their purposes, whereas their opposition is not organized locally. (2) Their goal is extremely popular among the white citizens of the South. In fact, it is "mixing of the races" that is considered immoral, sinful, unethical and even un-Christian, to an extent that Northerners find difficult to comprehend. (3) The weapon of the pro-segregation councils is intimidation, and Southern whites, as well as Negroes, frequently yield to intimidation where race relations are concerned. (4) Ample hate literature is rapidly being produced to serve the purposes of hate fomenting organizations. There is no comparable body of literature that meets the most urgent current need in the South.

How to accomplish desegregation in the South is a gigantic problem which will require an energetic program. But how can one make intelligent progress toward this goal in communities where anything that smacks of helping the Negroes in any way that might break down race barriers, is anathema? In Little Rock a quarter of a century of improvement in race relations through interracial effort has suddenly come to a halt. The most for which the ministers and rabbis dared pray there was (not desegregation) but "support and preservation of law and order, for the leaders of this community, for the casting out of rancor and prejudice in favor of understanding and compassion and for the people's resistance against unthinking agitators."

The leading clergymen of Little Rock were aware that they face an ominous civic problem which engulfs the problem of school desegregation as a major illness dwarfs a lesser one. Desegregation became so hateful to the Little Rock white populace that only the most courageous could defend the policy of our federal government, which is also the policy of their own national church and synagog bodies, of their YMCA's and their YWCA's nationally, of their international labor unions and of other national bodies to which they belong. Not only are the liberals in the minority, but they are potential (and in some instances, actual) scapegoats in areas where there are experts in the art of scapegoating. Unless freedom of speech can be restored, unless channels of communication can be reopened and unless lawlessness, violence and disorder can be made thoroughly unpopular, there will be more divisiveness, boycotting, and bitter animosities, which may not be publicized. Moreover, without preventive measures, the experience of Clinton and Little Rock are likely to be repeated.

Nothing short of a well organized program of public education in each Southern community can prevent great injury to the civic fabric of many communities as the federal government moves on, as it must, to enforce by legal means, the decisions of the Supreme Court. There are excellent reasons why the South should not sacrifice vital interests to preserve the system of separate education for whites and Negroes. But these will have to be convincingly portrayed in programs of education specifically tailored to the situation in the Southern communities. In brief, organized effort is needed in each community to maintain

channels of communication, to bring friends of law and order together on the same platforms regardless of their attitudes toward school desegregation, and to make it abundantly clear that there are areas, such as health, transportation, industrial development, family welfare, and the like in which all citizens have a stake regardless of race and religion, and regardless of whether the schools are desegregated. It should become the declared policy of the white citizenry, including the power structure and the masses, to prove the vaunted friendship of the whites for the Negroes is genuine, and that this friendship is too valuable to be destroyed because of debate over one issue -- desegregation.

2. A Contrast in Situations:

Race Relations

In Memphis there has been no progress toward desegregation but there is considerable optimism concerning the relations of whites and Negroes. The Greater Memphis ~~Interracial~~ Committee established in 1954 includes leading white and Negro citizens. The whites and the Negroes meet separately but what transpired at each organization was known to the other and there was informal cooperation. More recently the executive committees of the two organizations have been meeting to discuss matters of mutual interest. The Negro leadership which includes the best educated, most cultured and public spirited members of their community has been asking for certain concessions from the whites, such as desegregation of the buses to the airport. Unless these Negro leaders obtain some such gains, they are not likely to retain their leadership. If the Urban League must leave the Memphis Community Chest, as has happened elsewhere, and if the situation of the Negroes deteriorates in other respects, the Memphis white citizenry may find that far less admirable members of the Negro community, persons with much less concern for the welfare of their fellow-Negroes and for whites will gain prominence and power in the Negro community. However, the existing organizations and the bridge between them constitute a valuable mechanism for maintaining communication and for making the entire citizenry of Memphis conscious of the fact that all share a common fate, regardless of color.

In Nashville a Community Relations Conference was established several years ago. It has always been interracial. At the outset the Conference avoided taking a stand on desegregation but for the past year and more it has stood squarely for school desegregation. Although it was quite inactive during the dramatic days of the school opening in September 1957, when its president was abroad, it had undoubtedly performed great service in preparing for school desegregation. It can be reactivated readily to continue its efforts on behalf of better group relations. As in Memphis, the credentials of the outstanding interracial organization are beyond questioning. Blue-blooded Southerners, as Southern as any, are at the helm.

Little Rock provides a contrast to the organizational situation in Memphis and Nashville. This is the more lamentable because praiseworthy individuals among whites and Negroes have been working together. But they did not have the support and sanction of the power group of the city. Nor did they receive wide public support. The Arkansas Council on Human Relations maintained an executive director whose home has been in Little Rock for two and a half years. But Governor Faubus' sudden manoeuver, which deprived the City of Little Rock of its autonomy and wrecked a situation which would otherwise have been as good as in Nashville, ~~as~~ far as the school situation is concerned, found the citizens of Little Rock ~~un~~ off guard, ~~prepared~~. Belatedly twenty-five leading citizens have sought to straighten out the situation and addressed a statement to Governor Faubus. It is notable that all of the signers of the statement are white.

Memphis faces the advent of desegregation with confidence in a group of citizens united through an established bi-racial arrangement. Nashville has a strong interracial group committed to school desegregation and there the public is breathing more easily, glad that the first step has been taken, the shock survived. Little Rock is in a dilemma too well known to need description and there is no organization that can cope with the situation.

The saddest feature of the entire South-wide situation is that numerous interracial organizations that have been functioning in many cities, allied in most instances to the Southern Regional Council, have lost much of their potency because they are committed in regard to desegregation. They should, of course, continue their endeavors. But another type of organization is needed wherein the strongest possible voices unite to oppose lawlessness and disorder, to maintain communications, to bolster faith in the total community and to create an atmosphere wherein one can speak on behalf of segregation or desegregation without thereby inviting punitive measures. This can only be done by an organization which has exactly that for its purpose and can enlist, at least on some of its public programs, segregationists as well as desegregationists, though not in debate on that subject.

3. The Dangers of Inaction:

The situation in the South is fraught with peril for any group or individual who can be made a scapegoat in the situation which now involves frustration and anger against the tide of events. The tendency among those who fear they may be victimized is to stay out of the debate, to steer clear of identification with the problem, to act as though the controversy over desegregation does not exist. Although they are deeply aware of it, and even panicky about it, many Southerners prefer inaction. This blunder, if made persistently, will be very costly. Nor will dealing with individual incidents here and there help much. The situation resembles that which confronted the Jews of the United States when Nazi inspired anti-Semitism was highly troublesome. As was then the case, a program of public education on a large scale is necessary.

A sad commentary on the situation is that the Superintendent of Schools of Little Rock and the Principal of Central High School (among others) there told this reporter that there is no literature which they can give to the pupils of Central High School which would help them to understand the situation in which these pupils find themselves. There have been excellent Editorials and Letters to the Editor in the Arkansas Gazette (Little Rock) and very good articles in this and other newspapers. But the periodical material does not deal with the question. "What should my conduct (the conduct of a white pupil) be when Negroes become my fellow-students while my parents, other relatives and friends tell me that this is a disgraceful violation of their rights and mine?" In what terms can a teacher tell his pupils that the parents are taking an unwarranted stand?

4. Where Should School Integration Begin?

Experience thus far indicates that integration -- if gradual -- should begin with the first grade. Little children do not arouse the dreaded sex question. The little ones themselves do not become parties to the controversy. They accept children of other races readily. And their parents being younger people, are busy with too many domestic and other problems to come out daily and create

scenes around the school. The Little Rock school board was impressed by the successful effort of St. Louis to begin desegregation in the high school. For one thing, it involved fewer pupils and the possibility of selecting the most attractive Negro pupils. But there are more cogent reasons for starting with the youngest grades.

The most enlightened citizens of every community need to be well organized in preparation for integration. What needs to be done has been well outlined on the basis of experiences in Washington, Louisville and elsewhere. "A Guide to School Integration," a pamphlet of the Public Affairs Committee, is an example of the helpful material available on this subject. But other literature is likewise needed, to be used before some Southern communities even begin to discuss integration, and in advance of any program for desegregation of their schools. It is a program that will outlaw lawlessness and provide a united stand against those who make desegregation a vehicle for rabbl-rousing, hate-mongering and insidious attacks upon good citizens. We must face up to a perilous situation which was not anticipated prior to the "Faubus rebellion" and the troops in Little Rock.

5. Why Another Organization?

During the Nashville fracas, before the blowing up of a school building galvanized the citizenry against the White Citizens Council (which is now relatively impotent, as it is in Memphis) there was a Parents' Preference Committee, which made the papers almost daily in Nashville and which by its title and statements gave the impression of great resistance to desegregation. It added strength to the segregationists' arms. This Parent's Preference Committee received press notices throughout the United States and probably abroad too. It is now reliably reported that this very potent organization consisted of exactly two people. At least, they had the good sense to organize and select an impressive name.

Dynamic movements with small membership have often demonstrated that several or even many organizations can be formed and dissolved by the same people with alacrity and great effect. The announcement that an organization has been formed to Protect the Rights of the Foreign Born or to Promote Peace between the United States and Country X, has an effect on public opinion. When the organization can be launched with the most respected names and when it does conduct public programs, it can accomplish a great deal.

In most Southern cities it has been difficult to obtain the support of the most economically, socially and politically influential citizens for interracial organizations which endorse desegregation. The people who have the best status prefer to maintain the status quo. But it is now very much to the advantage of the power group, as well as the middle class, and of all others who have a stake in society to form and to endorse an organization that, without taking a stand on desegregation, will provide a positive program of public education beneficial to all citizens. That some of the people will be active in pro-desegregation organizations should not prevent their joining with a neutral organization to maintain civic tranquility.

One may well ask, "Why a new organization? Why not an existing one?" The answer as is that all reputable existing organizations would cooperate with a body that has its one main central purpose exactly what is recommended here. In Nashville, for example, when an Institute is held by the Conference on Human Relations every reputable local organization is invited to send representatives. Most do. A statement issued by THE CIVIC RELATIONS COUNCIL -- this is probably the best name to avoid all misunderstandings -- can be endorsed by many organizations.

Wherever it is impossible to get the most influential citizens to walk the two miles to desegregation, there should be no reluctance to walk the one mile that all good citizens can go together to prevent civic catastrophe. Meanwhile each person may belong to a dozen other organizations with diverse purposes and interests.

6. Varying Types of Organizations and Programs:

Will it be the Memphis plan or the Nashville plan or some other plan that will be best suited to a particular community? That depends on the present state of opinion Who constitute the local leadership? Who can muster the moral support of all decent elements of the community and what kind of organization will they support? Supplements to this report describe:

I. An interracial organization consisting of a white and of a Negro section, with Executive Committees that meet.

II. An all white Council that invites Negroes to participate in its public forums and discussions.

III. An interracial organization wherein members of both races participate fully.

Each of these supplements describes the steps needed to form the described type of organization. Here let it be said that the basic idea is patterned after what was done after the Detroit and Harlem riots when Human Relations Commissions were formed in many cities to carry on the programs which they have been conducting since their formation.

Here the structure (because of the ferocity of the racial issue) may have to be different in many cities. Here the program will likewise have different emphases. The methods of operation (Institutes, forums, publicity etc.) will be quite comparable. But it all adds up to definite goals for organizations established to conduct public education programs.

Will more riots occur before those who are most likely to be hurt initiate steps to meet the need? It is obvious that whatever public announcements are to appear, should be made by people who are in the least vulnerable positions. There will need to be small organizing meetings of perhaps five people, then fifteen, then the fifty whom the fifteen invite. But a few people who care must start the ball rolling with a feasible plan.

SAF/lhp
10/29/57

AJC

November 8, 1957

Mr. Gustave Falk, Area Director
The American Jewish Committee
523 Fidelity Building
Dallas 2, Texas

Dear Gus:

It was good to be with your group in Dallas. I am much impressed with their alertness and sensitivity to the problems which the Dallas community faces. I was sorry that you and I did not have more of an opportunity to chat and discuss the inter-agency cooperative effort in the Dallas area.

I am enclosing my expense account for the trip. Please have the check made out to the Southern Regional Council. I hope you still feel that my participation was worth the expenses involved. Please keep me informed on developments out there and if we can be of further help don't hesitate to yell.

Warm personal regards to you and your good spouse.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

Memo FROM THE DESK OF **FRED ROUTH**

12 Nov 57

To: ~~Mary Dreyfuss~~ Mildred -

Sam Lubin of the Atlanta office of The American Jewish Committee called. He wants for his nat'l office:

1 copy of Ga. Com. on Educ attack on Highlander

3 - copies of Myles Hartons reply

3 - copies of all - or each - news stories on this.

He would like 3 of the "attack" but I told him we could only spare one.

FRA

Sent 11/13/57 mf

AJC

November 15, 1957

Mr. Gustave Falk, Area Director
The American Jewish Committee
523 Fidelity Building
Dallas, 2, Texas

Dear Gus:

Many thanks for your letter of the 13th, with the enclosed check. Thank you too for the kind words about my participation in the AJC meeting.

I trust that things are going well in the Texas inter-agency cooperative effort and that you, Ed Kloppe, and others are hitting hard in the Dallas area. I would suggest that your steering committee get together in the near future and have a progress report on what has thus far been done and plan next steps.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

SOUTHWEST AREA OFFICE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

GUSTAVE F. FALK
Area Director

523 FIDELITY BLDG.
DALLAS 2, TEXAS
Tel. RIverside 7-2830

November 13, 1957

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Fred:

I just returned to the office today from the field which will account for the delay in thanking you for your address at the Chapter Discussion Group Meeting on Tuesday, November 5, 1957.

Everyone enjoyed your participation which gave tone and quality to the animated discussion meeting. You have indeed set a high goal for subsequent meetings.

I wish to add my personal expression of appreciation to you for your contribution. Your presentation was direct, concise, informative and interesting. I look forward to your return to Dallas. It is always a pleasure to cooperate with you.

I hope you had a pleasant return trip to your home base.

Cordially,

Gustave

Gustave Falk

GF:im

cc: Bob Beer

P. S. I just received your letter of November 8, 1957. Enclosed is check #463 for $123.98 made payable to the Southern Regional Council as per your instructions, to cover the cost of your trip to Dallas. I, too, regretted our inability to spend more time together. Thanks again, Fred, for the splendid job you did.

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NATIONAL OFFICE: 386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

231-5-57
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December 9, 1957

Mr. Gustave F. Falk
Area Director
The American Jewish Committee
523 Fidelity Building
Dallas 2, Texas

Dear Gus:

Many thanks for your letter of December 6. I am glad to hear that on your suggestion Ed Kloppe is preparing a report of his findings on Dallas. Unfortunately Ed is uncommunicative and I am not as closely abreast of the Dallas situation as I would hope to be. Please advise me of the date of the next meeting of the steering committee and I will make every effort to attend. It is imperative that representative Negro leaders be brought into the planning at this time. Without this leadership the group cannot enjoy the confidence of the Negro community. Without that confidence the group can have little significance.

Best personal regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

cc: Ed Kloppe

FBR:fcl

SOUTHWEST AREA OFFICE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

GUSTAVE F. FALK
Area Director

523 FIDELITY BLDG.
DALLAS 2, TEXAS
Tel. RIverside 7-2830

December 6, 1957

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Temporary
Ri 8-5293

Dear Fred:

I presume Ed Kloppe has been keeping you informed of developments in the Dallas area. Upon my suggestion, he is preparing a report of his findings which will be presented at a meeting of the inter-agency group to be convened as soon as the ruling on the Dallas School is handed down by the judges of the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court, which should be in a month or so.

I shall advise you of the exact date of our meeting. Perhaps you could arrange to be present.

Regards.

Sincerely,

Gustave

Gustave Falk

GF:im
cc: Ed Kloppe

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WILL MASLOW, General Counsel

December 16, 1957

Dear Friend:

Enclosed is a new report of the Commission on Law and Social Action, describing the 15 state anti-discrimination agencies and the law they administer. Copies of this report were distributed at the recent Governors' Conference on Discrimination in Employment.

The report shows that over the years, the number of states with fair employment laws has increased steadily, so that 41 per cent of the population of the entire United States is now protected by anti-discrimination legislation. The fact that two states which began with "voluntary compliance" laws later added compulsory enforcement machinery indicates the growing recognition that anti-discrimination agencies need enforcement powers to do their jobs properly. Thirteen of the 15 agencies described have power to issue orders enforceable in the courts.

The report shows also that America's perception of what constitutes socially harmful discrimination has broadened since the first anti-bias laws were passed in 1945. While the various state agencies originally dealt only with employment problems, many have since been given jurisdiction over public accommodations, public or publicly-assisted housing and education.

The budget figures show how little anti-discrimination agencies cost the public: in 1956 the highest per capita cost was in Rhode Island -- 4.5 cents per year.

I would be happy to receive your comments.

Cordially,

Leo Pfeffer

Leo Pfeffer

Encls.

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Memorandum from . . . . AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
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RECEIVED JAN - 7 1958

December 23, 1957

To: Community Relations Councils and
Group Relations Agencies

From: Leo Pfeffer

We enclose a summary and analysis of the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Fair Housing Bill recently approved by the New York City Council. Final approval by the Board of Estimate and Mayor Wagner is expected before the end of the year. The text of the bill appears in the appendix to the enclosed report.

This is the first bill enacted in any part of the country prohibiting discrimination in a significant section of the general or "private" housing market. It applies to all multiple dwellings (that is, buildings with three or more apartments), including existing as well as new structures. It also applies to one and two family houses sold in projects of ten or more homes.

As the enclosed analysis suggests, the enforcement features that appear in the final version of the bill are regarded as unduly cumbersome by the civil rights groups that supported the bill originally. However, despite these features, the bill is workable.

It is expected that efforts will be made during the 1958 New York State legislative session to obtain fair housing legislation applicable to the whole state.

Encl.

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THE SHARKEY-BROWN-ISAACS BILL

NEW YORK CITY'S NEW FAIR HOUSING LAW

A SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS

Prepared by

COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION

OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

15 East 84th Street

New York 28, N.Y.

Prepared by

Commission on Law and Social Action

Shad Polier, Chairman

Leo Pfeffer, Director

Will Maslow, General Counsel

American Jewish Congress

15 East 84 Street, New York 28, N. Y.

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Max A. Kopstein, Chairman
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Isaac Toubin, Executive Director

THE NEW YORK CITY
SHARKEY-BROWN-ISAACS
FAIR HOUSING BILL OF 1957

A SUMMARY AND ANALYSIS

Opponents of inequality throughout the country will welcome the action of the New York City Council, on December 5, in approving the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Fair Housing Bill. Approval of the bill by the City Board of Estimate and by Mayor Robert F. Wagner, which is expected by the end of December, will complete enactment of a precedent-setting law comparable to the first fair employment and fair education measures. The bill, which was sponsored by the New York State Committee on Discrimination in Housing, for the first time prohibits discrimination in a significant part of the general housing market. The text of the bill appears in the Appendix.

PROVISIONS OF THE BILL

The bill prohibits discrimination based on race, religion or national origin in multiple dwellings(that is, buildings containing three or more apartments) and in one and two family homes sold in projects of ten or more contiguous lots. Religious institutions are specifically permitted to prefer or limit admission in housing accommodations they operate to members of their own denomination. There is also an exemption for persons who sub-let rooms in their own apartments.

Any person believing he has been discriminated against in violation of the law may file a written complaint with the Commission on Intergroup Relations, an agency established by the City in 1955. On receiving such a complaint, the Commission will investigate the matter and attempt to conciliate it and to eliminate any discrimination it finds to exist. The Commission is also expressly empowered to initiate such action, without first receiving a complaint, whenever it has reason to believe that a violation has occurred.

If the Commission fails to eliminate a violation, it will formulate its recommendations and refer the matter to a Fair Housing Practices Panel, newly established by the bill. This will consist of 12 persons appointed by the Mayor, to serve without pay. Each time the Commission refers a case to the Panel, the Mayor will select three Panel members as a Fair Housing Practices Board, to review the case and decide whether court action is warranted. The Board is given power to hold hearings and issue subpoenas. (The Commission already has those powers under the law that established it.) If the Board decides in favor of court action, it will direct the Corporation Counsel, the city's legal officer, to bring a court action to enforce the law.

The bill declares that the proceedings before the Commission and the Board shall be "confidential."

The bill will not go into effect until April 1, 1958.

ANALYSIS

Scope of the Bill

When the Sharkey-Brown-Isaacs Bill was introduced in the City Council last May, both city and state laws already prohibited discrimination in

public housing and in housing receiving assistance from government agencies. This included housing in which the only form of public assistance was insurance or guarantee of mortgage payments by the FHA or Veterans Administration. The 1954 city law and the 1955 state law prohibiting discrimination in FHA and VA housing were the first to reach a significant part of the housing market. However, they applied only to housing built after the laws went into effect. Thus, the great bulk of housing in New York City was untouched by any anti-discrimination law. In New York City, as in all other parts of the Union, it was perfectly legal for the owner of most property to discriminate in selling or renting housing accommodations.

The new bill, for the first time, reaches the general housing market. However, it does not apply to all housing. Its principal effect will be on multiple dwellings. There, it applies to existing houses as well as those built in the future. In New York City, multiple dwellings are roughly 70% of the total housing market, much larger than in most other American cities.

The provision applying to one and two family homes sold in projects of ten or more houses is not specifically limited to new housing. In effect, however, it is so limited; it is only in new housing that one owner is likely to hold ten contiguous lots. This provision will help to prevent the establishment of rigid segregation patterns in new developments and will therefore have significant effect in outlying areas of New York City. Perhaps more important, it will supply a precedent for future bills in New York State and other parts of the country where single family home projects are a larger part of the housing supply.

Cooperatives

Soon after the bill was introduced, vigorous support developed for adding an exemption for cooperative apartment houses. These are buildings

in which most of the residents either own their own apartments or, more commonly, own a share in a company that owns the building. Those favoring an exemption for cooperatives urged that they are like single homes and should, like them, be omitted from the bill. Supporters of the bill were quick to point out that a broad exemption for cooperatives would facilitate evasion because owners of apartment houses could convert them into cooperatives with little loss of control or revenue.

It was then suggested that the bill carry an exemption for existing cooperatives only. That was opposed on principle. In particular, as five Jewish organizations noted in a joint statement, such an exemption would exclude the one form of housing in which discrimination against Jews is most widely encountered. This remained an open issue up to the very day the bill was passed, when it was decided not to include any exemption of cooperatives. Civil rights groups regard this as an important victory.

Enforcement Provisions

In its earliest form, the bill contained simple enforcement provisions; violations were made misdemeanors and, in addition, aggrieved parties could sue for court orders prohibiting discrimination. Shortly after the bill was introduced, objections were expressed to the penal provisions. Accordingly, the sponsors of the bill, with the full support of the civil rights organizations, agreed to substitute a procedure similar to the administrative process commonly employed under state laws against discrimination. Under that procedure, the state agency receives complaints, investigates them and attempts conciliation. Where that fails, the agency holds a public hearing and ultimately issues an order that can be enforced in court. However, since the pending bill was for a municipal law rather than a state statute, the usual administrative procedure could not be paralleled exactly. Hence,

it was provided that the existing Commission on Intergroup Relations be given the power to investigate and conciliate and, where it failed to eliminate a discriminatory practice, to initiate a court action in the name of the city for enforcement of the law.

While the bill was pending in the City Council's General Welfare Committee, the suggestion was made that the Commission should not have final say on whether a case should go to court but that an additional agency should be created to screen cases after the Commission had attempted conciliation. This was opposed by the civil rights groups. They urged that the provision was unnecessary and that it would impair the efficacy of the bill by providing a cumbersome enforcement process.

Nevertheless, as already noted, this feature was retained in the final version of the bill, a fact that the supporters of the bill have accepted philosophically. They will inform civil rights advocates in cities considering similar legislation that this aspect of the bill is not regarded as desirable and should not be viewed as a model. In state legislation, of course, enforcement provisions take a different form and this problem is therefore not likely to arise.

Other Provisions

The civil rights groups did not welcome the clause postponing the effective date of the bill to April 1, 1958 but neither did they oppose it. This was added to the bill in its final stages. The Commission on Intergroup Relations can, of course, use the intervening period to initiate an educational campaign.

As already noted, the bill provides that proceedings before the Commission and the Board shall be "confidential." The civil rights groups likewise opposed this provision largely because of its ambiguity. It is difficult at

this stage to tell how it will operate in practice. There does not seem to be any way of enforcing it against complainants or newspapers. While the Commission and Board will normally adhere to it without pressure, it appears to be inconsistent with exercise of their powers to subpoena evidence and hold hearings.

CONCLUSION

The new Bill is the long-awaited breakthrough against the most pernicious form of discrimination outside the South. Its shortcomings are procedural and represent no compromise of principle. Citizens throughout the country will now want to consider obtaining similar legislation. Meanwhile, the citizens of New York City face the responsibility of making the new law work.

Joseph B. Robison

December 16, 1957

APPENDIX

NEW YORK CITY FAIR HOUSING BILL

(SHARKEY-BROWN-ISAACS BILL)

As passed by the New
York City Council,

December 5, 1957

A LOCAL LAW

To amend the administrative code of the city of New York, in relation to discrimination and segregation in multiple dwellings.

Be it enacted by the Council of The City of New York as follows:

Section 1. Chapter 41 of the administrative code of the city of New York is hereby amended by adding thereto a new title to be title X, to read as follows:

TITLE X

DISCRIMINATION AND SEGREGATION IN PRIVATE DWELLINGS

§ X41-1.0 Certain acts prohibited; penalties.--a. In the city of New York, with its great cosmopolitan population consisting of large numbers of people of every race, color, religion, national origin and ancestry, many persons have been compelled to live in circumscribed sections under substandard, unhealthful, unsanitary and crowded living conditions because of discrimination and segregation in housing. These conditions have caused

increased mortality, morbidity, delinquency, risk of fire, intergroup tension, loss of tax revenue and other evils. As a result, the peace, health, safety and general welfare of the entire city and all its inhabitants are threatened. Such segregation in housing also necessarily results in other forms of segregation and discrimination which are against the policy of the state of New York. It results in racial segregation in public schools and other public facilities, which is condemned by the constitutions of our state and nation. In order to guard against these evils, it is necessary to assure to all inhabitants of the city equal opportunity to obtain living quarters, regardless of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry.

It is hereby declared to be the policy of the city to assure equal opportunity to all residents to live in decent, sanitary and healthful living quarters, regardless of race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry, in order that the peace, health, safety and general welfare of all the inhabitants of the city may be protected and insured.

b. (1) Except as provided in paragraph (2) of this subdivision, no owner, lessee, sub-lessee, assignee, or managing agent of, or other person having the right to sell, rent or lease, a housing accommodation which is located in a multiple dwelling, as defined in section 4 of the multiple dwelling law, or which is offered for sale by a person who owns or otherwise controls the sale of 10 or more one- and two-family houses located on land that is contiguous (exclusive of public streets), or an agent of any of these, shall refuse to sell, rent, lease or otherwise deny to or withhold from any person or group of persons such housing accommodations because of the race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry of such person or persons, or discriminate against or segregate any person because of his race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry in the terms, conditions or privileges of

the sale, rental or lease of any such housing accommodations or in the furnishing of facilities or services in connection therewith.

(2) Nothing herein contained shall be construed to bar any religious or denominational institution or organization, or any organization operated for charitable or educational purposes which is operated, supervised or controlled by or in connection with a religious organization, from limiting admission to or giving preference to persons of the same religion or denomination or from making such selection as is calculated by such organization to promote the religious principles for which it is established or maintained.

c. Any person claiming to be aggrieved by a violation of subdivision b hereof may file with the commission on intergroup relations, a complaint in writing which shall state the name and address of the owner or other person alleged to have committed the violation complained of and shall set forth the particulars thereof and such other information as may be required by such commission. Upon the filing of such complaint, or upon its own motion whenever it has reason to believe that any owner or other person has violated subdivision b hereof, such commission shall exercise its powers with a view to conciliating the matter and eliminating any discriminatory practice it finds to exist.

d. In case of failure of the commission on intergroup relations to conciliate and eliminate a practice which it considers discrimination or segregation in violation of subdivision b hereof, it shall refer the same to the fair housing practices panel hereinafter created, with its recommendations.

e. There is hereby created a fair housing practices panel to consist of twelve persons, appointed by the mayor and to serve at his pleasure. Such persons shall not be members of the commission on intergroup relations. The

members of the panel shall serve without compensation but shall be entitled to reimbursement of their necessary expenses. For each case that shall be referred to the panel pursuant to subdivision d hereof, the mayor shall designate any three members of the panel as a fair housing practices board which shall exercise the powers and duties provided for in subdivision f hereof.

f. It shall be the duty of the fair housing practices board to review cases of alleged discrimination or segregation in violation of subdivision b hereof, referred by the commission on intergroup relations in accordance with subdivision d hereof and to determine in each case whether in its judgment court action is warranted. The board shall have power to hold hearings and to issue subpoenas. If it shall find in the affirmative, it may direct the corporation counsel to bring equitable proceedings in the supreme court, in the name of the city, for the enforcement of the provisions of this title.

g. Proceedings had under this title before the commission on intergroup relations and the fair housing practices board shall be confidential.

The provisions of this section shall not apply to any tenant of an apartment, as defined in Section 4 of the multiple dwelling law, in which he or members of his family reside, who rents or leases a room or rooms in such apartment to another person or persons.

§ 2. This local law shall take effect April 1, 1958.

RECEIVED DEC 30 1952

HCD

REPORT

on

STATE ANTI-DISCRIMINATION AGENCIES

and

THE LAWS THEY ADMINISTER

Prepared by the

COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION

OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

15 East 84th Street

New York 28, N.Y.

Prepared by

Commission on Law and Social Action

Shad Polier, Chairman

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American Jewish Congress

15 East 84 Street, New York 28, N.Y.

Israel Goldstein, President

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Administrative Committee

Isaac Toubin, Executive Director

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A REPORT ON STATE ANTI-DISCRIMINATION AGENCIES AND THE LAWS THEY ADMINISTER

Thirteen states of the Union, containing 37% of the total population of the United States, have established specialized state agencies empowered to administer and enforce laws prohibiting one or more forms of discrimination based on race, religion or national origin. Two other states, with 4% of the population, have created anti-discrimination agencies without enforcement powers. This report summarizes the history of the establishment of these agencies, the scope of their powers and the nature of their operations.

General Summary

All of the thirteen states having enforceable laws prohibit discrimination in employment. In eight of these states, the agency enforcing the law against discrimination in employment is further authorized to prevent discrimination in places of public accommodation, such as hotels, restaurants, theatres and recreation areas. In four states, the anti-discrimination agency is directed to prevent discrimination by educational institutions. (A fifth entrusts this prohibition to the state education authorities.) In seven states, the anti-discrimination agency also deals with discrimination in public and publicly-assisted housing.

The thirteen state agencies having full enforcement powers have been given annual budgets totaling $1,366,226. This amounts to 2.21 cents for each person in these states. Of the total number of Negroes, other non-whites and Jews in the United States, 17.09% of the Negroes, 27.27% of the other non-whites and 73.37% of the Jews lived in these states. The recent total annual case load of the agencies stands at 2003.

Attached to this study are six appendices. Appendix I lists the laws of the fifteen states that are described below. Appendix II lists the names and addresses of the anti-discrimination agencies in each of the states. Appendix III contains four charts showing the salient features of the laws administered by the thirteen state anti-discrimination agencies that have effective enforcement powers. Appendix IV shows the total number of formal complaints received during a twelve-month period by the eleven agencies that have had enforcement powers for more than a year. Appendix V shows the amount and the per capita cost of the budget of each of the fifteen state agencies covered by this report. Appendix VI shows the number and proportion of Negroes, other non-whites, and Jews in the population of each of the states.

The Administrative Enforcement Process

The first two anti-discrimination agencies were established in 1945, when New York and New Jersey adopted fair employment laws. The administrative procedure established by those laws has been followed in virtually all of the statutes described below.

The laws define certain prohibited acts as "unfair," "improper," or "illegal" practices. A person aggrieved by a violation of the law may complain to the state agency established by the the law, which then conducts an investigation. If the complaint appears to be well founded, the agency attempts to settle the matter by conciliation. If that fails, a formal hearing is held and the agency issues a decision either dismissing the complaint or directing the violator to comply with a detailed order. The agency's order can then be reviewed by a state court. If the court finds

that the agency's order is proper, it decrees compliance. Thereafter, violation of the order may be punished as contempt of court.

While all these agencies operate under this general administrative procedure, a few significant differences may be mentioned. The details appear in Tables A and B of Appendix III.

A proceeding may be initiated before any of the agencies by the filing of a complaint by a person who believes he has encountered discrimination. In addition, in eight of the states (all but Michigan, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York and Oregon), the Commission itself may initiate proceedings without waiting for an aggrieved party to act. Finally, in eight states (all but Connecticut, Michigan, Minnesota, Rhode Island and Washington), proceedings can be started by the state Attorney General or other public official.

In most of the states, no provision is made to allow a person who has filed a complaint to appeal to the courts if the agency decides that his complaint is without merit. In four states, however (Michigan, New Jersey, Rhode Island and Washington), such appeals are expressly allowed.

Employment

Table C of Appendix III shows the extent to which the thirteen agencies having enforcement powers deal with the areas of employment, education, public accommodations and housing. The history of the adoption of the laws in each of these areas may be described briefly.

As already noted, New York and New Jersey adopted the first fair employment laws in 1945. Additional fair employment laws were thereafter enacted in Massachusetts in 1946, Connecticut in 1947, New Mexico, Oregon,

Rhode Island and Washington in 1949, and Michigan, Minnesota and Pennsylvania in 1955.

"Voluntary" fair employment laws were adopted in 1945 by Indiana and Wisconsin. These laws condemned discrimination in employment without making it illegal. Each also established a state agency to attempt to bring about compliance. The Indiana law has never been strengthened to provide enforcement features. The Wisconsin law, however, was amended in 1957 to provide that orders of the agency administering the law could be enforced by appropriate court proceedings. Colorado adopted an extremely limited fair employment law in 1951 which, for the ordinary private employer, was in essence a "voluntary" law. It replaced that law in 1957 with a fully operative law modelled on those of the other states. In 1953, Kansas adopted a "voluntary" fair employment law and established a commission to attempt to bring about voluntary compliance.

Places of Public Accommodation

In 1949, a new trend was started in New Jersey. At that time New Jersey was one of a number of states having laws prohibiting discrimination in places of public accommodation. (Twenty-five states now have such laws, many of them having been in effect for fifty years or more.) The criminal and civil sanctions provided by these laws had proved relatively ineffective. Recognizing this, the New Jersey legislature decided to improve on the older procedure by applying the administrative process that had proven its merits under the 1945 fair employment law. Accordingly, it broadened the jurisdiction of its anti-discrimination agency to include public accommodations. The precedent thus set was

thereafter followed by Connecticut, also in 1949, Massachusetts in 1950, New York and Rhode Island in 1952, and Colorado, Oregon and Washington in 1957.

Education

In 1948, New York enacted a fair educational practices act, providing administrative procedures to prevent discrimination by colleges and universities. Enforcement was entrusted not to the existing anti-discrimination agency but to the Department of Education, where it remains today. In New Jersey, however, the 1949 law just mentioned, giving the anti-discrimination agency power to prevent discrimination in public accommodations, also brought under the act discrimination by educational institutions. Massachusetts, which adopted a fair educational practices act in 1949, transferred enforcement powers to its general anti-discrimination agency in 1956. Washington's 1957 law empowering its anti-discrimination agency to enforce the law against discrimination in public accommodations included educational institutions within the definition of that term. Also in 1957, Oregon gave its agency jurisdiction over its existing law prohibiting discrimination in trade, professional and vocational schools.

Housing

Seven anti-discrimination agencies have been given jurisdiction to enforce existing or new laws against discrimination in one or more category of public or publicly-assisted housing. The first such grant occurred in 1949 when the Connecticut agency received responsibility for

preventing discrimination in publicly-owned housing. Gradually, this and other state agencies were given jurisdiction over a number of categories of public and publicly-assisted housing so that, today, a total of seven agencies have such powers. Five of these, in Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York and Rhode Island, have jurisdiction over public housing. The first four also have jurisdiction over redevelopment housing and other housing receiving substantial assistance from the government, for example, in the form of tax exemption and assembling of land through the power of condemnation. The Oregon agency has jurisdiction specifically over projects on land assembled by condemnation. Most important, six agencies, in Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Oregon and Washington, have jurisdiction over housing built with the assistance of loans guaranteed by the FHA, Veterans Administration or other government agency.

Prohibited Conduct

Table D of Appendix III shows in detail the kind of discriminatory conduct that the various statutes prohibit. It should be noted at the outset that all of the laws contain provisions recognizing the right of religious institutions to consider the factor of religion in their selections, whether of employees, students or others. This is done in a number of ways. In some laws, there is a broad exemption for non-profit enterprises. Others, while not exempting non-profit or religious institutions generally, provide that they may confine their selections to, or prefer, members of their own faith.

As Table D shows, all thirteen states having enforceable laws prohibit discrimination by employers and labor unions. Similar effective prohibitions of discrimination in education, public accommodation and publicly-assisted housing are contained in each of the acts that deal with these subjects.

Virtually all of the states prohibit both inquiries and advertising indicating an intent to engage in employment discrimination. Similar clauses appear in many of the laws prohibiting discrimination in education, public accommodations and publicly-assisted housing. The laws also contain a number of general provisions making it illegal to discriminate against those who participate in statutory proceedings, to aid or abet discrimination and to obstruct compliance with the law.

The Case Load

Appendix IV shows that the eleven agencies that have had effective enforcement powers for at least a year have carried an aggregate annual case-load of 2,003 formal complaints. On a population basis, this represents a little over three and a half complaints per 100,000 in the population. The figures range from .89 for Minnesota, which delegates some of its work to municipal commissions in the state, to 9.86 in Connecticut. The variation is due, to some extent, to the varying scope of the agencies' responsibilities. Some, like Minnesota, deal only with employment while others, like Connecticut, have broad powers over a number of areas. (See Appendix III, Table C.)

The Cost to the People

The budgets and per capita costs of the agencies in each of the fifteen states are set forth in Appendix V. In the thirteen states having enforceable laws, the current budgets total $1,366,226 and the per capita annual cost to the 61,767,000 people in those states is 2.21 cents. The per capita cost varies greatly from state to state, ranging from 4.53 cents in Rhode Island to .25 cents in New Mexico. Like the complaint load figures just mentioned, this variation is partly due to differences in the agencies' responsibilities. Nevertheless, among agencies dealing only with employment, the range is from 1.84 cents in Michigan to .25 cents in New Mexico. Among agencies having had comprehensive powers for at least a year, the range is from 4.53 cents in Rhode Island to 1.81 in Massachusetts.

The Population Affected

Population figures for the fifteen states covered by this report appear in Appendix VI. The thirteen states having enforceable laws contain 37.39% of the total population of the United States, 17.09% of the Negroes and 27.27% of the other non-whites. There are no census figures for the Jewish population. Using widely accepted estimates, however, it appears that the Jews in these thirteen states constitute 73.37% of the total number of Jews in the country.

The successful operation of these laws over a period of twelve years is a convincing refutation of earlier fears that such legislation would

promote rather than allay intergroup differences. The laws and the work of the agencies they establish have resulted in substantial advances toward the democratic goal of full equality for all Americans, without regard to race, religion or national origin.

Joseph B. Robison
Herbert L. Chabot

December 10, 1957

APPENDIX I
STATE ANTI-DISCRIMINATION LAWS
ESTABLISHING ADMINISTRATIVE AGENCIES

COLORADO	Emp. Secs. 82-24-1 through 82-24-10, Colo. Rev. Stat.
	Pub. Accom. Secs. 24-3-1 through 24-3-8, Colo. Rev. Stat.
CONNECTICUT	Emp.-Ch. 371, Secs. 7400-7407, Conn. Gen. Stat. (1949), as amended by Secs. 3034d and 3035d, 1955 Supp.
	Pub. Accomm. Ch. 417, Secs. 8374 and 8375, Conn. Gen. Stat. (1949), as amended by Secs. 3267d and 3268d, 1955 Supp.
INDIANA	Secs. 40-2301 through 40-2306, Ann. Ind. Stat. (Burns), 1957 Supp.
KANSAS	Secs. 44-1001 through 44-1008, Gen. Stat. Kan., 1955 Supp.
MASSACHUSETTS	Emp.-Ch. 151B, Secs. 1-10, Ann. Laws of Mass. (Michie), 1956 Supp.
	Pub. Accomm. Ch. 272, Secs. 92A and 98, Ann. Laws, 1956 Supp.
	Pub. Asst. Hsg. - Ch. 151B, Ann. Laws, as amended by L.1957, Ch. 426.
	Educ. - Ch. 151C, Secs. 1-5, Ann. Laws, 1956 Supp.
MICHIGAN	Secs. 17.458 (1-11), Mich. Stat. Ann.
MINNESOTA	Secs. 363.01-363.13, Minn. Stat. Ann. (West) 1957.
NEW JERSEY	Sec. 18:25-1 through 18:25-28, N.J. Stat. Ann. (West) 1956, as amended by L. 1957, Ch. 66.
NEW MEXICO	Secs. 59-4-1 through 59-4-14, N. Mex. Stat. Ann., 1953 Compilation (1957).
NEW YORK	Emp., Pub. Accomm., and Pub. Asst. Hsg. - Executive Law, Secs. 290-301 (McKinney) 1957.
	Educ. - Education Law, Sec. 313 (McKinney) 1957.
OREGON	Secs. 659.010-659.115, 659.990 (Emp.), 30.670-30.680 (Pub. Accomm.), and 345.240, 345.250. (Educ.), Ore. Rev. Stat., as amended by L. 1957, Ch. 724 (Pub. Accom. and Educ.) and Ch. 725 (Pub.Asst.Hsg.).
PENNSYLVANIA	Title 43, Secs. 951-963, Pa. Stat. Ann. (Purdon) 1956.
RHODE ISLAND	L. 1952, Ch. 2958.
WASHINGTON	L. 1957, Ch. 37 (H. B. 25, approved March 2, 1957).
WISCONSIN	Secs. 111.31-111.36, Wisc. Stat. Ann. (West) 1957, as amended by Senate Bill No. 327 approved June 28, 1957.

APPENDIX II

STATE ANTI-DISCRIMINATION AGENCIES

Colorado	Anti-Discrimination Commission	655 Broadway Building Denver 3, Colo.
Connecticut	Commission on Civil Rights	500 Capitol Avenue Hartford 15, Conn.
Indiana	Fair Employment Practices Commission, Division of Labor	225 State Capitol Indianapolis 4, Ind.
Kansas	Anti-Discrimination Commission	State Office Bldg. Topeka, Kansas
Massachusetts	Commission Against Discrimination	41 Tremont Street Boston 8, Mass.
Michigan	Fair Employment Practices Commission	900 Cadillac Square Bldg. Detroit 26, Mich.
Minnesota	Fair Employment Practices Commission	St. Paul 1, Minn.
New Jersey	Division Against Discrimination, Department of Education	1100 Raymond Blvd. Newark 5, N. J.
Nex Mexico	Fair Employment Practice Commission	Box 1726 Santa Fe, N. Mexico
New York	Commission Against Discrimination	270 Broadway New York 7, N. Y.
Oregon	Civil Rights Division, Bureau of Labor	State Office Bldg. Portland 1, Ore.
Pennsylvania	Fair Employment Practice Commission, Department of Labor and Industry	1401 Labor & Industry Bldg., Harrisburg, Pa.
Rhode Island	Commission Against Discrimination	Room 307, State House, Providence 2, R.I.
Washington	State Board Against Discrimination	3012 Arcade Building Seattle 1, Washington
Wisconsin	Fair Employment Practices Division, Industrial Commission	794 North Jefferson St. Milwaukee 2, Wisc.

APPENDIX III

SALIENT FEATURES OF LAWS WITH ENFORCEMENT PROVISIONS

	Colo.	Conn.	Mass.	Mich.	Minn.	N.J.	N.Mex.	N.Y.	Ore.	Pa.	R.I.	Wash.	Wisc.
TABLE A. WHO MAY COMPLAIN													
Person aggrieved	X	X	X	X	X	X	X(1)	X	X	X	X	X	X(2)
Commission or Commissioner	X	X	X		X					X	X	X	X(2)
Attorney-General or other public official	X(3)		X(4)			X	X	X	X	X			X(2)
Private organization											X(5)		X(2)
TABLE B. ENFORCEMENT													
Commission may issue affirmative order and obtain court enforcement	X	X	X	X	(6)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Enforcement of commission orders by other means.						X(7)				X(8)			X(9)
Statute provides that complainant may appeal from finding of no probable cause				X		X					X	X	

TABLE C. SCOPE	Colo.	Conn.	Mass.	Mich.	Minn.	N. J.	N.Mex.	N. Y.	Ore.	Pa.	R.I.	Wash.	Wisc.
Employment:													
Government agency, employment agency, or labor organization	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Private employer (10)	6	5	6	8	8	6	4	6	6	12	4	8	1
Educational institutions			X			X(11)		(12)	X(13)			X(11)	(14)
Public accommodations (15)	X	X	X			X		X	X		X	X	(14)
Housing													
Public (i.e., Government owned)		X	X			X		X			X		(14)
Publicly assisted by													
Direct aid, such as tax exemption or land condemnation		X(16)	X			X		X	X(17)				(14)
Governmental guarantee of mortgage loans		X(16)	X(18)			X(19)		X(18)	X(20)			X(19)	(14)

TABLE D. ACTS BANNED (21)

	Colo.	Conn.	Mass.	Mich.	Minn.	N.J.	N.Mex	N.Y.	Ore.	Pa.	R. I.	Wash.	Wisc.
Discrimination (22) in hiring, firing, promotion, or compensation of employee.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X(23)	X	X	X
Refusal to list or refer for employment.	X	X		X	X					X	X	X	
Compliance with employer's request for discriminatory referral.	X				X						X		
Discrimination in membership or other rights in labor organization.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Discrimination in admission to educational institution.			X			X		(12)	X(13)			X	(14)
Discrimination in use or enjoyment of public accommodation.	X	X	X			X		X	X		X	X	(14)
Discrimination in sale, rental or privileges of public or publicly-assisted housing. (24)		X	X			X		X	X		X	X(25)	(14)

TABLE D, (Cont'd)

	Colo.	Conn.	Mass.	Mich.	Minn.	N. J.	N.Mex.	N. Y.	Ore.	Pa.	R. I.	Wash.	Wisc.
Discriminatory inquiry of													
employee or applicant for employment	X		X(26)	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
applicant for admission to educational institution			X										
applicant for public or publicly-assisted housing (24)			X					X				X(25)	
Advertising evidencing an intent to discriminate by													
employer or employment agency	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
labor organization	X	X		X	X					X	X		
employee				X						X			
owner or operator of public accommodation			X			X(27)		X	X		X		
owner or operator of publicly-assisted housing (24)									X			X	

TABLE D, (Cont'd)	Colo.	Conn.	Mass.	Mich.	Minn.	N. J.	N. Mex	N. Y.	Ore.	Pa.	R. I.	Wash.	Wisc.
Discriminating against anyone for participating in enforcement proceeding.		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Aiding, inciting or compelling others to discriminate.	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	
Attempting to violate the statute.	X		(28)	X	(28)	(28)	(28)		(28)	X	X		
Obstructing compliance with law or orders issued by Commission	X		X	X	X	X		X	X	X	X	X	

NOTES TO APPENDIX III

1. Any person aggrieved "or any associate or person on his behalf."

2. The statute provides that "the Commission may receive and investigate complaints" but does not indicate who may be a complainant.

3. The Attorney-General is authorized to initiate complaints in employment cases but not in public accommodations cases.

4. The Attorney-General is authorized to initiate complaints in employment, public accommodations and publicly-assisted housing cases but not in education cases.

5. Complaint may be made by "an organization chartered for the purpose of combating discrimination or racism, or of safeguarding civil liberties, or of promoting full, free, or equal employment opportunities."

6. If the Commission is unable to eliminate an unfair employment practice, it notifies the governor, who appoints a board of review, which has power to issue an order enforceable in the courts.

7. The statute provides that "an order of the Commissioner may be enforced by proceedings in the County Court...." but does not indicate who is to institute the proceedings.

8. The statute provides: "The complainant, the Attorney-General or the Commission may secure enforcement of the order of the Commission...."

9. The statute provides: "Any person aggrieved by non-compliance with the order shall be entitled to have the same enforced specifically by suit in equity."

10. Numeral under each state indicates minimum number of employees necessary for application of law.

11. Educational institutions are included in the definition of public accommodations.

12. Discrimination in educational institutions is banned by the New York Education Law, which is enforced by the Commissioner of Education and the Board of Regents under a procedure similar to that followed by the state's Commission Against Discrimination. Institutions of higher learning and business and trade schools are covered by this law.

13. Applies only to vocational, professional, and trade schools.

14. Wisconsin's statute is basically a fair employment practices law but it also prohibits discrimination "in the fields of housing, recreation, education, health, and social welfare." It is not clear whether this prohibition is enforceable.

15. The list of places covered under this term varies from state to state.

16. "Public housing projects and all other forms of publicly-assisted housing" are included in the definition of public accommodations.

17. Limited to land condemned and assembled by a state agency.

18. Applies to multiple dwellings containing three or more apartments and housing projects containing ten or more homes.

19. Applies to all such housing.

20. Applies to multiple dwellings containing five or more apartments and housing projects containing six or more homes.

21. The chart shows only acts specifically prohibited by the various statutes. In other cases, the statutes may effectively prohibit specific conduct by the necessary interpretation of their terms.

22. In all cases, the conduct is prohibited if committed on the basis of "race, color, religion, national origin or ancestry" or an equivalent formula. All the laws contain provisions either permitting religious bodies to prefer their coreligionists or exempting them altogether.

23. Discrimination is banned, but only "if the individual is the best able and most competent to perform the services required."

24. For scope of application to public and publicly assisted housing, see Table C.

25. Applies also to discrimination by lending institutions in financing publicly assisted housing and to discriminatory inquiries in connection therewith.

26. Includes prohibition of discriminatory inquiries in connection with application for employee's surety bond.

27. Discriminatory questions by educational institutions are also covered since such institutions are included in the definition of public accommodations.

28. Attempts to aid, incite or compel others to violate the statute are banned but there is no specific prohibition of attempts to violate the statute itself.

APPENDIX IV
FORMAL COMPLAINTS RECEIVED BY
AGENCIES WITH ENFORCEMENT POWERS (1)

State (2)	Number of Formal Complaints in Twelve-Month Period	1956 Population	Complaints Per 100,000 of population
Connecticut	220	2,232,000	9.86
Massachusetts	293	4,812,000	6.09
Michigan	245	7,516,000	3.26
Minnesota	29 (3)	3,241,000	0.89 (3)
New Jersey	152	5,403,000	2.81
New Mexico	10	815,000	1.23
New York	804	16,195,000	4.96
Oregon	22	1,718,000	1.28
Pennsylvania	144	10,964,000	1.31
Rhode Island	31	828,000	3.74
Washington	53 (4)	2,667,000	1.99 (4)
Total	2003	56,391,000	3.55

(1) In comparing the number of complaints filed in the various states, it must be remembered that some agencies have much broader responsibility than others. See Appendix III, Table C.

(2) Colorado and Wisconsin are not included because the agencies in those states have not had effective enforcement powers for a full twelve-month period.

(3) The Minnesota figure does not include complaints arising in Minneapolis and St. Paul, due to an arrangement between the Minnesota Commission and the municipal fair employment agencies in those two cities, which have continued to operate after enactment of the state law.

(4) Washington's complaint figure is for the calendar year of 1956. It received 74 complaints between January 1 and November 25, 1957. The increase apparently reflects the fact that its powers have enlarged during 1957.

APPENDIX V

AGENCY BUDGETS (1)

State	1956 Population	Current 12-month Budget	Per Capita Expenditure
Colorado	1,612,000	$ 41,224	$ .0255
Connecticut	2,232,000	90,000	.0403
Massachusetts	4,812,000	87,138	.0181
Michigan	7,516,000	137,928	.0184
Minnesota	3,241,000	31,000 (2)	.0096 (2)
New Jersey	5,403,000	114,093	.0211
New Mexico	815,000	2,000	.0025
New York	16,195,000	636,668	.0393
Oregon	1,718,000	20,000	.0116
Pennsylvania	10,964,000	112,500	.0103
Rhode Island	828,000	37,495	.0453
Washington	2,667,000	39,700	.0149
Wisconsin	3,764,000	16,480	.0044
Total	61,767,000	$1,366,226	.0221
Indiana (3)	4,413,000	$ 30,000	.0068
Kansas	2,103,000	15,000	.0071
Total	6,516,000	$ 45,000	.0069

(1) In comparing the budgets and the per capita expenditures of the various states, it must be remembered that some agencies have much broader responsibility than others. See Appendix III, Table C.

(2) See note 3 to Appendix IV for explanation of Minnesota's small case load.

(3) Indiana and Kansas commissions have no enforcement powers.

APPENDIX VI

PROPORTION OF NEGRO, OTHER NON-WHITE, AND JEWISH POPULATION

State	Total Pop. 1950	Negro Pop.	%	Other Non-White Pop.	%	Jewish Pop.	%
Colorado	1,325,089	20,177	1.52	8,259	0.62	22,500	1.70
Connecticut	2,007,280	53,472	2.66	1,479	0.07	97,500	4.86
Massachusetts	4,690,514	73,171	1.56	5,840	0.12	276,700	5.90
Michigan	6,371,766	442,296	6.94	11,645	0.18	87,800	1.38
Minnesota	2,982,483	14,022	0.47	14,764	0.50	43,500	1.46
New Jersey	4,835,329	318,565	6.59	5,179	0.11	279,400	5.78
New Mexico	681,187	8,408	1.23	42,568	6.25	1,200	0.18
New York	14,830,192	918,191	6.19	39,906	0.27	2,391,600	16.13
Oregon	1,521,341	11,529	0.76	12,684	0.83	12,000	0.79
Pennsylvania	10,498,012	638,485	6.08	5,679	0.05	365,600	3.48
Rhode Island	791,896	13,903	1.75	978	0.12	29,000	3.66
Washington	2,378,963	30,691	1.29	31,776	1.34	19,500	0.82
Wisconsin	3,434,575	28,182	0.82	13,703	0.40	42,000	1.22
Total	56,348,627	2,571,092	4.56	194,460	0.35	3,668,300	6.51
Indiana	3,934,224	174,168	4.43	1,544	0.04	39,500	0.75
Kansas	1,905,299	73,158	3.84	3,180	0.17	8,500	0.45
Total	5,839,523	247,326	4.24	4,724	0.08	38,000	0.65
Total U. S.	150,697,361	15,042,286		713,047		5,000,000	
% of Total U.S. in 13 States	37.39	17.09		27.27		73.37	
% of Total U.S. in 2 States	3.88	1.64		0.66		0.76	

(1) Jewish population figures are estimates, since the census contains no questions on religion. The figures in the table are the most widely accepted estimates.

(2) Indiana and Kansas commissions do not have enforcement powers.

6 copies of NEW SOUTH (November/1957) sent under separate cover

January 7, 1958

Mrs. Rachel Lipsky
Administrative Secretary
Department of Public Affairs
American Jewish Congress
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Mrs. Lipsky:

I am sending you separately several copies of the Atlanta ministers statement as printed in our monthly publication New South. Enclosed herewith is a copy of the minutes of the November meeting of the Southern contingent of CCD. I am not clear whether you want more than one copy. If so, let me know how many and I will be glad to send them.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure: 1 copy of Interagency Minutes (November)

RECEIVED JAN - 6 1958

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STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE · 15 EAST 84TH STREET · NEW YORK 28, N.Y. · TRAFALGAR 9-4500

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

WILL MASLOW, Director

Commission on Community Interrelations
Commission on International Affairs and on Israel
Commission on Law and Social Action

January 3, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. - Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

We have been referred to you by the NAACP with our request for the declaration by 74 Protestant clergymen in Atlanta calling for comliance with the law, preservation of the public schools, freedom of speech and the reopening of communications between the races, excerpts of which were printed in the New York Herald Tribune of November 3, 1957.

At the same time we would like to know whether it is possible, through your office, to obtain copies of the minutes of the Meeting of the Southern Interagency of the Consultative Conference on Desegregation, which was held in Atlanta from November 5-6, 1957. We checked first with Mr. Arnold Aronson of the NCRAC here in New York. He was unable to help us but thought that we might obtain this material through your office.

Many thanks for your help.

Sincerely,

Rachel Lipsky

(Mrs.) Rachel Lipsky
Administrative Secretary
Department of Public Affairs

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I. H. PRINZMETAL, Los Angeles
THELMA RICHMAN, Philadelphia

303

JC
Please return

January 9, 1958

Mrs. Justine Wise Polier, Chairman
Executive Committee
American Jewish Congress
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Mrs. Polier:

Thank you for sending me a copy of the excellent report by the American Jewish Congress entitled: "The Myths of Racial Integration." It is a much needed refutation of the irrational fears concerning race and housing. While it is perhaps more timely in terms of developments in the North and West than in the South, I wonder if it would be possible for me to secure a small number of additional copies for selective distribution. Fifteen to twenty-five (15 - 25) copies would meet the immediate needs that I have in mind.

If you have not already done so, I might suggest that copies also be made available to the Consultative Conference on Desegregation for distribution to its mailing list. In this way, the report would reach the main private agencies concerned with racial discrimination.

We are indebted to the American Jewish Congress for the sound information and analyses that it makes available to those of us in the human relations field.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE · 15 EAST 84TH STREET · NEW YORK 28, N. Y. · TRAFALGAR 9-4500

January 2, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

During the past several months the American Jewish Congress has begun conducting among its members an educational program on integration--designed to explore the fears and myths that influence the attitudes and behavior of its members concerning relations with Negroes and Puerto Ricans. We are convinced that racial integration will be achieved in our time not exclusively through the enactment and enforcement of laws but also through the understanding of the irrational fears that influence human conduct.

As a first step in this educational program we prepared the enclosed "Myths of Racial Integration" in which we have attempted to answer some of the doubts and fears that trouble our members in discussions on integration. This has been circulated among them and is being used as a basis of group discussions and study group meetings.

We thought you might be interested in receiving a copy. Your comments would be deeply appreciated.

Cordially,

Justine Wise Polier

Justine Wise Polier

JWP:jr
Encl.

NATIONAL BIENNIAL CONVENTION, MAY 14-18, 1958 HOTEL DEAUVILLE, MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA

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THE MYTHS OF RACIAL INTEGRATION

Program Department
American Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, N. Y.

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The myths listed above are factually disproved on the pages that follow

THE MYTHS OF RACIAL INTEGRATION

MYTH 1: PROPERTY VALUES GO DOWN WHEN NEGROES MOVE INTO A PREVIOUSLY RESTRICTED NEIGHBORHOOD.

FACTS: Of all the myths that have grown up concerning racial integration, none is more general nor more firmly established than the fear that if minority groups move into a neighborhood property values will immediately decline. Yet, every scientific analysis of this problem, whether done by government officials, housing experts or even by real estate appraisers, flatly denies this conclusion. These experts prove that while in some cases property values "may appear to decline" this is a temporary situation caused by "fear and unloading of homes by old time residents" - and is not due to the moving in of a member of a minority group. "It is the mass exodus that temporarily gluts the market with offerings that depress prices - not the influx of the minority groups. It is like a bank run engendered by fears. The fears produce an unwarranted condition avoided if people would stay put."1/ - so concludes the Society of Residential Appraisers. In this same analysis it is pointed out that even in areas where panic selling occurs..." after the first hysterical selling phase passes prices become stabilized then gradually increase under pressure of Negro bidding..... It is usually found that sales activity is greater in racially mixed areas especially in low and moderate price ranges and that the high effective demand among Negro buyers not only sustains price levels but often increases them."2/

There are many other studies that substantiate this conclusion. For example, a San Francisco study in 1951 3/ compared the property value of homes in a group of test areas into which non-whites had moved with a comparable group of restricted white areas-and concluded that "the prices in the neighborhoods undergoing racial change did not fall; in fact in some cases they rose." The author summarizes his data as follows:

> "The bulk of all sales in the test areas /areas into which non-whites had moved/ brought prices slightly above those in the white control areas ...whether these sales were to whites or non-whites...
>
> "About 9 per cent of the sales to white buyers took place at prices which were between 12 and 22 per cent lower than those for comparable properties in control areas /areas where Negroes had bought homes/, whereas no sales to non-whites fell in this range.

1/ Belden Morgan, "Values in Transition Areas," The Review of the Society of Residential Appraisers, Vol. 18, No. 3, March, 1952, pp. 9-10.

2/ Article cited above, pp. 8-9.

3/ Luigi M. Laurenti, "Effects of Non-White Purchases on Market Prices of Residences," The Appraisal Journal, July, 1952.

"About 4 per cent of the sales of non-white buyers took place at prices which were between 22 and 26 per cent higher than those for comparable properties in control areas, whereas no sales to whites fell in this range.

"These results do not show that any deterioration in market prices occurred following changes in the racial pattern."

A study on home buying in a section of Baltimore comes to the same conclusion:

"In other words, these homes are now being sold to Negroes for as much as 150 per cent above the 1940 market value, and at least 75 per cent above the present market value. Real estate operators readily admit that they are buying homes now occupied by whites as rapidly as they become vacant to sell to Negro buyers at a much greater profit than they could obtain elsewhere."4/

The experience of public housing authorities that have a mixed occupancy policy also discredits the myth that the value of property falls when minority groups move in. Charles Abrams, one of the nation's leading housing experts in discussing this problem writes:

"Negroes have been placed in the new projects in substantial numbers. Often there was no Negro occupancy whatever before construction of the project, yet values in the surrounding areas tended to rise after project occupancy. General Thomas F. Farrell, then chairman of the New York City Housing Authority, commented: 'There has been no tendency for neighborhood people to move away because of the projects...business in the neighborhood improves.'" 5/

This is supported in a study by the New York City Housing Authority on the effect of mixed projects on surrounding values. The projects studied included one in a densely occupied area and another on sparsely occupied land, surrounded mainly by one and two family houses. The Housing Authority concludes:

"In the instance of both types of projects, we found a definite increase in assessed valuations for a depth of about two blocks surrounding the project. The effect was most marked within a depth of one block surrounding the project where

4/ Clifton R. Jones, "Invasion and Racial Attitudes: A Study of Housing in a Border City," Social Forces, March, 1949, p. 288.

5/ Charles Abrams, Forbidden Neighbors, Harpers, New York, 1955, p. 289.

a good number of commercial establishments either had been opened or expanded because of the population introduced by the public housing project.

"The increase in valuation was smaller in the second block and there was no change in the area beyond it. From observation, the same effects were noted in projects built on vacant land, and a Research Committee of the National Association of Housing Officials found that 'the experience in New York City, as shown in the few studies we had made, had been duplicated in studies conducted in other cities.'"6/

In Portland, Oregon, a study of price fluctuations around a public housing project of 400 units in which there were 20 non-white families, showed increases in the surrounding areas of from 45 to 96 percent. Building activity spurted around the racially integrated Tasker Homes in Philadelphia, and within a few years 200 houses representing more than $1 million of new investment had been built in the adjoining section. In Atlanta, Georgia, the monthly rate of private constuction in the vicinity of a Negro housing project showed a gain of 500 per cent, or eight times the gain for the city as a whole. Numerous other authorities from various cities confirm these findings. The land around Parkway Village in Jamaica, N. Y., trebled in value after this mixed project for United Nations personnel was built by 15 New York City savings banks.7/

It may be concluded, therefore, that property values will not go down if a Negro moves into a restricted area; that only panic selling or a wholesale withdrawal of white residents will lower prices by flooding the market with sale offerings; that this panic selling, not the infiltration of the Negro, disturbs the dictates of supply and demand; and that even the temporary falling-off caused by a panic market will gradually stabilize itself and the prices of homes in interracial areas will become firm and their property value assured.

In short, panic selling, not racial integration in housing causes a decline in property values. An intelligent community that understands this issue--that will not be panicked or misled by fear or hysteria--has nothing to fear economically from integration in housing.

6/ Forbidden Neighbors, cited above, p. 289.

7/ Forbidden Neighbors, cited above, p. 289.

MYTH 2: IF ONE NEGRO MOVES INTO A NEIGHBORHOOD, A MULTITUDE WILL FOLLOW.

FACTS: If residents behave normally and "stay put," the neighborhood will not change radically. If one lives in a neighborhood one loves, why move?

It is unfortunately true, however, that many real estate men, because of the high prices they can get in selling to Negroes, often try to urge white persons to move. Sometimes they actually encourage fears and deliberately promote hysteria and panic selling. Some real estate agents have been known to call home owners individually, after one minority group family has moved in, and urge them to sell "before the bottom drops out of the market." Repeated calls are made in which the property value myth and the undesirability of living with such families are stressed. Negro agents have frequently been hired to visit homes, offering to buy and displaying large sums of money. Negro families have been employed to inquire about sales or even to wheel baby carriages back and forth on the block. Only a little more subtle was the agent who, whenever he sold a home in a neighborhood occupied exclusively by non-Jews to a family with an obviously Jewish name, sent postcards to the other residents reading somewhat as follows:

> "Dear Neighbor: We have just sold a house at 1522 Blank Street to Mr. Joseph Cohen. We hope you will get acquainted with your neighbor. FOR BEST RESULTS AND HIGHEST PRICES IN SELLING YOUR PROPERTY CALL CHROME REALTY, UN 9-9999."8/

"Plainly, these tactics are not resorted to out of love for the human race. The immediate effect is to promote a large number of sales, which will inevitably be made at reduced prices."9/

Many groups have successfully resisted such pressures. In a block in a previously all-white neighborhood near the edge of Philadelphia, old residents met the harassment of real estate men by putting signs in their windows saying, THIS HOUSE IS NOT FOR SALE. Those who wished to start panic selling, in the hope of buying houses cheaply and reselling them at a higher price, were not welcome with their message of fear. This is the type of neighborhood which will keep its values--economic and moral--and in the process will gain some excellent new citizens.

It is important to remember, too, that if there were a "free housing market" for Negroes in the United States today--there would be no reason to fear the myth of invasion. The Negroes represent less than five percent of the total population in the North today. If they were not restricted in

8/ Guide to Changing Neighborhoods, a manual on intergroup relations problems in neighborhoods undergoing change. Published by the NCRAC, 1956, p. 38.

9/ Guide to Changing Neighborhoods, cited above, p. 38.

the choice of their homes to a few ghetto areas--they could easily disperse throughout the country and there would be little reason to fear that they might invade any single community.

Even in today's segregated housing market, moreover, the chances of Negroes "invading en masse" suburban areas are highly unlikely. Despite the increased earning capacity of Negroes today, only a tiny fraction can economically afford homes in suburban communities. There are relatively few Negroes moreover - even economically affluent Negroes - that are ready today to move into a strange and hostile white community and expose their children to the difficulties of adjusting in such a community. "Like all people, he [the Negro] usually wants to move when and where he finds himself welcome. He will not gamble on embarrassing his family or risking his investment in an area where he knows he will be unwelcome or his wife and children feel discomforted."10/ The fear therefore that vast numbers of Negroes will "invade en masse" any given white community - ignores completely the normal reluctance of people to leave the security of their "own group" and face hostile strangers.

MYTH 3: NEGROES DO NOT MAINTAIN THEIR PROPERTY.

FACTS: The best way of disproving this myth is to look at those areas or housing developments that have been integrated, such as Germantown, Pennsylvania (a wealthy suburban community); Queensview Houses (a non-profit cooperative in Queens, New York); Parkway Village, New York (an interracial development primarily for UN personnel); Windermere Place, St. Louis (a street of large and comfortable homes in what was once the most fashionable section of St. Louis); Concord Park, Pennsylvania (an interracial housing development of 139 homes in the $12,000-$16,000 class); to mention just a few. In all of these areas the minority group families have kept up their property as well as or better than the old-time residents.11/ The Philadelphia Human Relations Commission in discussing this problem states: "Our most important evidence that Negro home owners keep up their property well is right here in Germantown. We can think of many blocks where Negro home owners have kept up their properties far better than the previous white owners." 12/

Another basic way to explode this myth is to realize that it is based on "stereotype thinking"--thinking that considers Negro occupancy as exclusively "slum occupancy" and believes that the Negro has produced the economically-depressed areas, the deteriorated houses and the congested filthy streets that characterize many of the crowded Negro ghettoes in the slum sections of our

10/ Forbidden Neighbors, cited above, p. 275.

11/ They Say, That You Say, published by the American Friends Committee, p. 9

12/ They Say, That You Say, cited above, p. 9

cities. Those who are prone to such thinking fail to recognize that these slum conditions were not caused by the Negro but rather by the failure of landlords in slum areas to make repairs on deteriorated houses, and the failure of the city to enforce its own housing and sanitary regulations to prevent the overcrowding and filth that accumulate in these areas. Usually it is the "advancing age of the structure coupled with lack of maintenance by indifferent or greedy absentee owners who know it is not necessary to maintain the properties to hold tenants who have no other place to go that is the primary cause of slum conditions--not the dwellers. Whites observing Negroes living under these conditions are prone to blame the Negroes for it--whereas the Negro is the victim not the cause."13/

Where the Negro has been given the opportunity to live in decent well-kept housing projects, it has been observed frequently by housing experts that "the housing projects inhabited by Negroes are in fact outstanding for their neatness and spruceness."14/

Negores, moreover, who move into suburban communities are as determined as their white neighbors to "keep up" their homes and neighborhood. They, too, have a "property interest" and have as much or more to gain by protecting the value of their investment. If they can afford the price of a suburban home, moreover, they are generally of the same or higher economic class (professional or white collar) as the other residents of their community--and as such have acquired the same "value standards" that generally belong to each class in our economic structure. To visualize all Negroes as "maids, bootblacks and porters"--enjoying the filth of the slums and incapable of keeping their own homes clean (there is no question that they can keep the homes of white employers clean)--is to fall prey to the worst kind of stereotyped thinking.

MYTH 4: NEGROES WILL NOT BE ABLE TO PAY FOR THEIR HOMES OR KEEP UP THEIR MORTGAGES AND WILL BE FORCED TO SELL THEIR HOMES AT LOWER PRICES TO A POORER CLASS OF PEOPLE. THIS WILL EVENTUALLY LOWER THE ECONOMIC STANDING OF THE COMMUNITY.

FACTS: Census figures show that the non-white population is steadily advancing to better paid occupations and to greater security in jobs, as well as to higher educational levels. More Negroes are going through high school, college and professional schools; and more Negroes are entering the professions and white collar jobs. Their salary levels are increasing and as a group they are classified today as "good credit risks."15/

13/ Values in Transition Areas, cited above, p. 6.

14/ Forbidden Neighbors, cited above, p. 268.

15/ They Say, That You Say, cited above, p. 10.

Albert M. Cole, Housing and Home Finance Agency administrator, said, "Recent studies in a large number of our cities indicate a very substantial waiting market for Negro housing ranging from $40 to $90 in rents and from $6,500 to $15,000 for sales housing, with a fair number of minority families able to enter the luxury market."16/

Credit experience with Negro home buyers has been excellent. The president of one of Philadelphia's biggest mortgage companies has written, "Over the years a great segment of the Negro population has obtained the respect of lenders, simply and quietly, by paying their bills when due. Actually there is no difference in our delinquency records between white and Negro loans and we take pride in our below-average mortgage delinquency record."17/

Before a convention of the National Association of Home Builders in January, 1953, Frank Horne, director of the Commission on Intergroup Relations, New York City, (then of the Housing and Home Finance Agency) said: "According to the reports by lending institutions and surveys by the National Association of Real Estate Boards and the Federal Housing Administration, non-white families rate at least as well as credit risks and good maintainers of standards of private properties as other families of similar economic status."18/

MYTH 5: NEIGHBORHOODS SHOULD BE HOMOGENEOUS WITH THE RESIDENTS HAVING THE SAME CULTURAL AND EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND.

FACTS: Educators and psychiatrists all agree that schools or neighborhoods with persons of the same racial, religious, ethnic or economic background are not good for children or for adults. A town of all bankers or all shopclerks or all middle income professionals--is similar to a "one-industry company town." People have little opportunity for cultural enrichment if they are not given an opportunity to meet people of different backgrounds and experience. Their horizons become narrow and limited by the narrowness of their experiences and associations. "A sprinkling of poor artists, frustrated poets plus a few good restaurants run by some foreigners with culinary talent, might be a tonic relief to a neighborhood of bank clerks and shopkeepers, though their intrusion might violate the concept of homogeneous neighborhoods."19/

Homogeneous neighborhoods, moreover, breed homogeneous schools. Educators are convinced that heterogeneous schools--schools in which chil-

16/ Housing Without Racial Barriers, published by the Council of Social Action, United Church of Christ, Nov. 1957

17/ Maurice R. Massey, president, Peoples Bond and Mortgage Co., Correlator, a publication of the National Association of Home Builders, March, 1954.

18/ They Say, That You Say, cited above, p. 11.

19/ Forbidden Neighbors, cited above, p. 282.

dren of all races, religions and ethnic backgrounds work, study and play--are far better for the education of a child. It is the purpose of education in a democracy to provide a child with an opportunity to associate with children of diverse backgrounds and permit him goals and aspirations not limited to those provided by his own immediate society and cultural environment. If a child never sees a Negro, a Jew, a Protestant or a Catholic, he will be more apt to develop erroneous ideas and unfounded fears in regard to these "mythical people" who do not belong in his real world. Similarly, if a child of upper middle class parents never meets or associates with "poor children" who know real economic poverty and hardship, he will obviously become limited in his understanding of the problems of our society. The best private schools attempts to reach out with scholarships and other inducements to attract children of all backgrounds so that the school might be truly representative of the American cultural scene.

MYTH 6: IF NEGROES ARE PERMITTED TO LIVE IN THE SAME AREAS AS WHITES AND GO TO THE SAME SCHOOLS, THERE WILL BE MORE INTERMARRIAGE.

FACTS: For the Jew, the problem of intermarriage has a special dimension. Jews want their children to marry within the Jewish faith so as to perpetuate the ideas of Judaism. The Jew recognizes that when he left the ghettoes of Europe he naturally exposed himself to the danger of intermarriage--both racial and religious intermarriage. Any time that people of different backgrounds are thrown together there is always this possibility of intermarriage. "Race mixture has been going on during the whole of recorded history. Mankind has always been and still is a mongrel lot."20/

But the Jew recognizes, too, that for him the best defense against such intermarriage is obviously not to confine people--either himself or the Negro--to the isolation of the ghetto. On the contrary, his only defense is to develop a love and respect for the Jewish heritage among his children so that assimilation--whether racial or religious--is unlikely to occur. In other words, an affirmative program of Jewish education--not the ghettoizing of racial or religious groups--is the only meaningful instrument of Jewish survival, and the only meaningful defense against intermarriage.

It is interesting to note, too, that the leading psychiatrists in the country today state unequivocally that no facts exist to prove that desegregation of the schools and the mixing of white and Negro children that occurs as a result, causes intermarriage per se.

The Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry (GAP), a group of distinguished social psychiatrists, has stated: "The expectation voiced by many people that school desegregation will result in a great rise in the rate of intermarriage seems to be an expression of their bias and fear, rather than a reliable prediction. As a matter of fact, the information on which

20/ Heredity, Race and Society, Dunn and Dobzhansky, 1952, p. 115.

to base predictions with regard to racial intermarriage is extremely sparse and rather confusing." 21/

The most authoritative current work on the subject of intermarriage, "Negro-White Intermarriage in Recent Times," by Wirth, Louis, Goldhamer and Herbert 22/ opens with the statement, "Only limited and unsatisfactory data are available on Negro-white intermarriage in the United States. The many factors that determine fluctuations in the rate of racial intermarriage are far from clear. In Boston, where legal school desegregation has been in effect for decades, there was a relatively high rate in the years immediately after 1900 and a marked decrease in the next decades despite a constant ratio of Negroes to the total population. In urban New York State, other than New York City, the ratio climbed between 1916 to 24 and then dropped steadily for the next ten years. No satisfactory explanation for this shift has been established. The facts conclude that legal school desegregation per se does not influence the rate of intermarriage in ways that are yet predictable."

Both the GAP report and the Wirth article point out that there are many complicated psychological and social factors that determine marital choice, and that for most people, similarity of social, religious and economic backgrounds is the determining factor in the choice of a mate. "Under the social conditions of today, such commonality between Negro and white is rare." It is unrealistic to conclude, therefore, that closer association in school and neighborhood will of itself provide the similarity of background, conducive to intermarriage.

MYTH 7: PRESTIGE WILL BE LOST IF NEGROES LIVE IN YOUR NEIGHBORHOOD.

FACTS: Basically, a neighborhood gains prestige from its appearance, from the stature of those who live in it and the quality of its community life. A man's stature is earned by his professional standing, his economic level, his leadership in civic activities--not from the color of his skin. When Ralph Bunche moved into Cambridge, Massachusetts, no one doubted that the prestige of the town had been increased, rather than decreased.

Those people fearing loss of status because of the influx of the Negro are confusing "cause and effect." They see social deterioration and decline in many areas where the Negro lives; and incorrectly blame the Negro for this social decline and loss of neighborhood prestige. They then conclude that the purchase of a home by any Negro, even an economically affluent Negro, will cause the same decline in their own neighborhood. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Negro who is in a position economically to purchase a home in the suburbs is of a class that will not threaten a community's status

21/ "Psychiatric Aspects of School Desegregation," Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry, 1957, p. 29.

22/ Negro-White Intermarriage in Recent Times, Wirth, Louis, Goldhamer and Herbert, Chapter IV, of Part V, in The Characteristics of the American Negro, Ed. Otto Klineberg, Harper Bros., N.Y., 1944.

or prestige. His professional standing, his economic achievement level, and his intellectual achievements--will generally equal or surpass those of his white neighbors.

MYTH 8: NEGRO CHILDREN ARE INNATELY LESS INTELLIGENT THAN WHITE CHILDREN. INTEGRATED SCHOOLS, THEREFORE, WILL RESULT IN LOWER EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS AND WILL HOLD BACK THE INTELLECTUAL DEVELOPMENT OF WHITE CHILDREN.

FACTS: First, the assumption that there are innate differences in intellectual potential between Negroes and whites is flatly denied by social and psychological tests.23/ It is, however, recognized that there are differences in the educational motivation and aspiration and the levels of educational attainment--between Negro and white children. Eighty years of discrimination and segregation must of necessity affect the learning capacities and motivation of a people. Culturally and economically deprived families (whether they are white or Negro) are characteristically low in social morale and in incentive to learn, to develop individual potentials, to aspire and to "become." These important considerations, not the allegedly "innate intellectual inferiority" of the Negro, are acknowledged by all responsible educators and psychologists, and it would be dishonest to avoid them in any realistic discussion of the problems that integration in education creates. It is for these reasons, however, that all carefully planned programs for school integration, in cities in which large numbers of Negro children live, anticipate and prepare for reducing the gap that is likely to exist between Negro and white children. Smaller classes, improved facilities, more experienced teachers, revised recruitment policies, remedial work, more extensive guidance and motivation resources, special classes for gifted children, special classes for children with language difficulties, enriched curricula--all of these must be part of a good integration program. Thus conceived, a real integration program becomes indistinguishable from the general effort to advance the goals and promise of public education.

If one examines the program for integration proposed by the New York City Integration Commission, one will see that such a program includes not only integrating the schools but providing better and more experienced teachers in the schools in which such integration will take place; it includes more extensive psychological care in public schools so that special help can be given to those children that need it. Classes for gifted children will be created so that no gifted child will be held back in his intellectual development. In addition, the Integration Commission has asked for severl million dollars to build new schools, improve the old buildings and generally improve the physical condition of the schools. In the long run, therefore, such an integration program will improve educational standards for all children.

23/ "Social and Psychological Factors in Integration," published in The Journal of Educational Sociology, Oct. 1957, p. 61.

In suburban communities the fear that permitting a few Negro children into the schools will lower the standards of the schools is completely fallacious. The children of Negro families economically able to afford suburban homes generally have the same aspirations and motivations as white children. They do not suffer from the limited educational horizons of children from economically depressed areas.

There is still another dimension to the problem of integration in education--a moral dimension that one cannot ignore in discussing this problem. It should be clear that the level of educational attainment in a segregated public school cannot be equal to that which prevails in an integrated school. Even if such a school were equal in the physical facilities it provides--the mere fact of "segregation" imposes physical hardships upon the minority children--a hardship that seriously retards educational motivation and achievement. It is morally indefensible, therefore, to demand the best educational facilities for the white children and at the same time to ignore and remain indifferent to the damage we are inflicting on Negro children by confining them to ghettoized schools. It is this ghettoization in housing and in education which breeds and creates the maladjusted child, the delinquent and the criminal. The alternative to providing integrated schools therefore even at the risk of a temporary decline in the standards of a white school (a decline which as pointed out above need not ever happen) is to perpetuate a system of inferior education for a third of our citizens. This is a morally indefensible position that cannot be condoned.

MYTH 9: IF A NEGRO MOVES INTO A WHITE NEIGHBORHOOD THERE WILL BE INCREASED CRIME AND DELINQUENCY.

FACTS: In discussing this myth it is important to distinguish between the case of a few Negroes moving into a suburban community and the creation of "black--slum belts" in formerly all-white urban areas, (e.g., West Side of Manhattan, New York City). No one fears that crime and delinquency will result from the first situation; it is the second situation that produces this fear. This is, moreover, a justifiable fear. For, there can be no question but that slum conditions--crowded, filthy apartments, inadequate schools and recreational facilities, infested streets and congested dilapidated buildings and the inadequate home life they reflect go hand in hand with crime and delinquency. The Negro, denied educational opportunities, discriminated against in employment and forced to live in these slum belts--does have his share of criminals and delinquents. But, the way to protect a community against such crime and delinquency is not by running away from it but by attempting to eliminate it. As a practical matter, distance is never a deterrent against crime. What stops a criminal from traveling 2 miles, 5 miles, 20 miles or 100 miles to kill, to rob, or to molest a child? To keep the Negro locked in slum ghettoes subject to the social diseases which slums breed will certainly not provide protection for anyone--anywhere! Real protection lies in destroying this ghetto--in providing a fair housing market for the Negro so that he can choose better places in which to raise his children--in giving him better schools, more educational opportunities and a labor market that will accept him on merit alone.

1/17/58

Distribution of "Myths of Racial Integration" put out by:

Program Department
American Jewish Congress file
and STATE OF MIND *

Each State Director *
Robert A. Thompson - Atlanta Urban League
Albert Thompson - FHA
Hubert Jackson - PHA
Robert Stuart - Atlanta Met. Planning Commission
Joseph Gross - Atlanta, Ga.
John Hope, II *
C. H. Parrish *

* State of Mind sent only to these.

MF -

Send one to each state director + one to Robt. A. Thompson of the Atl Urban League, Al Thompson of FHA, Hubert Jackson of PHA, and Robt. Stuart of Atl. Met. Planning Commission. (over)

Use slip signed with full name

808 Elem Bldg, D.C.

Also one to Mr Joseph Gross of Atl (he's on New South list).

If any are left, give them to John.

HCH

One to each state director (can be enclosed with "Myth of Racial Integr." + mailed 2d class) + ~~to~~ ~~Mr H + CHP.~~

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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February 20, 1958

Dr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I have your note of February 12, together with a clipping describing the midyear meeting of the American Bar Association in Atlanta, Georgia.

Of course, I agree with you that the ABA -- of all groups -- should not have met in a state which is so recklessly and boldly defying the Supreme Court decision. Unfortunately, nothing could have been done at this late date to prevent the meeting from being held in Georgia; I was not earlier aware that they were going to hold a meeting there because, normally, I do not keep abreast of ABA's affairs (I have never been a member of that group for good and sufficient reasons).

However, I do think that appropriate representations should be made to the governing Board of ABA so that in the future they will avoid embarrassing lawyers by meeting elsewhere in the South during the desegregation crisis. A studied refusal to meet in the South might help Southern lawyers come closer to a recognition of the meaning and significance of the "law of the land."

We shall try to have such representations made by some appropriate person.

I hope I shall see something of you soon. My warm regards.

Sincerely,

Edwin J. Lukas

EJL:ig

RECEIVED MAR 3 1958

FOR YOUR INFORMATION

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EV
JC
MF
(file)

American Jewish Congress

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JUSTINE WISE POLIER — *Chairman Executive Committee*
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ISAAC TOUBIN, *Executive Director*

SOUTHEAST REGIONAL OFFICE: Room 906, Congress Bldg. • 111 N. E. 2nd Ave. • Miami 32, Fla. • FRanklin 9-6195

HASKELL L. LAZERE
Director

February 28, 1958

Dear Friend:

As you are probably already aware, the American Jewish Congress has issued a statement in connection with the so-called Johns Committee investigation in Miami. The newspaper accounts did not carry the full text of the statement. So that you may be fully informed, the full statement is enclosed.

The issues are very clear. In issuing our statement we recognize the likelihood that some would charge we were making the hearings a "Jewish issue". On the other hand, we are also cognizant of the fact that the preservation of civil liberties and civil rights is the concern and responsibility of every American. It is our feeling the time is rapidly approaching, if it hasn't already arrived, to take a public stand.

If you have any comments or questions in regard to the statement issued, we would welcome them.

Sincerely,

Haskell L. Lazere

Haskell L. Lazere
Director

Yaakov G. Rosenberg

Rabbi Yaakov G. Rosenberg,
Chairman, South Florida Council

HLL:fk
Encl.

STATEMENT BY SOUTH FLORIDA COUNCIL, AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

The American Jewish Congress, a national voluntary organization with some 300,000 direct and affiliated members, has always been unequivocally opposed to Communism, fascism and other forms of totalitarianism. We know only too well the debasing effects of Communism and the campaign of cultural genocide directed against Jews in the Soviet Union. Together with all Americans who prize the blessings of liberty, we have repeatedly affirmed our support of measures to resist Communist aggression. But we have also insisted that our nation's security is not enhanced by measures that violate the essential liberties whose preservation is the basic purpose of our Republic. We have particularly condemned measures ostensibly designed to uproot or expose Communist influence but in reality aimed at voluntary associations that have nothing in common with Communism.

We recognize that some legislative investigating committees can and do serve useful purposes in recommending legislation for the public welfare. But where investigating committees impinge upon the rights of the individual to hold private beliefs and to have free association there is a threat to our fundamental freedom. We are therefore impelled to issue this warning about the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee known as the Johns Committee, and the investigation it is presently conducting. The Johns Committee was purportedly created to investigate "the Communist party and other subversive organizations...seeking to agitate and engender ill-will between the races of this and other states...", but the hearings now conducted by the committee show that its real purpose is to "smear" any organization, no matter how patriotic or reputable, that in any way seeks to bring about orderly compliance with United States Supreme Court decisions.

The efforts of the Johns Committee to establish a link between the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and

MORE

the Communist Party evinces a deliberate design to equate activities on behalf of desegregation with Communism. We deplore this attack on the NAACP, an organization about which J. Edgar Hoover said, "Equality, freedom and tolerance are essential in a Democratic government. The NAACP has done much to preserve these principles and to perpetuate the desires of our founding fathers." The Florida Legislative Investigation Committee's efforts to pillory and harass such reputable intergroup organizations as the Florida Human Relations Council and the Dade County Council on Community Relations equally merit censure.

The Johns Committee investigation is part of a systematic campaign to throttle voluntary associations and individuals, opposed to racial segregation, who wish to exercise their rights to speak freely about and to uphold the law of the land. The Johns Committee thus attacks one of the most fundamental guarantees of our Constitution: the right of freedom of association. We urge all Floridians committed to the doctrine of full equality in a free society to recognize the dangers inherent in this assault and to redouble their efforts to make such voluntary associations strong and effective.

The Johns Committee, in our considered opinion, is operating under a grant of powers so sweeping, so vague, and so ill-defined that it violates the constitutional standards for legislative investigating committees set forth by the United States Supreme Court only last June in the Watkins and Sweezy cases. We believe, as it is now evident, that the Johns Committee does not perform a useful function. Despite its pious protestations to the contrary, it is conducting a witchhunt which does a disservice to our state and its people. We urge our publicly elected legislators to end this unlawful and stubborn resistance to the supreme law of our land. We ask our fellow citizens to help in the return to the basic American principles of freedom of association, freedom of assembly and freedom of the individual.

Florida Region, American Jewish Congress

Rabbi Yaakov G. Rosenberg,
Chairman

Haskell L. Lazere,
Southeastern Regional Director

March 7, 1958

Mr. Gustave Falk, Area Director
American Jewish Committee
523 Fidelity Building
Dallas 2, Texas

Dear Gus:

Many thanks for your letter of 6th March with the enclosed confidential report of the February 17th meeting. This is an excellent job of reporting and helps keep the record straight.

Please let me know how the March 10th meeting comes out. I am interested too in the Rev. Estelle and the Negro delegation's meeting with the President of the School Board. What was the outcome of the meeting? I note on page four the report that the newspapers released the story of preventative police measures planned. Would you please send us a thermo-fax copy of the article?

I imagine by now you have received a copy of the letter I sent Ed Lukas. I trust you think it satisfactory.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:fcl

Encls: List of Interagency Conf. Participants
Director of Interagency Agencies

March 24, 1958

Mr. Haskell L. Lazere
Director
American Jewish Congress
Southeast Regional Office
Room 906, Congress Building
111 N. E. 2nd Avenue
Miami 32, Florida

Dear Haskell:

Thanks for your welcome letter. I am enclosing a list of those in attendance at the last interagency meeting, and also our directory of agencies active in the South. The latter is revised periodically and should be sent to you automatically in the future.

I found your comments on the bombing very interesting. My own feeling has been that the Miami bombing, in particular, was a manifestation of anti-semitism rather than anti-integration feeling. Your analysis certainly seems to bear this out. Let's hope the police investigation is more successful than it was last time.

I am glad we had a chance to get acquainted at the interagency meeting and am looking forward to a cooperative association in the future.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Encls. - 2

American Jewish Congress

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SOUTHEAST REGIONAL OFFICE: Room 906, Congress Bldg. • 111 N. E. 2nd Ave. • Miami 32, Fla. • FRanklin 9-6195

HASKELL L. LAZERE
Director

March 21, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold:

I've received the minutes of the Interagency meeting, for which my thanks. I notice that there was not a list of the names and addresses of the people who attended, which I would find helpful. Can you send me same?

You've probably been in touch with people in regard to the bombing which took place here last Sunday. While it well may have been done by the White Citizens Councils or KKK elements, I do not believe it was. There are many questions still unanswered, not the least of which---why the dynamiting occurred at Temple Beth El? That Temple is distinguished for its silence on social issues, particularly segregation. If it were a blow against the proponents of desegregation, there are at least two temples in town which would have been far better targets, and the point that this was an attack on desegregationists would have been made very clear. The fact that the dynamiting was not done in a manner to destroy the temple completely also puzzles me. Why was the dynamite placed outside instead of inside the building? Why was the school--auditorium part of the building the target instead of the synagogue proper?

Naturally, I can see reason for wanting to pin it on the White Citizens Councils and KKK people because they are the logical suspects, but I cannot concede that these are the facts as established by evidence of the moment. So far as I know the police have no tangible leads, and it may very well be we are in process of repeating the pattern of several years ago, where the bombings were never solved.

Sincerely yours,

Haskell

Haskell L. Lazere,
Director

HLL:fk

SOUTHWEST AREA OFFICE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

GUSTAVE F. FALK
Area Director

523 FIDELITY BLDG.
DALLAS 2, TEXAS
Tel. RIverside 7-2830

April 25, 1958
dictated April 23, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Fred:

I have been consulting with several Negro leaders in Dallas on incidents of violence, intimidation and reprisals which have occurred since the school desegregation decision and the experiences of Negroes qualifying to vote and the acceptance of the rights of Negroes to vote in this area.

One of my conversations was with Mr. U. Simpson Tate, an attorney, who has represented NAACP in the South. He has a tremendous knowledge of the south and has represented the Negro in a score of legal cases. He is ready to cooperate with the Southern Regional Council in its survey.

I would, therefore, suggest that you write to him directly for information. We believe that the data would be more acurate by this procedure. His address is: 4211 South Oakland, Dallas 15, Texas.

You will note that I am sending a copy of this letter to Mr. Tate as well as to Maceo Smith.

Cordially yours,

Gustave

Gustave Falk

GF:im
cc: U.S.Tate
Maceo Smith

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NATIONAL OFFICE: 386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

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SOUTHWEST AREA OFFICE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

GUSTAVE F. FALK
Area Director

523 FIDELITY BLDG.
DALLAS 2, TEXAS
Tel. RIverside 7-2830

May 8, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Fred:

I know that you will be pleased to read about the interesting developments of the White-Negro Leadership group detailed in the attached confidential report.

Any help you can give me in developing the prospectus of the Dallas Commission on Human Relations will be greatly appreciated. I shall return any material which is so designated.

Does this project fit into the program of the SRC? If so, I would like to utilize the resources of the Council in the implementation of this activity?

When do you expect to return to the Southwest? Hope it is soon.

Cordially,

Gustave

Gustave Falk

GF:im
Encl.

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NATIONAL OFFICE: 386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

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Fred Routh

May 6, 1958

To: Dr. Sol Finsberg (cc: Ed Lukas, I. Tarmann, A. Harold Murray)

From: Gustave Falk

Subject: Prospectus - Dallas Commission on Human Relations

I am addressing this memorandum to you since I shall need your assistance in an important development of the White-Negro Leadership Group which held its fourth meeting on Monday, May 5 at the First Unitarian Church from 9:00 A.M. to 11:00 A.M. Dean Cunniggin was convener for this session. Reports of previous meetings of this group on February 17, March 10 and 17, 1958, were sent to the office.

This meeting had a three-fold objective: 1). to discuss the various Clergy Integration Statements and their implementations; 2). to determine the future status of the White-Negro Leadership Group; and, 3). to explore the feasibility of the formation of a Dallas Commission on Human Relations. Following the customary procedure of other meetings, the discussion was held in executive session so no detailed minutes were taken.

This memorandum, therefore, is a summary of the principal items discussed without identification of the participants.

1. Clergy Integration Statements

During the past week, statements by the Protestant, Jewish and Negro Clergy groups were issued separately. The original intent was to prepare one statement but since the Protestant group constituted the largest and most important segment and also offered the greatest possible opposition to any statement, it was decided to concentrate on the Protestant Clergy with the hope that the final draft would be acceptable to the Jewish and Negro clergy. If not, each denomination promised to publish supplementary ones. It was also decided to release the statements for the Sunday morning editions which would assure equal coverage by both of the local papers.

Attached to this memorandum are copies of the three statements:

a. The Protestant statement released on Sunday, April 27 was signed by 301 clergymen, a remarkable and miraculous feat. Plans are now being made for its wide distribution in the Protestant Churches. Odds were against the final adoption of any statement and the large number of signers astonished even the most optomistic supporter, especially the acceptance of the 6th paragraph, to wit, "All of this leads us to the conviction that enforced segregation is morally and spiritually wrong, etc." While Dean Cuninggin should have the honors of this successful achievement, the Leadership Group acted as the motivating fulcrum in the process.

The affirmative response by the church members to the statement and the position of the signers far outweighed the critical reaction - an index to a healthy general attitude of the community toward the problem. The newspapers wrote commendatory

editorials and gave prominent coverage to the statement. Lynn Landrum, reactionary columnist for the Dallas Morning News, was the only dissenting voice and even his criticism was milder than anticipated.

b. The statement by the rabbis on April 27 was also favorably received. An effort was made to remove the theological references in the Protestant one which would have made possible rabbinical acceptance, but, when a large number of Protestant ministers insisted on these references, which if omitted, would have alienated many signers, it was decided to have the rabbis issue a separate supplementary one.

c. The Negro statement was released on the following Sunday and was published by two newspapers. It was interesting to note that the statement reflected in many ways the discussions at our Leadership Group Meetings and indicated the impact of our group on the Negro members.

2. Future Status of Leadership Group

The future status of the White-Negro Leadership Group was discussed at great length. There was general feeling that it had served a constructive purpose and had offered the first opportunity for equal exchange of opinions and ideas among top leadership of both races. However, the group recommended that meetings should be held on a more formal basis and that broader aspects of the problem should be considered. While I had discussed such goals privately with the various members, it was gratifying to me when these views were vocalized and definite steps recommended to direct our attention to explore the feasibility of forming a Dallas Commission on Human Relations. Maceo Smith, a Negro leader, was appointed as Convener for the next meeting which would be devoted to this theme.

Attached is a reference to my efforts from my report of the Leadership Group on March 10 and 17 on this subject.

3. Dallas Commission on Human Relations

I was asked by the group to gather facts on existing Commissions on Human Relations or Mayor's Committees - their structure, operation, purposes, functions and program - and to report these findings at the next meeting. We are hoping that out of these discussions we shall be able to prepare a prospectus for a Dallas Commission on Human Relations which will be presented to the Mayor for implementation. It will be a long and slow process but I believe the result will warrant the effort.

I shall need your assistance in the preparation of this prospectus. Please send me material on the formation, structure and program of Mayor's or City Commissions on Human Relations. Also, your suggestion and advice which will assist me in the preparation of my report.

I have a two-fold job ahead: 1). to become thoroughly acquainted with existing commissions throughout the country, and 2). to prepare a model structure adapted to the needs of the Dallas community. This is an important task and together I am confident we will be able to evolve a workable plan acceptable to local needs.

I shall appreciate receiving reports, pamphlets, constitutions and by-laws, etc. which I promise to return when so requested. Your personal ideas, memoranda and suggestions can follow. Thanks.

GFsim

DALLAS CLERGY SIGN INTEGRATION STATEMENT

Here is the full statement on desegregation released Saturday by white Protestant clergymen here, and the list of signers:

"Dallas, together with the rest of the nation, faces serious social issues which must be resolved. We, the undersigned ministers, here declare our conviction that racial problems and their solution are moral and spiritual as well as political matters, and that our understanding of the demands of God impels us to speak. God-fearing citizens cannot ignore their responsibilities in civil society. We speak as individuals only, not as representatives of any group or organization.

"We admit, in deep humility, our own sins of prejudice in many areas, and the failure of our religious bodies to solve problems of racial relationships.

"We recognize that there are honest differences of opinion among sincere people concerning desegregation in the public schools. One of the most prized possessions of a free society, however, is the right to discuss differences openly. We are certain that thoughtful citizens, although they may differ in their views on the race question, agree that these differences can be resolved only by following democratic principles, such as respect for the rights of individuals, free speech and due process of law through the courts, without recourse to violence and lawlessness.

"The only solution to this or any other problem of human relations lies in the application of the New Testament concept of Christian love in which we seek for others that which we desire for ourselves. We remember that Jesus said, "By this all men will know that you are my disciples, if you have love for one another." We remember that the Holy Spirit led Peter to say, "God has shown me that I should not call any man common or unclean."

"These Scriptures, among others, call us as Christians to go beyond simple justice to the practice of our Lord's commandments. We must treat every individual as a person made in the image of God and one for whom Christ died. This impels us to express our concern in the social and political situations of our times.

"All of this leads us to the conviction that enforced segregation is morally and spiritually wrong, and in light of these beliefs we present the following principles:

"1. These problems can be solved only as people seek God's help. We should seek not to justify our own views in His sight, but to obtain His guidance in all our actions. We urge that [illegible] law and order are maintained in Dallas.

"3. Churches, service clubs and community organizations, newspapers, radio and television have a responsibility to aid in the solution of this problem. We urge that these groups and enterprises join together in seeking actively to promote the spirit of harmony and peace among all people, both by aiding forces of order and good-will, and by discouraging destructive actions.

"4. The citizens of Dallas have a responsibility to assist the School Boards as they attempt to lead the community. In order that the School Boards may have the understanding support of the community in desegregating the public schools, we urge that plans be made public as soon as possible.

"5. Christian parents can be of great help in creating proper attitudes toward race. We urge that all parents, by conversation and

Related Story, Page 1, Part 3

example, set a pattern of responsible Christian citizenship in a democracy which recognizes justice, fair-play and respect for the sacredness of human personality.

"6. The exchange of views among people of different races is necessary for a reasonable solution to the problem. We urge that religious, civic and educational groups of all races seek to understand each other by a free interchange of ideas and opinions in order that there may be a full confidence and cooperation in arriving at solutions."

The statement was signed by:

Harold L. Abraham, Fred F. Adams, James R. Allen, Joseph L. Allen, Clyde E. Ammons, John F. Anderson Jr., Vernon M. Appel, Wesley J. Arington, Ralph Bacon, Wilfred Bailey, Daniel Baker, George C. Baker Jr., C. Wayne Banks, L. Maurice Barnett, Harold G. Basden, Wallace Bassett, Elton F. Bauerkamper.

Edward S. Bayless, Eugene [illegible], E. Z. Bello, [illegible] Beliveau, Walter A. Bennett, Cecil E. Berry, Lee Bedford Jr., Robert Biel, Paul Blanton, A. V. Boand, Don Bocher, John H. Bowers, Charles Braden, John M. Braly, R. Bruce Brannon, Eugene K. Brink, Thomas Ray Bristol.

H. B. Brooks, Noel Bryant, Fred W. Bryson, William C. Buck, Ralph D. Bucy, Henry A. Burandt, Richard C. Busa, Ramond F. Butts, R. C. Campbell, Paul O. Cardwell, Alsie Carleton, James T. Carlyon, W. E. Carra[illegible]

Alberto Fernandez, Charles Fike Jr., E. M. Fjordbak, Thomas W. Fleener, Glenn Flinn, Rayburn Floyd, Paul B. Frank, Marvin A. Franklin Jr., Joseph H. Frazer Jr., George P. Frysinger, Clifford C. Funk, P. J. Garrison Jr., C. A. Gartner, Fred D. Gealy, Jack Miller Gibson.

Emanuel M. Gitlin, Kyle Glenn, William Greenhaw, B. I. Greer, Jack Greever, Ed Grimmit Jr., William E. Grisham, Everett R. Hall, Richard S. Hall, David C. Ham, Charles L. Hanson, H. Grady Hardin, Thomas E. Hardy, A. A. Harman, W. O. Harmon, Roy Harrell, John Lee Harris, Dean Harrison.

W. L. Harrod, Earl Harvey, C. B. Hastings, Eugene B. Hawk, Kenneth M. Hay, Ed T. Hayes, Patrick Henry Jr., Stuart C. Henry, Joe Poe Hensley, Mark B. Herbener, Neyland Hester, James P. Higginbotham, Wesley V. Hite, Edward C. Hobbs.

William J. Hodge, William J. Hoebel, W. Rickey Hogg, Luther Holcomb, Howard L. Holland, John Holland, W. A. Holmes, Hubert H. Hopper, Herbert Howard, W. A. Irwin, Douglas Jackson, Johnny Jackson, Lyndon M. Jackson, Thomas E. Jackson, Frank E. Jarrett, Robert E. Jenkins, David A. Jensen.

Martin A. Jenson, W. Walter Johnson, A. Jase Jones, Robert E. Jones, Martin T. Judy, Andrew A. Jumper, Curtis W. V. Junker, Carl E. Keightley, Earl E. Kifer, Donald F. Koelling, Wilbert H. Koenig, J. L. Koontz, Elbert Labenske, J. L. Land, Cecil H. Lang, Frank Langham, Marvin Lare, Henry H. Lawson.

Daniel Vance Leander, Umphrey Lee, Smythe H. Lindsay, William Broughton Lord Jr., Jack W. Lundin, Theodore H. McCrea, Gerald P. McCollom, H. Neill McFarland, Jack McGee, Robert W. McGinnis, M. E. McGlamery, Kenneth B. McIntosh, Bruce McIver, Robert S. McKee, Howard G. Maatman, Edward S. Mace.

James Manning, William C. Martin, C. Avery Mason, E. B. Matthews, Kenneth L. Mauldin, Herman F. Mayo, Bob Middlebrooks, Don Miller, T. Lee Miller, [illegible] Minix Jr., Robin Moffat, Edward A. Mohns, James Robert Monmon, William S. Montague, J. E. Montgomery, Henry Moore, J. E. Moore.

Wallace G. Moseley, Henry Moyer, Lonnie R. Mullen, C. S. Mindinger, W. L. Murrow, M. C. Nance, Ben New, Warren Newman, Robert G. Nielson, James J. Niles, Schubert M. Ogden, Roger Ortmayer, Albert C. Outler, Robert G. Painter, Harvey K. Parker, R. M. Parks, Harold A. Pearson, Benjamin A. Petty, [illegible] Pitts, L. Eu-

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

Text of Negro Pastors' Call To End Segregation Given

DALLAS MORNING NEWS 5/6/58

Over the weekend 115 Negro pastors issued a statement calling for an end to "Segregation and stratification." The statement follows:

Almost universally major Christian bodies, both Catholic and Protestant, have spoken in essential agreement upon the problems of racial integration. Jewish Rabbis have spoken similarly.

We, the ministers of Negro congregations in Dallas, have been too well aware of the blight and sinfulness of racial discrimination and forced segregation both within the church and society as a whole.

We, being faced constantly with our responsibility to minister to our own people, the victims of an embarrassing and frustrating dilemma, are moved to speak. We speak in behalf of a people who have tragically suffered from a practice that is in direct opposition to the principles that we teach. We speak in humbleness as servants of God to the larger community of Dallas. As we speak, we pray that God help us communicate to those who listen, to those who wrestle with feelings of guilt, and to those who creatively struggle with the problems of this day.

It is evident that in Dallas we live in the midst of frustration as a result of our failure to live up to what we know. Our only hope is to come to grips with our whole community and repent in terms of the acceptance of God's total will for our inclusive good.

Patiently, with love and Christian understanding, we have helped our people adjust their external behaviors to the evolution of laws related to the "race" structure. These segregation statutes and practices have been known to us as "legally" right, but sinful in the eyes of God (James 2:9 "But if you show partiality, you commit sin, and are convicted by the law as transgressors.")

While we heartily commend the creative efforts of many of our citizens in the whole area of social problems, we must publicly condemn segregation and stratification. It, we feel, is our task, shared by every true Christian, to seek to bring the power of the word of God to bear upon individuals, thereby changing their hearts and enriching their lives.

If we can speak for a people given to us to lead, a people who come to us with their problems and confidences, the following should be said:

HOW THE NEGRO THINKS

1. He loves Dallas as a city of progress and of even greater potential for the good.

2. He has waited years for the fulfillment of dreams yet to be realized. This has been a patient Christian type of suffering at a great cost to him and to his forebears. There is a Christian confidence that God has the Power in history and that God will not deny his own. The gains that have been made leading forward to true democracy and to greater love of one man for another must be preserved and strengthened.

3. He feels that the progress in making our American Democracy more real is inevitable. Desegregation is on the way and will come in no distant time. He subscribes wholeheartedly to the American Christian democratic way of life. His aspiration is to be a great contributor. He is confident that in Dallas, moral and spiritual forces will come to bear in implementing court decisions which are vital in fostering our democratic heritage.

4. He knows that God demands that both he and his brother of other races must mature to the responsibility for the society in which he lives.

5. He is aware that if he, his uninformed Negro or white brother continues to support the old status quo, then progress for Dallas will be seriously impeded.

6. He does not know all the answers, but is anxiously willing to be a part of the solution. He feels that the resolution of the problems of our present day society is hinged upon full representation of the citizenry at large.

7. He is concerned about the overly compensating treatment given his "National" and foreign brothers of color as compared to that given to him and his children.

8. His ideal is to be accepted as an American citizen on the basis of his individual worth.

WHAT THE NEGRO WANTS

1. No special privilege. Merely the rights of first class American citizenship in all aspects.

2. To be respected as a person—not a race. Christianity and democracy both teach this.

3. To live in a truly free society—to be released from the terrifically harsh effects of segregation—to live in an atmosphere where there is opportunity for mutual confession, understanding, forgiveness, and love for fellowmen.

4. Services rendered in his behalf, as should be true for all citizens, to be based upon deeper values than purely humanitarian philanthrophy and paternalism.

5. His differences to be neither ignored nor accentuated.

6. Unity in diversity. America is a diversified country. The Negro wants to be accepted in terms of his [illegible] as a part along with others in making America a strong cosmopolitan nation.

7. Unity on equal terms—not of superiors dominating over or condescending to inferiors.

8. The right to live and find free expression of his native endowment as an individual. This involves the whole realm of equality in political and economic rights, which include job opportunities, schooling, public conveniences, etc.

9. "To be a brother and not a brother-in-law." He wants to have a sense of belonging to a total citizenry.

10. Peace and harmony in an ordered society.

We have read and studied the statement by white clergymen of the Dallas area published in the newspapers on Sunday, April 27, 1958.

We concur wholeheartedly in this statement, without reservation. Further, we are grateful indeed for the forthright, courageous expression by these great leaders of Dallas' churchdom.

We here acknowledge appreciation for the other subsequent, supporting statements that are forthcoming.

We are requesting only simple justice, although it is realized that Christians should go beyond simple justice to actual practice of the Lord's commandments. We do not even ask for mercy. We ask for nothing that a recognition of the dignity of man does not prescribe. We want a sense of belonging. We want to do our full part in making Dallas a finer community for all citizens regardless of race, creed, or color.

We have attempted with all the power that God has vouchsafed unto us to teach to our own people, men, women, and children, the principles of decency and good citizenship. This we shall continue to do, and as the law of the land is implemented by duly constituted authorities in Dallas, our blessed community may be assured that we will do all possible, with God's help and the help of the total citizenry of Dallas, to see that no action be taken by our people that would exacerbate or inflame. We shall never take the law into our own hands, for we recognize that law and order in a free society must be our guide always and forever.

We feel truly confident because we know that God is with us.

This statement is endorsed by: The Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, the Baptist Minister's Alliance, the Christian Minister's Association and the Young Minister's Alliance.

The signatures represent leaders of the following faiths: Baptist, Primitive, Baptist, Mission Baptist, National, Church of the Living God; Church of Christ

DALLAS MORNING NEWS

5/7/68

Racial Mixing Plea Given by Negro Group

Pastors' Statement Lists Objections to Segregation

By BILL GLINES

Some 115 Dallas Negro pastors called for an end to "segregation and stratification" in a 3-page statement issued Saturday.

"The Negro wants no special privilege, merely the rights of first-class American citizenship in all aspects," stated the manifesto. "He wants to be respected as a person, not a race.

"He wants to live in a truly free society, to be released from the terrifically harsh effects of segregation, to live in an atmosphere where there is opportunity for mutual confession, understanding, forgiveness, and love for fellow man.

"He wants peace and harmony in an ordered society."

In addition, the statement endorsed "wholeheartedly" the stand taken last week by 300 white preachers which termed "enforced segregation spiritually and morally wrong."

The earlier statement was made at a press conference headed by Methodist Bishop William C. Martin, Episcopalian Bishop C. Avery Mason, Dr. John F. Anderson of First Presbyterian Church and Dr. Foy Valentine, director of the Christian Life Commission of the Baptist General Convention of Texas.

U.S. Dist. Judge William Atwell this month ordered that Dallas' 141 public schools be integrated, but fixed no deadline.

The statement by the Negro pastors reads in part:

"We, the ministers of Negro congregations in Dallas, have been too well aware of the blight and sinfulness of racial discrimination and forced segregation both within the church and society as a whole.

"We, being faced constantly with our responsibility to minister to our own people, the victims of an embarrassing and frustrating dilemma, are moved to speak . . . we speak in humbleness as servants of God to the larger community of Dallas.

"Our only hope is to come to grips with our whole community and repent in terms of God's total will be for our inclusive good.

". . . The Negro loves Dallas as a city of progress and of even greater potential for the good. He has waited years for the fulfillment of dreams not yet realized. This has been a patient Christian type of suffering at a great cost to him and his forebears.

"He subscribes wholeheartedly to the American Christian democratic way of life. His aspiration is to be a great contributor . . . his ideal is to be accepted as an American citizen on the basis of his individual worth."

The portion touching on the statement by white pastors read as follows:

"We concur wholeheartedly in the statement, without reservation. Further, we are grateful for the forthright, courageous expression by these great leaders of Dallas' churchdom."

The statement was released to the press by the Rev. Paul A. Sims.

Signatures represent leaders of the following faiths: Baptist, Primitive; Baptist, Missionary; Baptist, National; Church of the Living God; Church of Christ; Christian (Disciples of Christ); Methodist; Methodist, AME and Methodist, CME.

Dallas Morning News 4/29/68

Five Rabbis Join Plea of 300 Pastors

The five Dallas rabbis registered their approval Monday of the integration statement issued Saturday by 300 Dallas Protestant ministers.

Rejoicing in the "moral and spiritual affirmation" announced by Dallas Protestant clergy, the Jewish leaders said it was their prayer that the city "will move wisely and morally and spiritually toward the orderly fulfillment of the law."

Their statement in full:

"As rabbis who teach the faith convenanted by our fathers with God, we rejoice in the moral and spiritual affirmation announced by the Protestant clergy of our city in the matter of integration. Drawing upon the noblest of our Jewish tradition we would associate ourselves with the spirit of their declaration, and, as we have always asked of our own followers, call upon peoples of all faiths to help fulfil the hope of the ages —the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man.

"We re-afform the words of our Bible which announces that man is made in the image of God. In this sense, we are all children of the one living God, and must learn to live in love and respect, one with the other.

"So long as we divide ourselves where God has intended for us to unite and love each other, we are in sin. We would translate the ideals of our faith into the community of God, and help establish His kingdom among men.

"The Supreme Court of our country has spelled out in law what the prophets of our faith declared long ago. It is our prayer that the citizens of Dallas, inspired by their faith in God, will move wisely, and morally, and spiritually toward the orderly fulfillment of the law. May God lead and bless the work of our hands.

"All five rabbis residing in Dallas have authorized the use of their names in the issuance of this statement."

Rabbi Jonathan Abramowitz
Rabbi Pierce Annes
Rabbi Gerald J. Klein
Rabbi Levi A. Olan
Rabbi Hillel E. Silverman

There was consensus that this group had made a definite contribution to the betterment of the community, and that meetings should be continued, though not on a regular basis. It was also pointed out that this informal activity had provided and reestablished channels of communication between the Negro and white leadership which, unfortunately, had deteriorated during the past two years. Involving the Negro leaders in the formative process, making them a part of the development on an equal basis has, to my mind, restored their confidence in the sincerity of white persons interested in the orderly process of law. The group decided that the conference with Dr. Rippy marked the first step, and that additional persons should be included on a limited basis and selected on the importance and influence of their respective fields, i. e., labor, business, civic, etc. In the interim period before the next meeting, I shall contact several of the members for this purpose.

4. Addendum

While not discussed at the meetings, I believe the following should be noted:

In my private exchange of views and ideas with the members, particularly, the Negroes, we considered the implications of the integration problem. Desegregation constituted the most acute and dramatic aspects of the broader phases, such as housing discrimination, employment discrimination, public accommodation, etc. We are envisaging the time when the present group will step beyond the limits of desegregation and begin to tackle the broader phases. We are also setting our sights on the possibility of the creation of a Dallas Commission on Human Relations. But this is a far distant goal, but not an unattainable one toward "equality based on merit" - the actuation of the American, democratic process.

I have initiated, also, preliminary discussions with SMU leaders on the possibility of utilizing their post-graduate students for the purpose of gathering factual material on the various phases to do field work in the furtherance of these goals. AJC Dallas office secretarial service has been made available in this project.

However, my schedule is limited - the area is large and functional and administrative demands are excessive - so much so that I cannot devote the professional time to the furtherance of this program. Perhaps, you may have suggestions, especially after reading your recent report on The Committee on the South.

On March 13, I met with William Campbell, of the National Council of Churches (Nashville), during his visit to Dallas, and Roy Valentine, Secretary, Commission on Social Living, Texas Baptist Conference, to review developments and to consider further church support and participation in the desegregation issue.

MEMORANDUM

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N.Y.
MUrray Hill 5-0181

COMMUNITY AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT
A. HAROLD MURRAY, Director
DR. S. ANDHIL FINEBERG, Community Relations Consultant
ISAIAH TERMAN, Director of Communications

"THE BOMBINGS"

By Judge Irving B. Zeichner

Judge Irving B. Zeichner is the Law Editor of Law and Order, a monthly periodical for police officers, and author of "Human Relations and the Police," previously reprinted by Community Relations Service.

The present article, enclosed, suggests techniques for handling acts of violence. We highly recommend extensive distribution to police, municipal officials and civic leaders.

Additional copies available at 5¢ each, $3.50 per hundred.

May 15, 1959
lef2cd3abcdghjkl
Encl.

Isaiah Terman

The Bombings

by Irving B. Zeichner

When the "Mad Bomber" of New York dramatized his grievances by planting time bombs in the Times Square area, the police, fearful of the power of suggestion, initially refrained from publicizing the incidents. The story that finally broke on the front pages evoked a flood of telephoned warnings which kept the bomb squad working overtime. Crackpot scares and hoaxes spread, not only throughout the city, but to other cities.

During the current tensions over desegregation, as part of several hundred incidents and threats, there have been eighty attempted and actual bombings of homes, schools and places of worship. The general impression exists that most if not all the acts of violence have been anti-semitic in nature. Eight bombings, or ten per cent, had Jewish targets.

Coincidence or not, within two days after New Jersey newspapers played up Southern bomb stories, windows were smashed in a Newark synagogue, a Jersey City synagogue received a bomb threat, and similar threats caused the Jewish Centers of Morristown and Elizabeth to be evacuated. This then spread to non-Jewish institutions.

Even if acts of violence appear to adopt a pattern temporarily directed against one particular group, the hostility is of that free floating quality which fastens itself to any group at any time with equal vehemence. Violence has already moved from the Southern eye of the storm into other sections of the country. As devoid of reason as it is deeply ingrained, hatred has the quality of contagion because of its primitive urges.

It is this quality of contagion which requires circumspection by the police in the handling of telephoned threats or crank letters. They know that to give publicity to such tension-loaded matters, even to incidents of unexploded bombs or minor vandalism, is to impede the investigations. They know, too, that contrariwise, acts of violence constitute news which should not be withheld from the public.

The people, who invariably look to the police for protection against themselves, are now face to face with a series of crimes born of social transition. If lawlessness unchecked can spread violence throughout the land, what then is being done by way of law enforcement?

Within days after bombs exploded in Jacksonville, Florida, Mayor Haydon Burns formed the Southern Conference on Bombings at which police officials from twenty-one cities exchanged intelligence on the Klans and like groups. As reports came into a filtering center, certain names cropped up repeatedly including those of the five later to be indicted in the Atlanta temple dynamiting. Though convictions are not easy to come by because of the nature of the crime, the arrests which followed in the wake of good police work have had a salutary effect in stemming the tide.

Strange as it may seem, a number of purported professional haters formed the "Citizens National Law Enforcement Commission" to combat the investigations of violence in Atlanta. The legend on the letterhead states that "This Committee Will Make Arrests, Themselves, When Facts Authorize Such Action." Fund-raising is carried on by a companion organization called the "National Committee To Secure Justice For The Atlanta Five."

The Atlanta bombing appeared to shock the South even more than the North. Mayor William B. Hartsfield

declared, "Whether they like it or not, every rabble-rousing politician is the godfather of the cross-burners and the dynamiters who are giving the South a bad name." He added that the episode "pointed up the need for the decent people of the South to rise up and put an end to the preaching of hate and chaos."

The Southern press has accurately mirrored the sentiments and convictions of Southern people that civil order and obedience to law are supreme values overriding any subsidiary issues. The Atlanta *Constitution*, applauding the crackdown by police, stated explicitly that those who endanger the lives and property of others must pay the legal consequences.

It is essential that appropriate agencies of government press their investigations lest a school full of children be blown to bits as an end result of the bombings. Facilities of the F.B.I. laboratory in Washington and technical consultation in the field are available to local law enforcement officials. But, inasmuch as convictions have not been readily forthcoming, one proposal advanced would extend federal jurisdiction to crimes of this character by a legal presumption that the dynamite used crossed state lines.

If the duty of the police regarding acts of violence is clear, equally apparent is the responsibility of the community in dealing with the tensions from which come the impulses to violence. Group hostility feeds tensions and is, in turn, fed by them.

Community relations experts note that those prone to bigotry are dismayed not by exposure but by quarantine. Like teen-agers susceptible to delinquency, they feel the pull of its attraction and the thrill of its excitement whenever their anti-social acts attract attention.

The criminal, by his act of violence to attract attention, exiles himself to the outer fringes of society. He cannot be reached through the normal channels of communication as they are cut off from reason by his own hatred. He has become a subject of clinical and penal interest. Sooner or later, the forces of law and order—and if he is fortunate, medicine—will apprehend and either rehabilitate or punish him. Meanwhile, he remains an object of police attention. END

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LAW AND ORDER

AN INDEPENDENT MAGAZINE FOR THE POLICE PROFESSION

March 1959

Single copy, 5¢

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COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE

386 Fourth Avenue

New York 16, N. Y.

An earlier (1956) resolution from AJC is filed in Criterions - Defense Materials

NAACP AND FREEDOM OF ASSOCIATION

A resolution Adopted by the Biennial Convention
of the
American Jewish Congress
May 14-18, 1958
Miami Beach, Florida

The epoch-making decision of the United States Supreme Court declaring racial segregation in the public schools unconstitutional has given rise to a multiplicity of devices in efforts to frustrate that decision and to defeat or delay its effectuation. These efforts, in addition to perpetuating the denial of equality to millions of Americans, have themselves brought with them a host of other denials of fundamental constitutional liberties. One of the most serious of these has been and continues to be the denial of freedom of association.

Recognizing that the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has been in the forefront of the struggle for equality and integration and that as a practical matter the successful implementation of the Supreme Court's anti-segregation decision rests in large measure upon its activities, many of the Southern states have launched a concerted attack upon the NAACP in a determined effort to destroy that organization or frustrate its actions. Practically every instrumentality of law and government in the South has been used to persecute the NAACP. It has been harassed at every turn by new laws enacted for that purpose and archaic laws revived for the same end. Legal processes and procedures have been used and abused to interfere with its legitimate activities. Unfounded charges have been leveled against it. It has been compelled to expose its membership lists and thus subjects its members to the threat of physical injury and economic duress. Registration and tax

laws have been invoked against it. Its officers and members have been subjected to hostile legislative investigations reminiscent of the worst days of the McCarthy era. In general, all of the forces of law and government have been marshalled in a determined campaign to destroy it completely.

This assault upon the NAACP gravely threatens a basic freedom of our American democracy. Whether or not one agrees with the Supreme Court's school segregation decision; whether or not one favors speedy integration, gradual integration or even no integration at all; whatever may be one's views on the entire question of segregation, the danger to our democratic way of life posed by the assault upon the NAACP must be recognized by all.

A totalitarian state is by its nature suspicious of, if not actively hostile to, all associations not dominated by the state and looks to every such association as a potential rival if not enemy. Suppression of independent associations is a normal and necessary feature of totalitarian regimes, both fascist and communist.

Our American heritage proceeds on a different premise. It welcomes voluntary associations as an indispensable aspect of a democratic pluralistic society. It recognizes that freedom of association, like the other great freedoms of the First Amendment -- freedom of conscience and of speech -- are for those who exercise the freedom, but even more for the benefit of the community at large. It protects the people's right to hear, to know, to be informed, so that they may properly exercise their rights and fulfill their obligations as citizens.

As a voluntary organization of citizens formed to protect the rights of Jews, the American Jewish Congress has a special concern with the assault upon a voluntary organization of citizens formed to protect the rights of Negroes. Today it is the NAACP that is subjected to attack. Tomorrow it may well be any other organization.

For these reasons the American Jewish Congress

1. Calls upon all individuals and organizations dedicated to the maintenance of constitutional liberty to come to the defense of the NAACP against the unprincipled attack to which it is being subjected;

2. Calls upon the United States Civil Rights Commission to conduct a public investigation of the extent to which constitutional freedom has been invaded by these attacks, publish its findings, turn over to the Department of Justice any evidence of violation of Federal law that it uncovers, make necessary recommendations to Congress for additional legislation and take all further appropriate action;

3. Calls upon the United States Department of Justice to intervene in the various proceedings in the Southern states that are designed to outlaw the NAACP, paralyze its lawful activity or curb advocacy of its program of desegregating the public schools.

4. Calls upon the President of the United States to realize the vast potentiality for moral leadership inherent in his office by condemning publicly this campaign of suppression and exercising his influence to bring it to an end.

Memo

FROM THE DESK OF **FRED ROUTH**

20 May 58

TO: ~~HCF~~ PA

In sending a list of 100 Southerners, as suggested recipients of Neither Black Nor White, to Mr. Schatz of the A.J.Congress, apparently it was felt that the state directors were of little significance.

Many persons, whose out-reach is far less than theirs, were included on the list.

I STRONGLY PROTEST THIS ATTITUDE AND ACTION ON OUR PART.

FSR

May 7, 1958

Mr. Julius Schatz, Director
Community Services Bureau
American Jewish Congress
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Mr. Schatz:

Mr. Fleming, who is away from the office, has asked me to answer your letter of April 24th.

Enclosed is a list of 100 names for your mailing of Neither Black nor White. We have included very few Negroes since we assumed you wanted persons who were middle-of-the-road in race relations or persons who might be influential with the uncommitted. If you had not planned to send the book to Southern governors you might want to consider the Governors of North Carolina, Florida, Alabama, Louisiana and Tennessee.

If we can be of further help please let us know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA/hs

5/8/58

L I S T

1. Mr. James M. Dabbs
   Rip Raps Plantation
   Mayesville, South Carolina

2. Mr. Marion A. Wright
   "Top Knot"
   Linville Falls, North Carolina

3. Dr. Rufus E. Clement
   President, Atlanta University
   Atlanta, Georgia

4. Mr. Paul Christopher
   Regional Director, AFL-CIO
   216 Flatiron Building
   Knoxville, Tennessee

5. Dr. John A. Griffin
   Director of Community Services
   Emory University
   Emory University, Georgia

6. Father Alexander O. Sigur
   P. O. Box 532
   S.L.I. Station
   LaFayette, Louisiana

7. Mr. John H. Wheeler
   President
   Mechanics and Farmers Bank
   Durham, North Carolina

8. Most Rev. Joseph B. Brunini
   Bishop, The Catholic Church
   123 North West Street
   Jackson, Mississippi

9. Mr. Irving E. Carlyle
   Attorney
   Wachovia Bank Building
   Winston-Salem, North Carolina

10. Mr. Jerome Crossman
    President - Ryan Consolidated
      Petroleum Corporation
    3400 Republic National Bank Bldg.
    Dallas, Texas

11. Dr. Merrimon Cuninggim
    Dean, Perkins School of
      Theology
    Southern Methodist Univ.
    Dallas, Texas

12. Dr. S. E. Duncan
    Dept. of Pub. Instruction
    Raleigh, North Carolina

13. Mr. Paul E. Green
    University of North Carolina
    Chapel Hill, North Carolina

14. Dr. M. LaFayette Harris
    President
    Philander Smith College
    Little Rock, Arkansas

15. Dr. Guy B. Johnson
    Department of Sociology
    Univ. of North Carolina

16. Mrs. Austin Kimball
    3131 S. W. First Avenue
    "Black Acres"
    Gainesville, Florida

17. Rabbi Charles Mantinband
    808 Mamie Street
    Hattiesburg, Mississippi

18. Dr. Benjamin E. Mays
    President
    Morehouse College
    Atlanta, Georgia

19. Dr. E. A. McDowell
    Southern Baptist Seminary
    Wake Forest, North Carolina

20. Mr. L. D. Milton
    President
    Citizens Trust Company
    212 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
    Atlanta, Georgia

List - continued - 2.

21. Dr. Riley B. Montgomery
President
College of the Bible
Lexington, Kentucky

22. Mr. Benjamin Muse
Columnist
The Washington Post
Manassas, Virginia

23. Rt. Rev. E. A. Penick
Bishop, The Episcopal Church
802 Hillsboro Street
Raleigh, North Carolina

24. Dr. J. M. Richards
President
Columbia Theological Seminary
Decatur, Georgia

25. Mrs. E. U. Robinson
P. O. Box 516
Gallatin, Tennessee

26. Rabbi Jacob M. Rothschild
1589 Peachtree Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

27. Miss Dorcas Ruthenburg
Director, Public Affairs Programs
Radio Station WHAS
Louisville, Kentucky

28. Dr. Walter Sharp
Professor of Fine Arts
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

29. Mr. Charles A. Shaw
President
Watchtower Life Insurance Co.
Houston, Texas

30. Mr. J. Edwin Smith
Attorney
505 Scanlan Building
Houston, Texas

31. Dr. Bell I. Wiley
Emory University
Emory University, Georgia

32. Mr. Thomas W. Young
Editor and Publisher
The Journal and Guide
Norfolk, Virginia

33. Dr. A. C. Miller
Executive Secretary
The Christian Life Commission
of the Southern Baptist
Convention
161 Eigth Avenue, North
Nashville, Tennessee

34. The Rev. Cornelius Tarplee
P. O. Box 853
Lynchburg, Virginia

35. Edward A. Driscoll
Executive Secretary
Georgia Council of Churches
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

36. Dr. Leon M. Adkins
General Secretary
The General Board of Edu.
of The Methodist Church
1001 Nineteenth Ave. South
Nashville 2, Tennessee

37. Mrs. Jean Russell
824 Tusculm Boulevard
Greenville, Tennessee

38. Malcolm P. Calhoun
Board of Church Extension
Division of Christian
Relations - Presbyterian
Church in the U. S.
341-B Ponce de Leon Ave.
Atlanta, Georgia

39. Miss Florence C. Harris
Correlator - Southern
Regional Office
National Board, YWCA
41 Exchange Place, S. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

List - continued - 3.

40. Herbert M. Davidson
Editor
The Daytona Beach News Journal
Daytona Beach, Florida

41. Bishop I. H. Louttit
458 Virginia Drive
Winter Park, Florida

42. Nelson Poynter
Editor
The St. Petersburg Times
St. Petersburg, Florida

43. Crawford Solomon
218 Church Street
Jacksonville, Florida

44. Judge Ray Pearson
Room 418, Dade County
Courthouse
Miami, Florida

45. Kurt Peiser
Director
The Food Fair Foundation

Miami, Florida

46. Dr. Colgate Darden
President - University of
Virginia
Charlottesville, Florida

47. Mr. Robert Woodruff
The Coca-Cola Company
310 North Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

48. Clyde A. Milner
President
Guilford College, N. C.

49. Orville W. Wake
President
Mercer University
Macon, Georgia

50. Jay F. W. Pearson
President - University of
Miami
Coral Gables, Florida

51. Dean H. Franklin Williams
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida

52. William C. Friday
President - University of
North Carolina

53. J. Earl Moreland
President - Randolph-Macon
College
Ashland, Virginia

54. William F. Guillian, Jr.
President - Randolph-Macon
Woman's College
Lynchburg, Virginia

55. Edward McCrady, President
University of the South
Sewanee, Tennessee

56. Duke K. McCall, President
Stetson University
DeLand, Florida

57. Francis P. Gaines, President
Washington & Lee University
Lexington, Virginia

58. Mayor William B. Hartsfield
Atlanta,
Georgia

59. Rev. Hubert S. Beckwith
Congregational Christian
Church
Box 186
Annandale, Virginia

60. ~~Benjamin Muse~~
~~Manassas, Virginia~~
Mr. Van Harby
Atlanta Chamber of
Commerce
Volunteer Building.
Atlanta, Georgia

List - continued - 4.

61. Bishop William H. Marmion
P. O. Box 2068
Roanoke, Virginia

62. Mrs. J. L. Blair-Buck
310 Hillwood Road
Richmond, Virginia

63. Mrs. Grellet C. Simpson
Mary Washington College
Fredericksburg, Virginia

64. Francis Pickens Miller
P. O. Box 3665
University Station
Charlottesville, Virginia

65. Wilson M. Brown
State Planters Bank of Commerce and Trust
9th and Main Streets
Richmond, Virginia

66. George Gill, Director
District 3, Communication Workers of America
40 Pryor Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

67. Charles H. Gillman, Director
AFL-CIO Region 6
1026 Hurt Building
Atlanta 3, Georgia

68. Loren H. Nelles, Director
District 35, USA
95 95 Merritts Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

69. Mr. Ray Nixon
United Rubber Workers of America
AFSCME, AFL-CIO
Forsyth Building
Atlanta, Georgia

70. Most Rev. Robert E. Lucy
Archbishop of San Antonio
San Antonio, Texas

71. E. C. Pippin
Alabama Labor Council
Leu Building
Montgomery, Alabama

72. V. H. Williams
Executive Secretary
Arkansas State Labor Council
415 National Old Line Bldg.
Little Rock, Arkansas

73. A. E. Cox
933 Chambliss Road
Memphis 16, Tennessee

74. Rev. Roy Hulan
First Christian Church
Jackson, Mississippi

75. Purser Hewitt
Jackson Clarion Ledger
Jackson, Mississippi

76. Oliver Emmerich
State-Times
Jackson, Mississippi

77. Sylvan Meyer
Daily Times
Gainesville, Florida

78. Ewing T. Wayland, Editor
The Arkansas Methodist
1136 Donaghey Building
Little Rock, Arkansas

79. R. E. Alley, Editor
Religious Herald
1 West Franklin Street
Richmond, Virginia

80. Mrs. J. Horace Clark
Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs
Henry Grady Hotel
Atlanta, Georgia

81. Mr. Morris Abram
515 Healey Building
Atlanta, Georgia

82. Bishop Arthur J. Moore
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

83. Harris Wofford
1226 Rebecca Drive
Alexandria, Virginia

84. Dr. Belle Boone Beard
Sweet Briar College
Sweet Briar, Virginia

85. Hodding Carter, Editor
Delta-Democrat Times
Greenville, Mississippi

86. Dr. G. E. Clary
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

87. Dr. Ralph Mason Dreger
4304 Colonial Avenue
Jacksonville, Florida

88. John Glustrom
1865 Piedmont Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

89. Philip G. Hammer
3483 Ridgewood Road, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

90. Most Rev. Joseph H. Hodges
St. Peters Church
808 East Grace Street
Richmond 19, Virginia

91. W. S. Howland
University of Miami
Coral Gables, Florida

92. Dr. Harold K. Hughes
650 Lakeside Drive
Rock Hill, South Carolina

93. Monsignor James McNamara
Cathedral of St. John the Baptist
222 East Harris Street
Savannah, Georgia

94. Courtney Siceloff, Director
Penn Community Services
Frogmore, South Carolina

95. Mrs. Alice Spearman
1745 Sumter Street, Rm. 100
Columbia, South Carolina

96. Frank W. Spencer
Atlantic Towing Company
228 East Bay Street
Savannah, Georgia

97. Very Rev. Patrick Walsh
Director - Dominican Fathers
Our Lady of Springbank Retreat House
Kingstree, South Carolina

98. Mr. R. L. Clanton
Altavista,
Virginia

99. Mrs. Margaret Price
Route 1, Box 272
McLean, Virginia

100. Leon M. Coogan
2110 American Bank Bldg.
New Orleans 12, Louisiana

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE · 15 EAST 84TH STREET · NEW YORK 28, N. Y. · TRAFALGAR 9-4500

April 24, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Conference
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Judge Polier has asked me to write to you in connection with a project that we have undertaken on behalf of the Field Foundation. They have made available to us a supply of the book, NEITHER BLACK NOR WHITE, with which no doubt you are familiar.

We would like to send complimentary copies, with a personal covering letter from Judge Polier, to a list of Southern leaders. Would it be possible for you to prepare and send us a list of about 100 names and addresses and we will be prepared to mail them copies of the book.

Rec'd 4/27/58

Thank you for a prompt reply.

Sincerely yours,

Julius Schatz

Julius Schatz, Director
Community Service Bureau

NATIONAL BIENNIAL CONVENTION, MAY 14-18, 1958 HOTEL DEAUVILLE, MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA

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THE DALLAS CHAPTER
of the
AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

PRESENTS A PANEL DISCUSSION

MEET THE ISSUES

Date: Monday, May 12, 1958

Time: 8:15 P.M.

Place: Temple Emanu-El
8500 Hillcrest Road
Rooms A & B

Chairman: A. Robert Beer

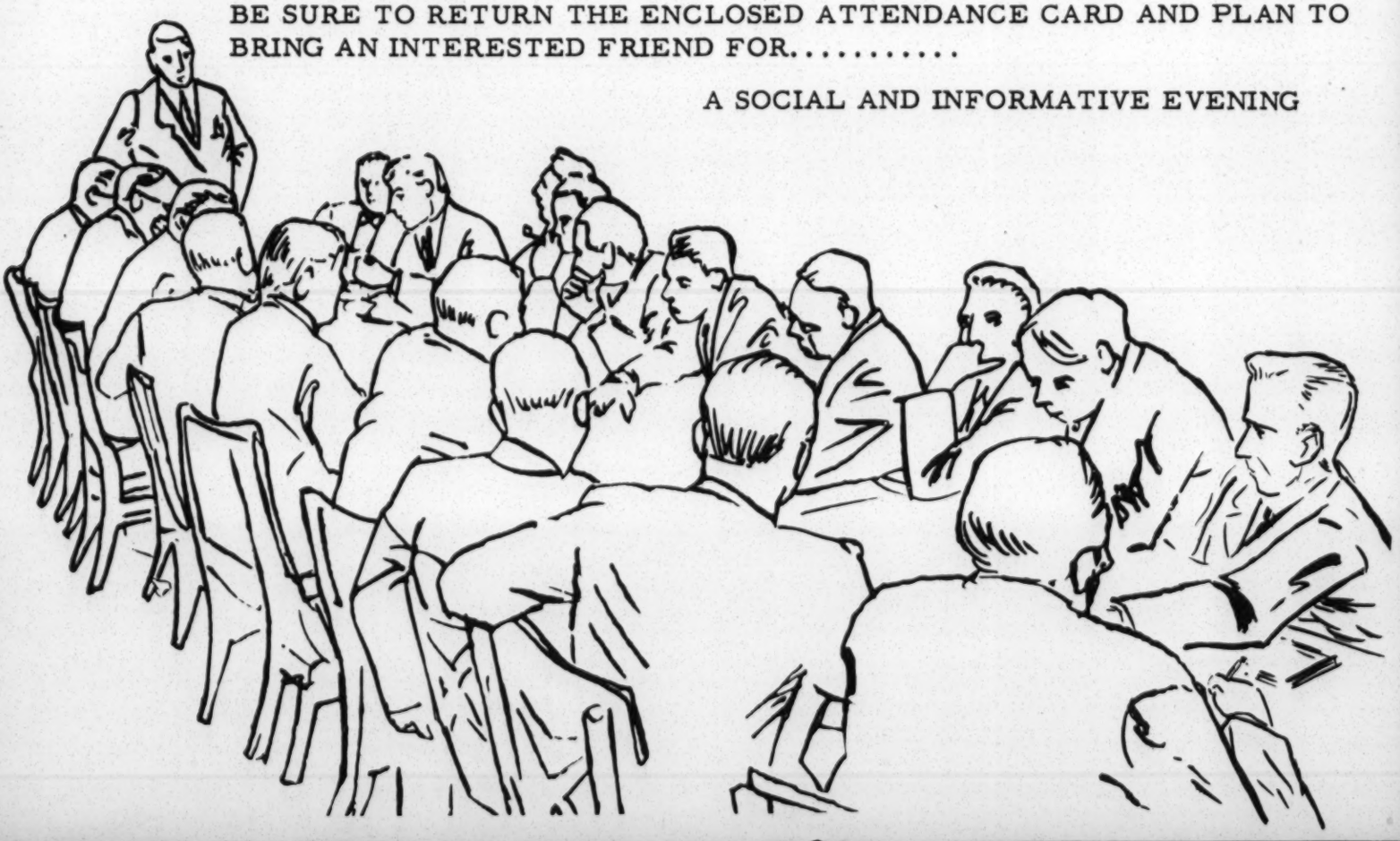
Panelists: Jack Goren
I. Zesmer
Gustave F. Falk
and other delegates

Participants: YOU AND OTHER CHAPTER MEMBERS AND GUESTS

A report and appraisal of the major decisions adopted at the 51st Annual AJC meeting in New York City, April 25-27, 1958 by the Dallas Chapter Delegates This meeting is an excellent opportunity for you to discuss some of the current problems vital to Southwest Jewry (Integration, Religion in Public Schools, Upsurge of Anti-Semitism, Social Discrimination, etc.) their impact upon YOU and the Dallas Jewish Community and what AJC can do - and your role in meeting these challenging issues.

BE SURE TO RETURN THE ENCLOSED ATTENDANCE CARD AND PLAN TO BRING AN INTERESTED FRIEND FOR.....

A SOCIAL AND INFORMATIVE EVENING



For Your Information

from THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

Vol. III, No. 6, June 1958

KASPER SUPPORTERS PREPARING FOR HIS RELEASE THIS SUMMER

Segregationist John Kasper will be released August 9 from Federal prison after having served nine months of a year's sentence for interfering with integration at Clinton High School in Tennessee. A record of good behavior in prison at Tallhassee, Fla., gained Kasper this early release. Furthermore, a recent ruling by a Federal judge will permit him to post a bond pending appeal of a second conviction for which he had been sentenced to an additional six-month term.

Kasper's cohorts in the Seaboard White Citizens Council of Washington, D.C., have already planned a welcoming rally near the prison grounds on the day of release.

During the young firebrand's imprisonment, his followers have not been idle. A pamphlet, Segregation or Death, just published by the Seaboard White Citizens Councils, capitalizes on Kasper's imprisonment by making a martyr of him, and sets forth the group's blatantly anti-Semitic goals:

> Ultimately, we, in our young movement, envision the complete legal disenfranchisement and legal expulsion of the Jew from

> American "national life." ...We will not fail in this struggle, even in death. To those who oppose us, Marxist, usurer, race mixer, degenerate politician, we pledge eternal vigilance, eternal combativeness, even death!

An accelerated membership drive is currently underway, targeted particularly at young people. The membership application form circulated by the Seaboard Citizens Councils includes the following pledge:

> I am white, 18 years of age, believe in the separation of the races, in upholding racial segregation, am loyal to the United States of America and believe in the divinity of Jesus Christ.

POLITICAL FORTUNES OF CROMMELIN AND CARTER

Two well-known anti-Semitic agitators made bids for public office in Alabama in the May 6 primaries of that State. Running for the gubernatorial nomination on an all-out anti-Semitic platform, Admiral John G. Crommelin (ret.), polled 2,245 out of 618,000 votes. This poor showing was, however, somewhat offset by the vote for Asa ("Ace") Carter, anti-Semitic White Citizens Councils leader. In the race for nomination for Lieutenant Governor, he garnered 31,000 out of 435,000 votes. Carter is notoriously prominent in northern Alabama Klan circles, and has given much support to Frederick John Kasper.

Crommelin has told his followers that his campaign achieved the essential purpose of using politics as a vehicle for dissemination of his propaganda. In a post-

election bulletin mailed to his supporters, he wrote:

> On the positive side of the ledger, there is no question but that we achieved the major objective set out in our "Platform," to wit: "To expose the origin, nature and aims of the Communist-Jewish Conspiracy." Although some of our information may have been over the heads of the uneducated voting element, still the great bulk of the Communist-Jewish Conspiracy is primarily responsible for the plot to integrate and mongrelize the South and all of America. Also, our "Platform," which was mailed and passed out to the tune of at least 250,000 copies, has done a tremendous educational job throughout the entire 48 States.

According to Crommelin, more than $9,000 was received in campaign contributions. By his own count, he made 142 stump speeches and appeared 15 times on television. For the future, the retired Admiral promises he will try to have "candidates in Alabama campaigning on this 'Platform' in 1960, for both houses of the U. S. Congress and all county and municipal offices." He further announces plans "for carrying this fight throughout the United States," inviting supporters to contact the "resident Executive Secretary" of his organization at the Wetumpka, Ala., office.

J. EDGAR HOOVER INFURIATES THE ANTI-SEMITIC PRESS

FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover's best-selling book, Masters of Deceit, drew immediate fire from such leading anti-Semitic publications as Common Sense, National Renaissance Bulletin, Georgia Tribune and The Revere. The irritant was a passage congratulating the major Jewish organizations, including AJC,

for their role in fighting communism. A typical comment from The Revere, a monthly, published by the Christian Patriots Crusade in Hinsdale, Ill.:

> Masters of Deceit was probably written by some foul-mouthed, Christ-hating Talmudist in the New York offices of the American Jewish Committee.

ULTRA-CONSERVATIVE GROUP ECHOES RACIST LINE

Task Force, official publication of the Defenders of the American Constitution, Inc., has mostly concerned itself with isolationism and related issues, especially attacks upon NATO.

In a recent issue, however, the publication featured a diatribe on the subject of Little Rock, "Bayonets for Bastardisation," by British journalist A. K. Chesterton. "The directing force -- the force which had power to dictate that Eisenhower should send Federal paratroopers to overawe Little Rock -- was not a Negro organization although Negro subversives have posts in it, but an organization of Zionists and Jews," Chesterton declares. He bolsters his argument with this quote from Common Sense:

> The two races in the South have been living in harmony for quote some time, and they understand each other. What then is the trouble? Jewish Communist organizers from New York have been agitating and indoctrinating young Negroes in the South.

The Defenders' president is General Pedro A. Del Valle whose record includes a public endorsement

of the anti-Semitic writings of Robert H. Williams, and contributions to the pages of Common Sense.

TEXAS KLANSMAN LINKED TO KLAN VIOLENCE IN CHILE

In Santiago, Chile, on May 23, Franz Heinz, self-styled Grand Dragon of a Chilean Ku Klux Klan unit, and several followers were arrested. They confessed having committed terrorist acts against Jewish citizens and their property. Flags bearing the Nazi swastika and emblems of the KKK were found in their possession.

The group's activities were directed from Waco, Texas, according to Chilean police. Similar disturbances in England and Argentina also have been traced to Waco, where Horace Sherman Miller conducts a Klan-literature enterprise. (See FYI, December 1957.)

GREATER MIAMI CHAPTER

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

SATELLITE

VOLUME I | JUNE, 1958 | NUMBER 3

Published monthly for ten months as a newsletter by the Greater Miami Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, 1208 Congress Building, Miami, Florida.

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SEYMOUR SAMET
Executive Assistants
MRS. JANDON SCHWARZ
STANLEY LEIBNER

BOMBS AND THEN SILENCE

SEE PAGE 2

An Open Letter From The President

THANKS TO THE ROBINSONS

Dear ELSIE and LEO:

It was a pleasure to be a guest at your home. An AJCommittee function is always close to my heart. I know it is to yours. But, your warmth and graciousness as hosts always make our annual occasion an especially pleasant experience for all of us.

I know I speak for the AJC staff, the Executive Board, and the general membership when I express my gratitude for your generous gesture to our Committee each year.

All the members, your friends, join me in expressing personal thanks to you and warm wishes that you may both continue to serve with us in longlasting good health.

Sincerely,
NATHAN B. ROOD

An Appropriate Observation

A SALUTE TO SEYMOUR

When we realized that this issue of the SATELLITE would be out just before Father's Day, we asked SEYMOUR SAMET'S eight year old daughter, ROBERTA, to do a story of her daddy.

We offer this as a salute to our beloved Area Director:

"MR. SAMET is a very honest man" (Who should know this better than a daughter?).

"This is one way he helps in the community. If people do not have the same religion, he tries to help them understand each other.

"And, if they do, he does his best so they might be good friends.

"That is one of his jobs."

A Projected Step For Metro

Metropolitan Human Relations Board?

A resolution was introduced and approved at a recent meeting of our Executive Committee calling for the creation, within the framework of Dade County's Metro Government, of an official board whose function would be to foster good will and respect among the various religious, racial, and linguistic groups in our community.

Thereafter, an informal group of lawyers, educators, and social workers met to draft such an ordinance and place it before the Metro Commissioners. This group, after producing several draft proposals, agreed upon the terms of an ordinance to be proposed.

Modelled to some extent upon those enacted in other communities, the measure provides for the creation of a Community Relations Board composed of 15 members, broadly representative of the social, economic, religious, cultural and ethnic groups in the county, to be appointed by the County Commission.

The Board's functions would be twofold: (1) to foster mutual understanding and respect among all economic, social, religious and ethnic groups in the County, and (2) to make studies in the field of human relations.

The Board should be empowered, (a) to act as conciliator in controversies involving community relations, (b) to cooperate with Federal, state and city agencies in developing harmonious community relations, and (c) to cooperate with and enlist the support of civic, religious, veterans', labor, industrial, and commercial groups and civic leaders in the development of educational programs dedicated to the improvement of community understanding.

The draft ordinance was placed before the Board of County Commissioners on May 6th by Representative John B. Orr, Jr. The Commissioners thought the matter of sufficient importance to schedule an informal open hearing on Wednesday, May 21st, at which time the public could appear to express its views to the Commission.

Their action at this meeting was indecisive and they decided to turn the ordinance over to the County Attorney for his opinion as to the legality of portions of the ordinance. The County Attorney's views will probably be made available to the Commissioners within the next few weeks, and the matter will then be reconsidered by the Commissioners.

STUART L. SIMON
Chairman, Sub-Committee
on Civil Liberties

An Editorial

BOMBS AND THEN SILENCE

(This month, the SATELLITE is happy to offer the following and we stand in admiration of the dedicated spirit in which these thoughts were delivered by Ralph Renick, vice president in charge of news, on his nightly WTVJ telecast on May 6th.)

One man - a young construction worker - was arrested by police this weekend and charged with participating in the bombings of a Jacksonville synagogue and a Negro school. The arrest announcement coincided with the Conference in Jacksonville of Mayors and representatives of four southern cities - including Miami - which have been plagued by terrorist acts involving the use of dynamite.

The day after the Conference ended - the police announced they had the wrong man - - he actually had nothing to do with the bombings.

So, to date, there has been one arrest in Florida - of the wrong man - in the wake of police investigations into the dynamitings. A probe of this kind does entail security restrictions and the police necessarily have to keep information on the extent of their probe secret.

However, too much secrecy has one unfortunate result - it gives encouragement to those who perpetrated the acts. And the announcement in Jacksonville over the weekend concerning the arrest of a prime suspect, who was later cleared, certainly doesn't do anything to discourage the moronic group who placed the dynamite.

Every decent citizen is prepared to cooperate with the police in their investigation - and every decent citizen is hoping for some action on the part of the police to bring the guilty parties to trial.

The Beth El Synagogue bombing in Miami occurred 53 days ago. There has been no word since on progress of the investigation. Nobody wants to hamper the probe - yet at the same time, some word as to what's going on would be extremely helpful now.

Continued silence may encourage further violence.

With Sincere Sympathy

In Memoriam

Members of the local American Jewish Committee staff, Executive Board and general membership express their sincere sympathy to MRS. ALEX RUBIN, who recently lost her father, and to MRS. EDWARD ROTH, whose father passed away within recent weeks.

As An Added Service

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS COMMITTEE FORMED

Under the chairmanship of DR. PERITZ SCHEINBERG, the AJCommittee now has a dynamic International Affairs Committee. Among those who are members already are DR. BERTHOLD C. FRIEDL, HENDRIK BERNS, LEO MINDLIN, BILL AGRANOVE, MIKE BASKIN, VICTOR EBER, SEYMOUR LIEBMAN, MRS. BERNARD STEVENS and MRS. SCHEINBERG.

At a recent meeting, the committee agreed that there was a great need in this community for a group organized for the specific purpose of helping to keep public sources of information informed on all points of view pertaining to Middle East situations.

Actually, this would be a reservoir of information pertaining to various problems in the Middle East, so that as new situations develop background material could be given to local mass media.

As a first step, the group is to gather data. Then, as a proposed follow up the committee hopes to brief the Executive Committee, the full membership, and, finally the Greater Miami community via the local press, radio and television facilities.

This is an ambitious program and we congratulate the committee for approaching it with great energy and vision.

Of Interest To All

Items Picked Up Around The Chapter Office

If you keep your ear to the walls, you learn all kinds of things. For instance, we are very happy to note that DAVE FLEEMAN has recently served as president of the Home Builders Association of Florida; that IRV KORACH has been president of the South Chapter, American Institute of Architects; that LLOYD JAYE has been president of the Greater Miami Manufacturers Association; and that DAVE CATSMAN has been chairman of Real Property, Probate and Trust Section of the Florida Bar Association.

Also, we are proud that these members have been selected to serve on official community commissions: IRV KORACH, Citizens Committee on Housing; CHARLES GOTTLIEB, Citizens Committee on Education; and CHARLES FINKELSTEIN, Urban Renewal Development Committee

Who's Minding The Store?

STAFF COMINGS AND GOINGS

JESSICA SCHWARZ recently spent a week in New York City, where she conferred with MR. LOUIS BREIER of the National Office on our Chapter's Discussion Groups. JESS reports that MR. BREIER was greatly impressed with the full program we conduct in this area.

On May 27th-29th, SEMOUR SAMET attended a Southern Inter-Agency Group meeting in Atlanta, Georgia. The purpose of the meeting was to give professionals of all agencies in the Southeast an opportunity to compare notes, information and to work jointly on projects of mutual interest. The Southern Regional Council acted as coordinator of the meeting.

STAN LEIBNER wings his way to Chicago on June 9th and will remain until June 20th for a National Conference of all "interns" who are under the training program in which STAN is engaged.

(STAN promises to spread the gospel about our local chapter and the benefits of Miami living to the other interns who had the misfortune of going to different agencies in other parts of the country.)

From "Let's Be Human"

OUR STORY OF THE MONTH

The fledgling state of Israel, now celebrating its 10th anniversary year, has had a busy decade of defense and building. But its people haven't forgotten how to laugh.

They've created a remarkable language, Pinglish -- Palestine English -- translated from Yiddish or Hebrew idioms. Ruth Gruber, in Israel Today: Land of Many Nations (Hill and Wang, $3.95), offers some fine examples of Pinglish as seen on Israeli store and business signs:

A butcher has the gory information strung across his shop: I AM KILLING MYSELF TWICE A DAY.

A women's dress shop declares solicitiously: WOMEN CAN HAVE FITS HERE BY APPOINTMENT.

And a doctor calls himself: SPECIALIST FOR WOMEN AND OTHER DISEASES.

The Russians also come in for a great deal of Israeli kidding, author Ruth Gruber reports. After Kruschev revealed Stalin's anti-Semitism, one story goes,

Cont'd. on P. 3

An Afternoon To Be Remembered

Cocktail Party Highlights

More than 125 members of the Greater Miami Chapter, AJCommittee and their guests were royally treated at an annual membership cocktail party last month at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Leo Robinson.

Sue Stevens, Harold Spaet and Nat Rood participated in a short program that detailed some of the work of our local Chapter and invited non-members to join in these efforts.

We cordially welcome our new members who have joined us during the past year:

Mr. and Mrs. Jos. Averbook, Mr. and Mrs. Sanford Bacon, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Barak, Mr. and Mrs. Paul Barnett, Dr. and Mrs. Martin Belle, Dr. and Mrs. George Berg, Mr. Warren H. Bernstein, Dr. and Mrs. Wm. H. Bernstein, Mr. and Mrs. D. Bogen, Mr. and Mrs. Jack Cantor, Mr. Frank S. Cole, Mr. Bertram Coleman, Mr. and Mrs. M. J. Cowen, Mr. and Mrs. Max Deakter.

Mr. and Mrs. Louis Easton, Mr. and Mrs. Victor Eber, Mr. and Mrs. Albert J. Elkins, Dr. and Mrs. Maxwell S. Frank, Dr. Marcia G. Friedman, Mr. Max Friedson, Mr. Monroe Gelb, Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Gerd, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Gittleman, Mr. and Mrs. Wm. L. Glosser, Mr. and Mrs. Ashley Goodman, Mr. and Mrs. Chas. E. Gottlieb, Dr. and Mrs. George Graham, Mr. and Mrs. B. J. Harris, Mr. David R. Hochberg, Dr. George Jacobson, Mr. and Mrs. Edward Land.

Mr. and Mrs. Nathan S. Lee, Mr. and Mrs. Jean C. Lehman, Mr. and Mrs. Raymond Lewis, Mr. and Mrs. Hank Meyer, Mr. and Mrs. Martin Mondlick, Mr. and Mrs. Harry Orleans, Mr. and Mrs. Arnold Perlstein, Mr. Nat Potamkin, Mr. and Mrs. I. Rabinowitz, Mr. and Mrs. Marvin J. Rauzin, Mr. Charles Reskin, Mr. and Mrs. Sam Resnick, Dr. and Mrs. A. S. Robinson, Mr. and Mrs. Leo Rose, Jr., Mr. Jack L. Sandler.

Dr. and Mrs. Jandon Schwarz, Mr. and Mrs. Meyer Schwartz, Mr. Irving L. Segal, Mr. and Mrs. Joshue J. Segal, Mrs. Honey Shapiro, Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Siden, Mr. and Mrs. Stuart L. Simon, Mr. and Mrs. Louis B. Spitzer, Mrs. Ruth Steinman, Dr. and Mrs. Philip B. Stern, Mr. and Mrs. A. A. Stolpen, Mr. and Mrs. Jesse Teitler, Mr. and Mrs. Bernard Wall, Mr. and Mrs. Jose Winsen, Mr. and Mrs. Myron Zeientz. Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Boas, Dr. and Mrs. Robert Kaplan, Kuppers, Inc., Dr. and Mrs. Lester A. Russin.

Host and hostesses at our annual membership party included: Front Row (L-R): MRS. LEO ROBINSON, MR. LEO ROBINSON. Back Row (L-R): Mesdames IRWIN KORACH, CHARLES LEEDS, BERNARD STEVENS, NATHAN ROOD, RICHARD WOLFSON, ARTHUR HOROWITZ, CHARLES GOLDSTEIN, and A. H. MATHES.

More About Mutual Security

Another Point Of View Is Expressed

(As you will recall, last month's editorial dealt with President Eisenhower's Mutual Security Program that is now up for Congressional consideration. We asked for members' opinions and offer the following comments from SEYMOUR B. LIEBMAN as an example. By the way, we gratefully acknowledge all the notes which were received on the subject and wish that space permitted the publication of all of them.)

"I am in whole-hearted agreement for the necessity of foreign aid, but I differ with the proposed bill as to provisions for military aid.

"I believe the comments of the House Foreign Affairs Subcommittee, which

Cont'd. on P. 4

For Your Library

"THE PURSUIT OF EQUALITY"

"This book portrays the American Jewish Committee in its fiftieth year, and the convictions and aspirations which have guided us.

"These pages record, in word and picture, endeavors pursued with our fellow citizens of all religions and races to help obtain for all mankind those 'unalienable rights' set forth in America's documents of freedom. It is the story of how a particular group of men and women have associated themselves in a voluntary enterprise to affirm and enrich their spiritual heritage; to strengthen America by preserving and extending civil rights and liberties; and to make human rights secure throughout the world.

Happily, in this country, respect for the dignity of the individual and belief in the invoilability of human rights belong to no one creed; they form the basic tenets of our Judeo-Christian heritage. Hence, the story of the American Jewish Committee is but a part of a larger account of how 'the pursuit of human equality' has fared at home and abroad during the five decades past and of its prospects for the decades ahead.

"We present it here as testimony to our cherished twin inheritance--American freedom and Jewish faith." (FROM THE INTRODUCTION BY JACOB BLAUSTEIN)

The regular price of this book is $6.00. AJCommittee members may order this book from our local office for the price of $4.00.

.....

Please send me ( ) copies of "The Pursuit of Equality" for which I enclose

$_____.

_____

signed

_____

STORY OF MONTH

Cont'd. from P. 2

Kruschev cabled President Eisenhower: "Ike, will you take Stalin's body?" Ike cabled back: "We don't take Commies, dead or alive."

Kruschev then cabled Ben-Gurion, Israel's prime minister: "Will you take Stalin's body?" Ben-Gurion answered: "Of course we'll take his body. But remember this is the country of the Resurrection."

Kruschev cabled back: "No go; Have decided to keep body in Kremlin."

Read In The New York Times

STUDY OF SCHOOLS IN SUBURBS IS SET

A research project aimed at identifying and alleviating some of the social and educational problems confronting changing suburban communities is underway at Columbia University's Teachers College.

The study, which may run five years, is being aided by a $35,000 grant from the American Jewish Committee.

According to Dr. Stephen M. Corey, dean of the college, the eighteen-month exploratory phase of the project will seek to identify school problems in the suburban New York City area, which have been affected by a heavy influx of former city residents. Results of the preliminary study will point up the issues requiring extended and more critical examination.

The second phase will involve making a case study of one suburban community that has had a recent and large influx of new residents from the city.

An over-all objective, Dean Corey said, would be to develop ways to eliminate or lessen tensions and other problems found in suburban schools through the schools' instructional programs.

The college and the American Jewish Committee plan to make the findings of the project available to national organizations concerned with intergroup relations.

The project is being administered by the Teachers College Department of Curriculum and Teaching. Prof. Alice M. Miel and Luther W. Pfluger are in charge of the preliminary research.

Importance of Project

Discussing the importance of the new undertaking, Professor Miel said:

"Many communities adjacent to our larger cities must adjust to a shifting and rapidly growing population. Teachers in public schools are often called on to adjust rather quickly to children of unfamiliar backgrounds at the same time the children themselves are making difficult adjustments.

Another In A Series

This We Believe

We pledge ourselves to continue the fight against those who through bigotry and prejudice imperil the rights of the members of any group, thus dividing our country and undermining American liberty.

It is now possible to envision a society that attaches primary value to the individual and treats each person solely on his own merits. Those who are the targets of prejudice can make a significant contribution to the pursuit of equality. Besides joining in the larger fight against prejudice, they should guard against accepting for themselves their detractors' false and derogatory appraisals of them. Self-respect is a most effective antidote to prejudice, and happily it is encouraged by the American pattern of religious, ethnic and racial diversity.

Judaism, as a great historic religion, has developed traditions of deep moral, social and cultural significance. Among these are reverence for learning, a prophetical passion for social justice, the insistence that charity is a form of justice to the less fortunate, abhorrence of war and love of peace, and the conviction that each human being, created in the image of God, is the equal of every other. We should know our heritage, so that it may ennoble our lives and help us to enrich our contributions, in concert with our fellow citizens of all other faiths, to American civilization.

Under the American system of voluntary association, individuals join together in organizations which best express their views. We believe in cooperation within areas of agreement for the more effective achievement of common goals, but we also believe that no one organization can speak for the Jews of America or of the world. Therefore, the views, policies and programs of the American Jewish Committee can be determined only by our own members and governing boards. As always, we stand ready to work with others for the accomplishment of common aims in ways which will not impair the integrity of our organization or our independence of decision and action.

POINT OF VIEW

Cont'd from P. 3

show that a great deal of this military aid is foisted upon many small countries and incurs burdens they cannot afford to carry, gives ample proof that America will win more friends among foreign peoples by increasing economic and technical aid rather than giving arms and munitions to nations that have inadequate armies and where there is no desire to become embroiled in a war.

"Indonesia and Cuba are two excellent examples of how ineffective military forces can be. The regular army in neither of these two nations has been able to quell insurrection in these countries. I do not want this comment to indicate that I am for or against the revolutionary forces.

"Foreign aid should be used to raise the standards of nations. I wish it to be noted that I have pointedly ignored the waste of millions of dollars in military supplies given to Arab lands around the Middle East. These arms will never be used against Russia and here we are skirting the greater problem of improving the lot of the downtrodden and persecuted."

As a final word on the subject, here is the text of a resolution adopted at the recent AJCommittee national convention:

Resolved, that the American Jewish Committee at its 51st Annual Meeting strongly supports the Mutual Security Program and the extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act and urges Congress to enact legislation on both matters as proposed by the President, without reduction and without restrictive amendments.

GREATER MIAMI CHAPTER
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
1208 CONGRESS BUILDING
MIAMI, FLORIDA

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MR HAROLD FLEMING
S REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVE NE
ATLANTA GEORGIA

Call her

July 2, 1958

Miss Sonya F. Kaufer
Publications Division
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Kaufer:

Thank you for your letter of June 27 transmitting your purchase order of 1,000 reprints of Harry Ashmore's article in the June issue of Harper's. These reprints are on order and will be delivered to you as soon as they are ready.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

Telephone MURRAY HILL 5-0181

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A. M. SONNABEND, *Boston, Vice-President*

June 27, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

At Mr. Harry Fleischman's suggestion, I am sending our purchase order for 1,000 reprints of Harry Ashmore's article in the June 1958 Harper's to your attention. I understand that you will be adding our order to your own.

Thank you.

Sincerely yours,

Sonya F. Kaufer

Sonya F. Kaufer
Publications Division

SFK:em

enc.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 5-0181

PURCHASE ORDER Nº 19282

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Mr. Harold Fleming
S outhern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E. Atlanta, Georgia

Date 6/27/58

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Quantity	ITEM — TITLE — SPECIFICATIONS	PRICE Unit	PRICE Total
1,000	INSIDE STORY BEHIND LITTLE ROCK by Harry Ashmore, reprinted from Harpers, June 1958		

SHIPPING & DISTRIBUTION (Unless otherwise specified, ship to above address.)

Please deliver to American Jewish Committee stockroom at above address
Att: Mrs. Kaufer. Please package in 100's

Budget Classification	Rebill to	Requisition No.	
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103 2-57-2M

Eleanor Ashman

July 7, 1960

Seymour Samet

As a result of plans initiated by me and members of the Chapter Committee on International Affairs, plans have been projected for a community audit of human rights in Dade County. The audit will be along the lines suggested in the guide "In Your Hands."

To date we were able to get Mrs. Stuart Austin, President of the United Church Women of Greater Miami to convene local members of the national sponsors of this program. They agreed to conduct an audit in seven areas: Employment; Education; Public Health; Recreation; Public Accomodations; Government (voting rights, jury service, etc.); and Housing.

All the investigations will be conducted by inter-organizational committees. Each organization will agree to coordinate the research in one area. AJCommittee has already agreed to do this for Education and a planning meeting is already set up.

Resources to be solicited include several departments at the University of Miami, the research staff of the Welfare Planning Council and the professionals of participating groups.

The groups which are currently represented include:

AJCommittee
AJCongress
Anti-Defamation League
Council of Churches
Congregational Church
Dade County Council on Community Relations
Home Lazarus Club
Miami Ethical Society
Miami Latin Center
Nat'l Council of Negro Women
St. Philips Episcopal Church
Trinity Methodist Church
United Church of Church
United Nations Association
United Nations Church Women
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom
Women's Society of Christian Service
YWCA - Murrell Branch
YWCA

There are still numerous important details to clear up before we get started. Not the least is official agreement on co-sponsorship. My leaving for Bethel provides a big gap in my ability to follow thru but there are some good people involved who should prove of tremendous value.

Incidentally, is any money available - as far as you know - to subsidize this kind of an audit? It would be of tremendous hlep if we could get an idea of where some such help might be obtained.

SS:sm
cc: Ed Lukas
Harold Murray

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

For Your Information

from THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

Vol. III, No. 7, July 1958

BIAS IN MERCURY RISING

New York industrialist Russell Maguire's monthly magazine, American Mercury, continues its trend toward bigotry.

The July issue advises:

> "If bombs are dropped on the U. S., over 90 percent of our casualties will be from broken glass and splinters. Disregarding these facts all new buildings (except synagogues) continue to be built with enormous quantities of glass."

Included in the issue are "fillers" harping away at "international bankers," and quotations attributed to the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin and Lawrence Dennis, author of "The Coming American Fascism." The former describes the major political parties as wings "of the same bird of prey -- the banker," while the latter inveighs against the Federal Reserve Act.

Letters to the editor include one from Don Bell, publisher of the hate-sheet, Don Bell Reports, and another from Gen. Pedro A. del Valle, who several years ago openly endorsed the anti-Semitic writings of Robert H. Williams. Both letters, although not citing Jews, refer to "the Invisible

Government."

Another contributor is anti-Semitic political campaigner, John Crommelin (see F.Y.I. Feb.-March, 1958), whose article is devoted to questioning current national developments, concluding with:

> Could it be that all of these scare events and all this propaganda are timed to frighten American citizens into accepting federal control of our school systems - integration - and further destructive taxation? Lenin himself promised us national bankruptcy.

Resignation of the publication's managing editor, William LaVarre, is announced in the same issue. Shortly after Maguire acquired the Mercury in 1952 a substantial part of the editorial staff resigned in disagreement with the new owner's policies. Maguire at that time was extensively distributing John O. Beaty's book, Iron Curtain Over America, an anti-Semitic political diatribe which glorified Prussianism.

ACTIVISTS MOBILIZE FOR PROPAGANDA AND "POLITICS"

The Thunderbolt, a new mimeographed publication bearing a familiar Aryan emblem, announces a "merger" of the United White Party and the so-called National States Rights Party.

The NSRP, which makes its headquarters with Mrs. Peter Cowan of Jeffersonville, Ind., is not connected with the larger political movement of similar name in the South. The roster of NSRP's officials includes Matt Koehl, who bears the title of "Organizer." Koehl has long been active in the more vitriolic segment of the hate movement.

NSRP obviously does not intend to overlook the North. It claims that "units" are being established in New York and Oregon, as well as Atlanta, Louisville and Knoxville.

Thunderbolt, besides attacking the F.B.I. and Jewish organizations, supports Conde McGinley's Common Sense, and urges readers to "Draft Crommelin for President."

While NSRP does not at present appear to be more than an embryonic movement, its potential for propaganda should not be overlooked. On July 1, a notice to "Fellow Patriots" announced a "Welcome Back Kasper March.... We want to send a motorcade from Louisville, Washington, Knoxville, Nashville, Atlanta and other points converging on Tallahassee August 9...."

John Frederick Kasper, racist rabblerouser and head of the Seaboard White Citizens Council, is slated for release from Federal Correctional Institute at Tallahassee, August 9.

NEW RACIST "CORPORATION" OFFERS "SHARES"

Admiral John G. Crommelin's campaign manager, Ned Harman, has just launched a movement from Crommelin's former political headquarters at Wetumpka, Ala. (See FYI, June 1958).

Propaganda leaflets, issued during July, variously refer to the movement as "The Good Old U.S.A., Inc.," "The United Voters' Club" and "Manasseh -- U.S.A."

Employing a not-too-clear corporate

style, one of the leaflets is headed "Certificate of Stock Ownership in the Good Old U. S. A., Inc." It provides appropriate space for "name of owner" and gives directions for "registration with Congressmen." Though heavily infused with legalisms, the import emerges:

> WE, THE UNDERSIGNED SOVEREIGN WHITE CHRISTIAN CITIZENS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, of lawful age and duly qualified voters thereof, hereby issue, sign, execute and deliver to and among ourselves as such Citizens aforesaid.
>
> THE ONE-SHARE OF COMMON STOCK OF THE GOOD OLD USA, INC., to which each is entitled as such voting-citizens, now evidenced by this stock-certificate in writing; said citizen-stock and all the shares thereof to be dividend-bearing annually, which said income-dividends replacing income-taxes against individuals, are to be exempt not only from income-taxes, hereby repealed and cancelled as to individuals, but also taxes of any other kind or nature whatsoever.

Accompanying the leaflet is an enrollment form referring to the United Voters Club and to "Manasseh - U. S. A.," advising that:

> ...We fight the Jewish Communist Conspiracy with ballots; to be registered with our lawful representatives in Congress....During "Cease Fire" with physical weapons -- bayonets, bullets, bombs -- we must fight on with our intellects, with spiritual weapons and win the peace with these revolutionary ballots....

VIA AIR MAIL July 16, 1958

Dr. S. Andhil Fineberg
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Dr. Fineberg:

Right after I last saw you in New York, Harry Fleishman and I took part in a discussion of the Citizens' Council Forum with other members of the Mass Media Committee. We agreed then that each of us would do what we could to get access to these films and tapes, so that we could be guided by a first-hand evaluation of their contents.

My own efforts in this direction to date have not been successful. The problem is that radio and television people sympathetic to our point of view are unwilling to subscribe to the series, since this would enable the Citizens' Council to make capital of that fact. As you will see from the enclosure, the Citizens' Council is publicizing the names of stations which order the material. I must say that, though I had not anticipated this particular problem, I had considerable sympathy with the radio and television people who do not want to get their names on the Citizens' Council's "sucker" list. We are still working on the

problem, and if we have any luck I will let you know.

One alternative, though a poor one, is to have friends audit the broadcasts in those places shown on the attached schedule. Than, if the material is objectionable - as I would expect it to be - representations might be made to the stations presenting it.

I shall be glad to pass on to you any further information we can get, and I hope you will do the same for us.

I enjoyed my visit with you and the other members of the AJC staff, and I hope you will call on us whenever you are in Atlanta.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Enclosure - 1 (Schedule of Citizens' Council Forum for Radio and TV - The Citizens' Council, June/1958.)

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 16, N. Y.
MURRAY HILL 5-0181

July 10, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave. N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Herewith is a description of the TV broadcasts concerning which I wrote you yesterday. This should have been enclosed with my letter.

Sincerely yours,

S. Fineberg

DR. S. ANDHIL FINEBERG

SAF/lhp
Encl.

158-8-57-4M

July, 1958

RE: CITIZENS COUNCIL FORUM, 1014 Plaza Building, Jackson, Miss.

This film TV series of interviews, "presenting the American Viewpoint with a Southern Accent" billed as originating from Washington, is available from the headquarters of the Citizens Councils of Mississippi, at the above address. This group is the parent of the Citizens Council movement throughout the South, although most of the others are virtually autonomous in their publications and actions. The above address is also the headquarters of the Citizens Councils of America, which essays the role of general informational clearing house of the Citizens Councils movement, and publishes a monthly, The Citizens Council.

Prime movers of the Citizens Councils of Mississippi (formerly known as the White Citizens Councils), almost since its inception in 1954, are Robert B. Patterson, who is its Executive Secretary, and W. J. Simmons, who has the title of Administrator. The Citizens Council lists W. J. Simmons as its editor, and Robert B. Patterson on its Editorial Board.

The Citizens Council promotes the straight, segregationist line, provides news of meetings of various Councils, often reprinting compatible editorial cartoons. Its contents are not anti-Semitic.

How representative the Citizens Councils of Mississippi and the Citizens Councils of America are of the entire movement cannot be ascertained because of the loose structure of the movement generally. The self-governing organizations designating themselves Citizens Councils of various localities run the gamut from the Alabama White Citizens' Councils, headed by a State Senator, which openly opposes the Klan and

violence, to the Citizens' Council headed by Asa ("Ace") Carter, several of whose members assaulted Nat King Cole on the stage of a Birmingham theater. The Citizens Councils of America does not evidence any association with groups of the Ace Carter or Kasper variety.

In a recent letter to Senator Jacob K. Javits, written in his capacity as Secretary of the Citizens Councils of America, Patterson said, in part:

> Many Southerners now say, "If the Jewish organizations, the Jewish propaganda media and the Jewish individual leadership were removed from the drive to force integration, there would be no drive." Anti-Semitic literature is now being distributed by the ton throughout the South as well as throughout the nation....
>
> The greatest favor you could do this nation, the Negro race and Jewish people everywhere, would be to side with Senators Eastland, Talmadge and other Southerners against forced integration....

Rcd 7/10/58

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

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A. HAROLD MURRAY, *Director*
DR. S. ANDHIL FINEBERG, *Community Relations Consultant*

July 9, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

Some of our national staff have become interested in a radio series which is being made available to local stations by the Citizens' Council Forum, sponsored by the Citizens' Council of America, whose office is in Jackson, Miss.

I have addressed an inquiry on this subject to a well informed friend in Jackson, but it now occurs to me a few days after writing to him, that he is probably on vacation. Since he has no staff that might handle the inquiry, I may not get a reply for some time. You are probably well informed about these broadcasts and have some information on it — perhaps even a mimeographed memo on the subject.

We are, of course, wondering whether these programs are anti-Semitic, or whether they are flagrantly inciting, or whether they are somewhat constrained in their attacks on those who advocate desegregation. Whatever information you can furnish on this subject will be greatly appreciated and we will be especially glad to receive copy of one or several scripts, or even a platter that has been sent to radio stations.

Hoping that you are having a very pleasant summer and with regards from your friends at the AJC office, I am

Sincerely yours,

S. Andhil Fineberg

DR. S. ANDHIL FINEBERG

SAF/lhp

CC:
Sam Lubin - Seymour Samet - George Kellman - Harry Fleischman - A.H.Murray

Quoted
From The Daily News (New York)

Series of Articles, "New Cross Afire in Dixie
by James T. Desmond

November 22 - 26, 1956

In a letter secretly sent out on Aug. 31, 1954, Patterson* advised every new White Citizens Council to designate a member to subscribe to 35 publications put out by professional bigots and white supremacists "in order that you may have the information" that they publish.

"Some of these groups are anti-Semitic," Patterson wrote. "However, all of the religious groups including all Protestants, Catholic and Jewish have been pushing the anti-segregation issue and it is time for all of us to speak out for separation of black and white races; regardless of our race or creed."

The accompanying list suggested as required reading such publications as "The Cross and the Flag," put out by the veteran bigot, Gerald L. K. Smith; "The White Sentinel," originating in St. Louis, Mo.; a rash of California publications dedicated to white supremacy, and the output of such groups as the Christian Nationalist Crusade, of Los Angeles; the National Association for the Advancement of White People, of Washington, D. C. and the National Association for the Advancement and Protection of the Majority of White People, Inc., of Griffin, Ga.

As to Simmons, the writer says:

Within a month (after organization) a state organization was set up with headquarters in the Walthall Hotel in Jackson and W. J. Simmons, a fruit broker and sometime British army officer, was installed as "administrator," as a sort of counterweight to Patterson, the ebullient executive secretary....

* Robert B. Patterson, White Citizens Council Executive Secretary.

From THE CITIZENS' COUNCIL, Issue of March, 1958

COUNCIL FORUM ON THE AIR

"Citizens' Council Forum," a weekly television program produced out of Jackson, Miss. by the Mississippi Association of Citizens' Councils, is rapidly reaching wider audiences through both TV and radio.

The program features outstanding Southern leaders on various subjects aimed to help the people of the South understand issues in the integration-segregation fight.

Tape recordings of the show are available to any Southern radio station free, and an audition tape will be sent on request. Write the Citizens' Council, 1014 Plaza Building, Jackson, Miss.

Now carrying the show are:

Jackson -- WLBT -- TV, Jackson, Miss., Sundays at 2:30 p.m.

Brookhaven -- WJMB (radio) Brookhaven, Miss., 2:15 p.m. on Wednesdays.

Louisville -- WLSM (radio), Louisville, Miss., 12:45 p.m. on Saturdays.

Starkville -- WSSO (radio), Starkville, Miss., 6:45 p.m. on Saturdays.

Tupelo -- WTUP (radio), Tupelo, Miss., 12:30 p.m. on Sundays.

Evergreen -- WBLO (radio), Evergreen, Ala., schedule not received.

GREATER MIAMI CHAPTER

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

1208 CONGRESS BUILDING
MIAMI 32, FLORIDA

TEL.: FR 3-4749

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Southeast Area Director
SEYMOUR SAMET

Executive Assistants
MRS. JANDON SCHWARZ

July 8, 1958

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Fred:

I am attaching a copy of a memorandum to my national office referring to our plans for a community audit to be held in Miami. We will obviously need considerable assistance in order to develop this project. Could you give me some indication of what resources might be available to us. Several questions come to mind:

1. Is it possible that the Southern Inter-Agency Group can lend professional assistance in developing the research guides, etc?

2. Are professional consultants available to us for specific responsibilities before, during, and after the survey?

3. Is money available from any source that you are aware of which can be used to subsidize the cost of this project?

I am leaving July 9th for Bethel, Maine, where I will attend the group dynamics laboratory program at Gould Academy for the next three weeks. Please don't wait for my return, however, but send your information on to Jessica Schwarz here in my office and she will share it with the appropriate individuals.

Many thanks for your help. My best regards.

Cordially,

Seymour

Seymour Samet
Southeast Area Director

SS:sm
cc: Bill Williams
Harold Fleming
Mrs. Stewart Austin

July 17, 1958

Mrs. Jandon Schwarz, Executive Assistant
The American Jewish Committee
1208 Congress Building
Miami 32, Florida

Dear Mrs. Schwarz:

I have recently received Seymour Samet's letter of July 8, enclosing a copy of a memo to your national office regarding a proposed community audit. He asks that I not wait until his return from Bethel to answer the letter, but direct my reply to you. Hence, this letter.

Seymour raised three questions:

1. "Is it possible that the Southern Inter-Agency Group can lend professional assistance in developing the research guides, etc.?"
   The Southern Inter-Agency Conference might well be interested in such a project. The only adequate way to determine this, however, is to submit a fully detailed proposal at their next meeting. (August 7-8)

2. "Are professional consultants available to us for specific responsibilities before, during, and after the survey?"
   Dr. Herman Long, Director of the Race Relations Institute, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee, has developed and supervised considerable work in this area. He or others connected with the Institute could be of considerable help. As to SRC's consultants, they could be of help in the period following the survey in offering consultative services, if action programs develop out of the survey.

3. "Is money available from any source that you are aware of which can be used to subsidize the cost of this project?"
   I know of no specific source for funds, but your own

organization and the National Conference of Christians and Jews have helped underwrite such projects in the past. A properly prepared request to one of the foundations might strike a responsive chord.

One more suggestion: Dr. Irwin T. Sanders, Department of Sociology, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Kentucky, has had considerable experience in this type project.

I trust this is helpful. All good wishes.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

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COMMUNITY AFFAIRS DEPARTMENT

ELY M. AARON, *Chairman*

A. HAROLD MURRAY, *Director*
DR. S. ANDHIL FINEBERG, *Community Relations Consultant*

July 17, 1958

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming (or Harold might be better):

Thanks for your letter of July 16. I told one of my colleagues that you would probably answer pretty much as you did and am therefore not surprised by your reply. And yet, writing to you brought something decidedly advantageous - namely, the list of places the broadcasts may be heard. I have reliable correspondents in some of these cities and shall write to them requesting that they view the telecast.

I am sorry I did not know that Harry Fleischman had already spoken to you about this, but ours is a large organization and it is impossible that everyone be informed all the time. We still talk of your visit here with great satisfaction and we feel you helped us a great deal.

I don't know when I shall be in Atlanta again, but I hope we shall meet before long.

Sincerely yours,

Sol Finsky

DR. S. ANDHIL FINEBERG

SAF/lhp

CC: Harry Fleischman

Samuel Lubin

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
Southeastern Region
906 Congress Building
Miami 32, Florida
Haskell L. Lazere, Director

AJ Congress

Rabbi Yaakov G. Rosenberg,
Council President

CONGRESS QUARTERLY DIGEST
- Published by The South Florida Council -

Volume 1, Number 1: August 1958 - Av 5718

AN INTRODUCTION

This publication is begun in an effort to inform the membership and others about the activities of the American Jewish Congress... Some of the material will be new...some old...some timely....all of value....Suggestions for improvement are sincerely solicited... Occasionally, some individuals will be named in connection with some work done or honor won....any omissions are purely unintentional and coincidental!

SO, WHAT'S NEW?

Presidents....Women's Division, MRS. DAVID (BEA) MUSKAT....Louise Brandeis, MRS. MICHAEL (RHODA) SOSSIN....Miami, MRS. IRVING (RUTH) QUARTIN....Dade Men, FRED BARAD....and something else is new...two CHAPTERS....BISCAYNE, organized by MRS. ABRAHAM (MILDRED) AUGENSTEIN and MRS. SIDNEY (HELEN) FINGER, is our newest women's chapter..... Congratulations! We also have a new MR. and MRS. chapter....formed with tremendous help from ex-Congress exec, now insuranceman, BERNARD SEGAL. Another Mazeltov....Biscayne and Mr. and Mrs. will apply for charters with the first National Executive Committee Meeting....both have officers, constitutions and paid up charter members....The growth has begun....

The Dade County School Board rushed through its fingerprinting resolution at a special meeting which lasted all of forty minutes... ANNA BRENNER MEYERS, our National Vice President and Woman of the Year, did her best to stop the stampede....Anna, who cast the lone vote against fingerprinting all school personnel, explained that all faculty members and personnel are engaged only after records, references and degrees are certified by the State Department of Education. This action is not only an invasion of privacy, but lowers the dignity of the teaching profession by the implication of criminal investigation and serves as no safeguard to moral behavior....None of eight cities contacted for information about fingerprinting practices engages in same...cities include Detroit, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Atlanta, etc.....Wonder whether politics can account for the stampede?

Speaking of the School Board, the American Civil Liberties Union has just sent a comprehensive questionnaire to all Board candidates, asking how they stand on civil liberties and civil rights issues.... one of the questions, "What is your position on desegregation?"..... another, "What is your position on distribution of Bibles in the public schools?"...Questionnaire also asks positions on baccalaureate services and Christmas observances.....We will try to obtain the

results from the ACLU when the questionnaires are returned..... Some of the answers should be most interesting....Incidently, Episcopalian Dorothy Smith Mitchell vigorously opposes religion in the public schools....you should hear her!...If she succeeds in her bid for the School Board, a number of people will be hearing from her....

ELECTIONS ARE COMING

By the time the DIGEST reaches you it will be too late to register, but not too late to vote.....The political campaigns are getting hotter with each passing day....Segregation has become a vital issue in the race for the Florida Legislature....JACK ORR is a favorite target of the segregationists....ORR was the only one in the Florida House of Representatives to vote against segregation measures....he's been a target ever since....Rumors around town have it that many thousands of dollars have been raised to insure his defeat....The victory scored by Governor Faubus in Arkansas is heartening to all the segregationists in the South.... it may well set an example for other candidates to follow.... Haven't seen the figures, but it's a safe bet the liberals started too late with too little....Moral of the story...if you have convictions, vote 'em! ....Run-off election falls on September 30th, second day of Succoth...We are trying now to obtain a ruling from the Florida Attorney General as to whether those observing the holiday may cast an absentee ballot....chances appear slim that the law will allow it....Polls are open 7 to 7....Sundown comes just after 6:10 on September 30th...go to Shul, but go to the polls to vote before you go home to dinner....

INVESTIGATIONS AND SEGREGATION

The Johns' Committee is headed back to Miami....the date was set for August 11th, but the action of the Florida Supreme Court in scheduling a full hearing for Father Gibson, NAACP head, on September 2nd, may well postpone the Miami show....Senator Eastland has been drawing a bead on integrationists in Atlanta hearings recently....Louisiana has just put into effect a law which requires the Red Cross to label blood...whether it came from Negro or White.. The scientists who tell us there is no difference in blood of different races must be going back to their books! Judge Lemley's decision on Little Rock integration rocked the liberal South and all of the North...The Appeals Court in St. Louis may have ruled on the appeal from that decision by the time you read this.....Watch for an interesting hearing August 16, 17, 18 in the court of Federal Judge LIEB....a decision in favor of the NAACP could result in Miami schools desegregating....Interesting to hear Superintendent JOE HALL testify there is no legal segregation in our schools.... Scouts are out trying to find one white in a Negro school and one Negro in a white one....no luck so far.

MEMBERSHIP FORMULA FOR DOUBLING

Every Congress woman enrolls her husband. Every Congress man enrolls his wife....result....membership doubles! November is Congress Month, but why wait? Watch for the Women's Division

paid up Membership Tea November 25th....Dr. Prinz has been asked to speak.

SOCIAL ACTION MEMOS

Will Maslow, General Counsel for Congress testified in behalf of the Loser Bill to make use of dynamite for illegal purposes a Federal offense...U.S. Justice Department sent no representatives to testify....Little Rock must cast a long shadow!

Senator Humphreys of Minnesota has introduced a resolution to make the United States a party to the U.N. Commission on Human Rights... So far the U.S. hasn't ratified the Genocide Convention...we seem to be steering clear of the Human Rights issue as well....Senators should be urged to pass the Humphreys resolution....

Attorney Bernard Mandler has been elected chairman of our local CLSA....just organized this past month...we look for big things from the Commission on Law and Social Action....

The Dade County Council on Community Relations, which was organized following the 1951 bombings to establish communication between all segments of the community and to ease tension is having a tough time financially....One of the problems in an organization which serves as a clearing house and community representative body is that no one accepts the full responsibility for seeing that enough funds are available...each group looks to the other to raise the necessary money....It would be tragic to lose the only non-sectarian community action group we have....Memberships in the DCCCR cost as little as $5.....donations in any amount will be accepted....the address is Metropolitan Building, Miami 32.....

DENT IN THE ARAB BOYCOTT

One of the results of the Arab boycott was the reduction of American Express facilities in Israel....the action of the company was publicized...now...we are happy to report that the American Express Company has undertaken a joint promotion of travel to Israel with the Israel Government Tourist Corporation....American Express will enlarge and modernize its agency in Israel....Presidents of major Jewish organizations praised American Express for its action.. One of the AAA representatives visited the office the other day... in the course of our conversation he told of not being able to visit Israel when he was in the Middle East...he's Irish descent...he was stationed in Lebanon and wanted to see Israel, but was told he couldn't return to any Arab country if he did....you should hear his opinion of the Arab Boycott policies and his criticism of our State Department for not protesting....Congratulations to the MIAMI HERALD for their editorial on July 31st re the Arab plans to destroy Israel.. Senator FLANDERS, while protesting he's not anti-semitic, is parroting the Arab propagandists in his Senate speeches lately.... he proposes stopping tax exemption on gifts to UJA funds which are sent to Israel....the same proposal was made some time ago by one of the Arab diplomats who called upon Congress to enact legislation to that end.....

THIS AND THAT

United Church Women have undertaken a community audit to ascertain the current practices in the metropolitan area of Miami re housing, public accommodations, employment, recreation, health, education and political rights....Congress is cooperating...MRS. CHARLES P. (DOROTHY) FEINBERG is our representative on the Steering Committee and MRS. ALFRED M. (LILLIAN) MAMLET heads the public accommodation committee....Plans are to release the survey results at a big meeting to be held on December 10th...Human Rights Day....A leadership course will be set up in the Fall....open on a registration basis to all Congress members....course is designed to teach proper way to conduct a meeting, give reports, lead discussions, etc.....dates will be announced early in September.....Louise Brandeis is setting up a class in Conversational Hebrew.... MRS. CHARLES P. (DOROTHY) FEINBERG is making arrangements....sounds like a good thing for the members.....The new CORE program put out by the Women's Division is a real humdinger....programs on Jewish living promise to be exciting...almost as exciting as the Great Debate at the Convention....that's still having repercussions and will for some time to come....Some of the same points of view were expressed at the recent meeting of the World Jewish Congress in Geneva...Maintaining Jewish identity is becoming a more important theme daily....watch for others to follow Congress' lead in this field.

The Southern Region of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds has created a regional community relations committee chaired by SAM HEIMAN....At a recent meeting in Atlanta attended by community leaders and national agency representatives, the Congress was raked over the coals for having Martin Luther King as a speaker during the national biennial convention...We were told to have King was to jeopardize the position of Jews in other Southern Communities... It would appear we could have had King with no objections if there were no publicity...The Southern newspapers really played up his appearance before a Jewish organization...Note....no specific negative incidents against Jews have been reported due to King's appearance... just newspaper articles and editorials....Many leaders pointed out Miami is not the South and Congress should not judge its public positions on advice from Miami. If we're not South why are schools still segregated?

HARRY GOLDEN has come up with another of his "plans"....teach Negroes to speak French...they will then be regarded as foreigners and be accorded not only equal but courteous treatment....his "out of order" drinking fountain plan has been tried and found to work....County Manager CAMPBELL should please note...the County Building has Negro and White drinking fountains on every floor....

SIGN OFF

Enjoy the summer....Remember to vote on September 9th.....Let's make the Fall the beginning of a real Congress year....

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE · 15 EAST 84TH STREET · NEW YORK 28, N. Y. · TRAFALGAR 9-4500

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

OCTOBER 23, 1958

MR. HAROLD C. FLEMING
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVE., NE
ATLANTA 3, GA

DEAR HAROLD:

I WANT TO ACKNOWLEDGE YOUR NOTE OF OCTOBER 17 AND ITS ENCLOSURE. IT WAS GOOD OF YOU TO DO THIS AS QUICKLY AS YOU DID.

I CERTAINLY DO REQUIRE FURTHER ADVICE FROM YOU AND ADDITIONAL NAMES, IF YOU FEEL THAT THEY WOULD BE "SUITABLE" OR "MORE SUITABLE."

I HOPE TO FIND THE TIME NEXT WEEK TO SEND YOU A LONG MEMORANDUM OUTLINING WHAT WE HAVE DONE AND WHAT WE STILL HAVE IN MIND.

WITH CORDIAL GREETING,

SINCERELY,

Isaac Toubin

IT:D

ISAAC TOUBIN

October 29, 1958

Mr. Milton E. Krents
Director
Radio and Television
The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Milton:

Thanks for putting in your licks with the College Press Conference officials. I am sorry it didn't work out this time, but I appreciate your willingness to keep an eye out for future programs in which Mr. Dabbs might be used. I think he is an admirable spokesman for the "other point of view" down here.

I will hope to hear from you often as opportunities for good work with the media arise.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED OCT 22 1958

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y. *Cable Address,* "WISHCOM, NEW YORK"

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October 21, 1958

Dear Harold:

I discussed with College Press Conference officials the possibility of having Mr. Dabbs as a program guest. Unfortunately, their full program schedule will not permit them to do so at this time.

In the event that an opportunity for another program presents itself, I shall be in touch with you.

Kind regards from your very good friend,

Milt

Milton E. Krents, Director
Radio and Television

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia.

MEK:SM

November 5, 1958

The American Jewish Committee
386 Fourth Avenue
New York 16, New York

Gentlemen:

Please send us fifteen copies of the pamphlet, "Bigotry in Action" and bill the Southern Regional Council for cost.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

John Constable
Director of Information

JC:lec

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

STEPHEN WISE CONGRESS HOUSE · 15 EAST 84TH STREET · NEW YORK 28, N. Y. · TRAFALGAR 9-4500

November 18, 1958

Dear Friend:

On September 26th, Rabbi Prinz addressed a letter to President Eisenhower urging him to summon the country's leaders in the field of religion, education, social welfare, labor and business to a meeting at the White House to spell out for every American the democratic principles that underly our existence as a nation. From such a meeting, he suggested, could come a Presidential proclamation of equality in which the full authority and prestige of the office of the President would be placed in support of the moral principle of integration and the basic concept of obedience to court decisions.

Within a few weeks thereafter, the conscience of America was shocked by a series of acts and threats of violence, including particularly the dynamiting of a public high school in Clinton, Tennessee and the bombing of a Jewish temple in Atlanta, Georgia. On October 12th, Rabbi Prinz wired the President applauding his statement in which he deplored the violence that had erupted and welcoming his assurances to the American people that every facility of our Federal Government was being employed to track down the perpetrators of these attacks. Rabbi Prinz suggested that these outrages emphasized once again the need for vigorous action on the part of the President to mobilize the forces of decency and democracy in our country. On October 16th, the President replied that he would, together with his associates, give our suggestion "careful consideration." Copies of this correspondence are enclosed with this letter.

Recognizing that the President's decision whether to call such a meeting will depend in large measure upon whether significant portions of the American public let him know they believe that such a meeting is practicable and desirable, we have written to a number of national leaders suggesting that they endorse the proposal. Up to this time, support for the calling of such a meeting has been expressed by a number of organizations, including the Young Women's Christian Association, the Rabbinical Council of America, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Southern Regional Council, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

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I am writing to you at this time to suggest that you join in these expressions of support. I hope that your organization will write to the President telling him that you believe that a conference at the White House such as we have suggested would serve a useful purpose in dealing with the integration crisis.

I shall be grateful to you for your comments, and, if you write to the President, for a copy of your communication.

Yours sincerely,

Isaac Toubin

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Isaac Toubin

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AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, N.Y.

September 26, 1958

The Hon. Dwight D. Eisenhower
President of the United States
The White House
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

The American Jewish Congress warmly applauds your statement deploring the closing of schools over the issue of racial segregation. We are particularly gratified that your message to the Charlottesville Committee for Public Education cited the American democratic ideal of the brotherhood of man, and emphasized that we all are equal in the sight of God.

As a natural and logical outgrowth of your statement, Mr. President, we respectfully suggest that you call a White House Conference on Equality to rally the American people in support of the 1954 Supreme Court decision calling for school integration.

Our country faces its most profound moral crisis since the Civil War. At stake are the two most precious inheritances of our American democracy -- respect for the individual, derived from the great religious principle that all men are the creatures of God; and respect for law, the foundation of all liberty, which has given the American experiment in democracy its inner strength and stability.

When in 1954 the United States Supreme Court issued its historic decision declaring that enforced racial segregation in the public schools violates the Constitutional guarantee of equality, friends of freedom everywhere rejoiced. In the South, millions long accustomed to segregation accepted the eventual racial integration of their schools, hoping at most to delay rather than to frustrate the Court's decision. Defiance of the Court was expressed by only a small minority of Southern whites.

Today the picture is tragically reversed. One hears few -- if any -- influential voices in the South speaking of effecting integration with a minimum of disharmony and conflict. The cry of uncompromising resistance dominates the South.

It is for this reason that we respectfully urge you, Mr. President, to summon the country's leaders in the field of religion, education and social welfare to a national conference at which the underlying issue of the whole question of integration -- the immorality of racial segregation -- would be clearly enunciated. An appropriate time for such a national conference would be Thanksgiving Day, on which every American expresses gratitude for the life, liberty and pursuit of happiness which America promises to all its citizens.

Out of such a White House Conference should come a Proclamation of Equality from the President, in which the full authority and prestige of your office is placed in support of the moral principle of integration as well as in support of the legal concept of obedience to the Court. Such a conference would spell out for every American to understand those democratic principles that underlie the historic 1954 decision of the Supreme Court -- and which underlie our very existence as a nation. Such a conference, we believe, would also give heart to all Americans who recognize the basic justice of the Supreme Court decision and who see the need for the South to accommodate itself to it.

If we are to preserve the image of America as the champion of democratic rights, human dignity and the ethical teachings of our common religious tradition, it is essential that we restate our aspirations as a people -- especially in the midst of crisis.

The times call for moral leadership. Your effort to provide that leadership and to mobilize the nation in behalf of the moral principle of integration will command the support of all Americans.

Respectfully,

s/g Dr. Joachim Prinz
President

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WESTERN UNION

TELEGRAM

October 12, 1958

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C.

The American Jewish Congress warmly applauds your statement deploring the violence which erupted in Atlanta today when a group of vicious racist bigots calling themselves the Confederate Underground dynamited a Jewish house of worship. It is gratifying to know that every facility of our Federal government is being employed to track down the perpetrators of this attack.

The Atlanta outrage, coming on the heels of the bombing of Clinton High School in Tennessee and a series of actual and threatened acts of destruction against other religious and educational institutions in the South, emphasizes once again the need for the most vigorous action on your part, Mr. President, to mobilize the forces of decency and democracy in our country which are looking to you for leadership in support of the principles of equality and obedience to law which are the very foundations of our Republic.

In this hour of crisis, we urge you most respectfully, Mr. President, as we did in our letter to you of September 26th, to call a national White House Conference which would bring together leaders of religion, education, social welfare, business and labor and which would dramatically reaffirm the commitment of the American people to justice and to the lawful and peaceful resolution of differences -- differences which can exist only in a democratic society.

This moment in history calls for a Proclamation by the President spelling out for every American to understand our country's traditional abhorrence of the resort to violence and of incitement to racial and religious hatred, and articulating in clear and unequivocal terms our commitment to the profound truth that all men are equal in the sight of God.

Rabbi Joachim Prinz
National President
American Jewish Congress
15 East 84 Street
New York 28, N.Y.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

C
O
P
Y

October 16, 1958

Dear Rabbi Prinz:

Thank you for your telegram. I deeply deplore, as I have said publicly, the wanton bombing and destruction of houses of worship and I share your horror over the Atlanta incident.

The full facilities of the Federal government are being used to bring about the arrest of those people who are responsible for such regrettable incidents.

My associates and I will give your suggestion for the convening of a White House conference to consider this problem, as well as a special Governors' conference, careful consideration.

With best wishes,

Sincerely,

(s) Dwight D. Eisenhower

Rabbi Joachim Prinz
National President, American
Jewish Congress
15 East 84th Street
New York, N.Y.

December 16, 1958

Mr. Gustave Falk
Southwest Regional Office
The American Jewish Committee
523 Fidelity Building
Dallas 2, Texas

Dear Gus:

Thanks for your memo which came, back in mid-November. I referred it to our research staff before answering it - because of the chronology attached - and it has just come back to my desk.

I am not sure when I will next be in Dallas. I was in Houston on December 2, but unfortunately was only able to stay one day. The next time I come, I'll plan to stay an extra day and stop off in Dallas as well. That is, if the airlines strike is over by this time. I will advise you in advance.

I would hope that the Negro-white leadership group will begin meeting again on a fairly regular basis. Lines of communication remain open only so long as people meet.

There have been no new developments resulting from Fred Sweet's letter to Boris Shiskin. Mr. Sweet did call me and sent me a copy of his letter. The original dealt mostly with a desegregation schedule based upon the percentage of Negroes in the total population in each county. We suggested there were other criteria which were even more important. Hence the more comprehensive type of county profile development he suggests. The Florida Council on Human Relations has been advised of his

suggestion, and Dade County is considering a pilot project of a voluntary desegregation which might at a later date be related to the schedule Sweet suggested.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

FBR

MEMORANDUM

SOUTHWEST REGIONAL OFFICE
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
523 Fidelity Building, Dallas 2, Texas
RIverside 7-2830
IRVING L. GOLDBERG, *Regional Chairman*
GUSTAVE F. FALK, *Regional Director*

FRED — I'm keeping the chronology in Ed. L.R. - 1958 — Am returning letter for your files. or answering — clip file

JC ✓
MM ✓

November 11, 1958

To: Fred Routh

From: Gustave Falk

Attached is a chronological summary of developments in Little Rock from October 14, 1958 to November 7, 1958 - 4 weeks. Similar reports will be compiled later.

I believe these records will give you a better understanding and perspective of the developments and trends in Little Rock and should serve to supplement the one prepared by the SRC.

Are you planning to be in this area soon? If so, would you please let me know in sufficient time so that I can arrange a conference for you with key persons. Our Negro-White Leadership group has not met since May. At that time I was appointed with Maceo Smith to draw up a draft of an ordinance for a Dallas Commission on Human Relations. I did this and sent a copy to Maceo in September, but no further action has been taken to date. I discussed the matter with Jerome Crossman and he appears to be interested in implementing this plan. I am keeping in touch with him about it.

The Dallas situation seems to be approaching a showdown and a decision will have to be reached shortly. We are watching and hoping that the transition will be without incident. During my last visit to Little Rock I spoke ~~with~~ to Harry Ashmore and Hugh Paterson. They seem to be terribly disturbed about the developments and will not hazard a guess about the future.

Harry Fleischman sent me a copy of a letter from Fred Sweet, Public Relations Director of the Hotel and Restaurant Employees International Union, to Boris Shishkin, Director, AFL-CIO Civil Rights Department in Washington, in which he recommended a Florida project for a percolating desegregation program. He stated that the SRC was consulted on this matter. Has anything developed along these lines?

Regards.

Gustave

GF:im
Encl.
cc: Harry Flieschman
Dr. A.S. Fineberg

December 30, 1958

Mr. Gustave F. Falk
The American Jewish Committee
523 Fidelity Building
Dallas 2, Texas

Dear Gus:

Many thanks for your letter of the 26th and all the clippings. We were particularly happy to get the series on Integration in Texas from the Dallas Morning News. Certainly this paper has done an about face -- or perhaps three-fourths of an about face: from strongly pro-segregation to mildly pro-compliance. It's good to see this change for obviously it means that our power structure friends have "talked" to the publisher and editor, talked softly but carried a big stick.

Yes, we have been keeping abreast of developments in Little Rock. While it is hardly pleasant to have to go through this so often, we no longer worry about any responsible federal agency accepting the canards and distortions of J. B. Matthews. Of course, the segregationists make good propaganda use of it and the less sophisticated and the poorly informed swallow great gobs of it. There is something perverse about using the almost-sacred powers of state government for such cheap and tawdry purposes. It is obvious that those who scream "states rights" are the first to violate them when it suits their mean purposes.

I am planning a trip out to Texas after the first of the year, probably in February. I will let you know the exact date as soon as it is set and will plan to make it to Dallas, too.

Best wishes to you and Mrs. Falk in the up-coming year.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

Dictated but not read
cc Dr. S. A. Fineberg

SOUTHWEST AREA OFFICE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

GUSTAVE F. FALK
Area Director

523 FIDELITY BLDG.
DALLAS 2, TEXAS
Tel. RIverside 7-2830

December 26, 1958

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia.

Dear Fred:

Thanks for your letter of December 16. I trust that your work will bring you in the vicinity of Dallas so that we can discuss developments in Dallas and the problems in activating the Leadership Group which held real promise last Spring. I seem to be the only one interested in implementing the program but unfortunately, time does not permit me to devote the necessary effort in furthering this important program. I believe that a visit by you would give the needed stimulation to convene the group again, at which time we could discuss future planning and activity.

Attached are several types of newspaper items which include a series of articles on integration in Texas, published by the Dallas Morning News, and developments in the Little Rock situation, especially the charges against the Arkansas Council on Human Relations by the Special Education Committee of the Arkansas Legislative Council. J. B. Matthews was a star paid witness for the State and he cited the Southern Regional Council as subversive and connected with the Arkansas Council on Human Relations. I know that you have all the details.

I plan to be in Little Rock shortly. If I can be of any service there, please call upon me.

It is interesting to note about the developments in Dade County. Please keep me advised of developments.

Best wishes for a very Happy New Year.

Cordially, Gustave Falk
G.F.

GF:EF

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AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

SOUTHEAST REGIONAL OFFICE

Room 714 Congress Bldg. • 111 N.E. 2nd Ave. • Miami 32, Florida • FR 9-6195

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National Vice-President

HASKELL L. LAZERE
Regional Director

January 19, 1959

HCF
please return
FBR

Mr. Frederick B. Routh, Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

I promised to send you a copy of the decision handed down by Justine Wise Polier so that you can look it over. I think that you will find it most interesting.

Don't forget to have the sample literature sent me as soon as possible.

It was good to have the opportunity of speaking with you while I was in Atlanta and I look forward to your visit here.

Incidently, I spoke with John Lassoe and Maggie Garrity upon my return. They had called me in my absence, and I have accepted the Regional Chairmanship for NAIRO.

Cordially,

Haskell

Haskell L. Lazere,
Director

HLL:fk
Encl.

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WILL MASLOW, General Counsel

December 19, 1958

Dear Colleagues:

On Monday of this week a decision was handed down by Judge Justine Wise Polier which is of such significance in the area of concern of CLSA that I feel that it should be brought to your attention in this letter although CLSA had no part in the legal proceedings in which the decision was rendered. As explained below, Judge Polier held that in the junior high schools of New York City the educational opportunities provided for children attending predominantly Negro-Puerto Rican junior high schools is inferior by reason of racial discrimination in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

The case involved a proceeding in the New York City Children's Court instituted by the Board of Education of New York City against the parents of two Negro children, Charles Skipwith and Sheldon Rector, for their refusal to send them to junior high schools in Harlem. The charge against the parents was "neglect" of their children by reason of violation of the Compulsory Education Law. The parents admitted that they had refused to send their children to the schools. They did not claim that the private teaching for which they had arranged met the requirements of the New York Education Law.

In defense of their conduct, the parents of the children charged that the public schools involved were de facto racially segregated. As an additional defense, they urged that the schools in question had been discriminated against as the result of the assignment of a higher proportion of regularly licensed teachers to junior high schools whose school population was all white or predominantly white.

The Board of Education took the position that neither defense could be considered by the Children's Court since the parents had not appealed to the New York State Com-

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missioner of Education for administrative redress. Judge Polier overruled this defense, h olding that the parents would be denied due process of law in violation of the Fourteenth Amendment if the Court found them guilty of neglect without affording them the opportunity of establishing that the schools to which their children would be compelled to attend were being conducted contrary to the guaranty of equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment.

On the merits of the defenses Judge Polier held that the defense of de facto segregation was not sustained—even though the two schools directly involved have a student population which is 100% Negro-Puerto-Rican—since there was no showing that the segregation was the result of any circumstances other than residential segregation which, in turn, was not the consequence of any action by any public authority. Judge Polier further pointed out that there is no evidence before the Court that the racial composition of junior high schools in New York is the product of gerrymandering of school districts, or of any policy or lack of policy of the Board of Education in establishing school districts, or in choosing school sites, or in assigning pupils to schools on the basis of race.

Judge Polier held that the second defense was fully sustained in view of the fact that the evidence furnished to the Court by the Board of Education upon the request of the Court, showed a consistent pattern in New York City of a higher percentage of substitute teachers being used in the 16 junior high schools whose pupil population is over 85% N egro-Puerto Rican, as compared with 52 junior high schools in which the pupil population is over 85% white. In the first category of schools 49.5 % of the teachers are substi tutes, whereas in the second category of schools the percentage is only 29.6%. Judge Polier further found that this discrimination in staffing of the junior high schools intensified the disadvantages under which the children in th e predominantly N egro-Puerto Rican schools w ere already placed by reason of the de facto segregation.

Judge Polier ruled that the Board of Education was responsible for the discriminatory staffing of the schools even though the Board had not made the assignments of regularly licensed teachers, but had allowed them to choose the schools in which they wished to teach, with the result that a disproportionate number of them chose to teach in non-N egro-Puerto Rican schools.

The following is an excerpt from the opinion of Judge Polier on this question:

> "That the Board of Education is entirely responsible for the existing discrimination in teacher assignments, there is, in my opinion, not the slightest doubt. What the Board did was to let the teachers themselves establish the discriminatory pattern. But this was action by the Board's employees, and

action by employees who, as regularly licensed teachers, were subject to such assignments as th e Board chose to make. H aving put the power of assignment in the hands of teachers by default, as far as their choosing or not choosing to teach in an X school— a euph emism which nowise changes the fact of de facto school segregation-the Board is bound by the acts of its servants.

"Nor is this a question of niceties of the law of agency. T he assigning of teachers is the exercise of a governmental function. It is no less the exercise of such a role if performed by teachers, rather than an Assistant Superintendent of Education, or the Superintendent of Education, of the Board itself. The Board of Education of the City of New York can no more disclaim responsibility for what has occurred in this matter than the State of South Carolina could avoid responsibility for a Jim Crow State Democratic Party which the State dis everything possible to render "private" in character and operation. See Rice v. Elmore, 4 CIR., 165- F. 2d 387, certiorari denied 333 U. S. 875. See also both the majority and dissenting opinions in Dorsey v. Stuyvesant Town, 299 N. Y. 512, 532-533, 538-542.

"Where, as here, power and responsibility for teacher assignment rests in the Board of Education, teachers who exercise that power are in theapposite words of Mr. Justice Cardozo, "not acting in matters of merely private concern like the directors or agents of business corporations. They are acting in matters of high public interest, matters intimately connected with the capacity of government to exercise its functions."N ixon v . Condon 286 U. S. 73, 88."

Earlier in her opinion, Judge Polier had noted that even the studies conducted by the Board of Education following the decision of the Supreme Court in the school segregation case (Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U. S. 483) had "specifically recommended that teacher assignment should be based on the needs of the schools rather than the preferences of teachers and principals." While noting that the Board of Education had, following those studies, exercised its power of assignment to the extent of assigning new ly licensed teachers to Negro-Puerto Rican schools, Justice Polier found that the Board had not exercised its authority in order to transfer to such schools experienced teachers w h o were regularly licensed. As a result it continued to be left to the principals of the junior high schools to seek, by their own efforts, to induce experienced teachers to join their staffs. In holding that the corrective action taken by the Board was insufficient, Judge Polier wrote as follows:

"No amount of individual skill or devotion of school principals can compensate for or eradicate the established pattern of discrimination in the assignment of regularly licensed teachers which has grown up over the years despite the fact that as long ago as 1896 the Supreme Court in Plessy v .Ferguson, 163 U. S. 537, though sanctioning segregation, held that the Fourteenth Amendment requires "equal facilities." It should not have required Brown v. Board of Education,347 U. S. 483 in 1954 to alert the Board of Education of the City of New York to its constitutional responsibilities. At least by 1950 when Sweatt v. Painter, 399 U. S. 629, was decided by the Supreme Court, there was no excuse for thinking that the Fourteenth Amendment's constitutional command of "equal facilities" in education meant anything less than true equality.

* * *

"So long as non-w hite or X schools have a substantially smaller proportion of regularly licensed teachers than white or Y schools, discrimination and inferior education, apart from that inherent in residential patters, will continue. The Constitution requires equality, not merely palliatives.

"Y et the fact remains that more than eight years after the Supreme Court ruling in Sweatt v. Painter and more than four years after its ruling in Brown v. Board of Education the Board of Education of the City of New York has done substantially nothing to rectify a situation it should never have allowed to develop for which it is legally responsible, and with which it has had ample time to come to grips, even in the last four years.

* * *

"The Board of Education can no more plead not guilty than could the Police Commissioner if he allowed patrolmen to choose not to accept dangerous or unpleasant assignments. N o one would suppose that a new Police Commissioner would hav e performed his duty if he sought to remedy the situation by assigning police rookies to those tasks. Yet, in effect, that is all the Board of Education has done so far, in limiting the exercise of its power of assignment to the assignment of newly licensed teachers to the X schools."

Finally, Judge Polier observed that the issue before h er on the question of neglect was not how the Board of Education should go about correcting the unconstitutional condition which existed in the schools, but whether

the Court should punish parents for refusing to submit their children to an existing unconstitutional condition in the public schools. H er opinion was as follows:

> "T o recur to a point earlier made, this Court is called upon to decide how soon the Board of Education could be directed to remedy what it has so long tolerated. Nor is it the function of this Court to say how the Board should go about effecting a change in the present lamentable situation, whether by compulsory assignments of veteran teachers to X schools for a period of years, by paying a special bonus to teachers to induce them to accept such assignments, or by providing additional services and facilities in such schools as, for example, additional administrative personnel, to make them more attractive to teachers now working in less difficult schools.
>
> "The course of this State will not excuse failure of performance of a constitutional duty because the City of New York might be unwilling to pay the bill for the costs of what needs to be done. Jaffe v. Board of Education, 265 N. Y. 160. See, also, O'Reilly v. Grumet, 284 App. Div. 440, affirmed 308 N. Y. 351. (Compare Borders v. Rippy, 5 Cir., 247 F. 2d 268, 272.) N or will they relieve the Board of Education of its duties because of "hardship upon the existing teaching force." Cf. David v. Board of Education, 263 App. Div. 369, 371, modified and affirmed 288 N. Y. 330. Those are educational problems which it is the business of the Board to deal with. Surely, they are less difficult of solution than those problems that have been faced and solved by Boards of Education- with the help of the teachers themselves and the encouragement and assistance of community leaders- in cities like Washington, D. C., Baltimore, Maryland and Louisville, Kentucky, which, since Brown v. Board of Education have changed from segregated to desegregated school systems. Here, as there, determination, resourcefulness and leadership can bring the situation in the New York City school system into line with the constitutional guarantee of equal protection of the laws. Until then, the Board of Education has no moral or legal right to ask that this Court shall punish parents or deprive them of custody of their children, for refusal to accept an unconstitutional condition which exists in the schools to which the Board h as assigned their children.

* * *

"These parents have the constitutionally guaranteed right to elect no education for their children rather than to subject them to discriminatorily inferior education. I am wholly satisfied from their testimony and demeanor that this is not a case where parents have chosen to make such a choice without regard to the welfare of their children. On the contrary, it is my impression that they are doing whatever is within their means to provide alternative education, though it may not meet the requirements of the Education Law. In my judgment, the course upon which th ey embarked, and which brought them before this Court, was undertaken for the sake of their children and for tens of thousands of other children like them who have been unfairly deprived of equal education."

The Board of Education has not yet decided whether it will appeal from Judge Polier's decision. It may well be that, if an appeal is taken, the case will ultimately reach the Supreme Court of the United States.

Ossining Creche Case. On Tuesday of this week Mr. Justice Gallagher of the N ew York Supreme Court in Westchester dismissed the suit brought to enjoin the erection of a Creche on the grounds of the Junior-Senior High School during the Christmas Season and for a judgment declaring such practice to be unconstitutional under the guarantees in the First and Fourteenth Amendments of freedom of religion and separation of church and state. The Court did not rule upon the legality of the events of the 1956 Christmas Season when the school board had allowed the Creche to be erected on the school grounds before the Christmas Season and maintained there after school had resumed. The Court held that since the Creche had been erected in 1957 after school had recessed and had been removed before school resumed, only that conduct practice could be considered in a suit brought in 1957.

As thus limited, the Court held that the facts did not constitute violation of constitutional principles, even though the Court found that, as contended by the objecting parents, the Creche w as a religious symbol. Judge Gallagher ruled that "the influence, if any, of religious symbolism is inescapable during the Christmas Season. It would be difficult to say that as a practical matter any greater influence exists by virtue of the fact that the symbol is permitted on public as well as private property.

As I have advised you before, the trial counsel for the objecting parents were Leo Pfeffer and Phil Baum of CLSA. An immediate appeal will be taken from the decision. Hopefully the matter can be carried through the New York Courts before the summer recess and if necessary argued in the Supreme Court of the United States before the 1959 Christmas Season.

ARAMCO. On Tuesday of this week, Will Maslow and I argued before Chairman Charles Abrams of the New York State Commission against Discrimination the application made by Congress for a reconsideration of the ruling a HEARING COMMISSIONER which had dismissed the action brought by Congress against American Arabian Oil Company because of its practice of interview ing job applicants as to their religion. The application of Congress for reconsideration was supported by the N AACP Legal and Educational Defense Fund and by the Urban League of Greater New York.

Chairman Abrams granted Congress two weeks in which to submit a brief in support of its contention that the Investigating Commissioner h ad acted in violation of the Constitution of the United States in holding that th e anti-discrimination policy of the State of N ew York could be set aside because the Department of State felt that a ban upon ARAMCOS practice of asking questions as to religion would prejudice the interests of the United States in Saudi Arabia, where ARAMCO conducts its field operations. At the time that the Congress submits its brief to Commissioner Abrams, I will further explain in my Letter the constitutional issues involved.

Sincerely yours,

Shad Polier

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

SUBJECT: Discriminatory Fraternities and State Colleges or Universities in California

FROM: Sol Rabkin and Theodore Leskes

DATE: January 23, 1959

DIGEST: A state college or university may not provide land, fraternity houses, administrative control or financial assistance to fraternities which restrict membership on the basis of race, creed or religion. Neither may it maintain control or regulation over such fraternities by supplying paid faculty advisors or other administrative direction. But where a state school simply permits students to become members of discriminatory fraternities, conferring no tangible benefits on such organizations, and leaving their supervision to parents or other persons outside the university (except for control over the conduct of the fraternity members as students) there is no basis for ruling that such a relationship is improper or invalid. Between these two extremes lies an area in which neither the U.S. Supreme Court nor the State courts have yet drawn a line defining permissible and impermissible state action.

On January 2, 1959, Governor Edmund G. Brown of California, as one of his last official acts as the outgoing Attorney General, ruled on a question put to him by nine California legislators. The question was whether it is violative of the Fourteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution or of the public policy of the State of California for a state college or university to grant official recognition to social or professional fraternities or sororities which restrict their membership on the basis of race, color, religion or national origin.

The Attorney General's opinion first pointed out that the term "official recognition" is difficult to define since there is "no typical relationship" between the fraternities on the one hand and the state institutions on the other. At some schools fraternity houses are located on the campus, are owned by the school and leased to the fraternities. In many cases, fraternities are given the use of campus buildings and facilities, while other types of student organizations and non-student groups are denied such use. In some instances, faculty members serve as advisor to fraternities and to inter-fraternity organizations. In others they do not. The ruling states that in nearly all cases where fraternities are not banned by the institution, school administrations exercise relatively strict controls over the behavior of the students by regulating not only the fraternities but also certain other persons or organizations providing living accommodations. Minimum scholarship requirements may be imposed on fraternity members by the schools. Proper conduct at social events and initiation ceremonies is generally required. Often fraternities must file with the school administration lists of members and officers.

After acknowledging that for years, many, if not most, fraternities restricted membership in some manner on the basis of race, color, religion or national origin, the ruling points out that branches of the fraternities on the campuses of the state colleges and universities no longer have express racial or religious restrictions set forth in their charters or constitutions. The ruling adds that most schools and universities in California "appear to be exerting their influence against restrictions on the basis of race, or religion" and in "actual practice, as well as in the charters, racial and religious barriers seem to be crumbling in the fraternities at California schools."

The ruling then reviews the numerous court decisions on racial discrimination and the existing California statutes aimed at insuring racial and religious equality. The Attorney General cites decisions holding that on the basis of the fundamental authority of the schools over the students, fraternities may be banned from colleges and universities or may be subjected to strict control by them. It is also well established that a university or college may refuse recognition to any fraternity which restricts its membership on the basis of race or religion.

After pointing out that fraternities are not public organizations but retain separate, private identities, the ruling states that the question presented is whether, consistent with the equal protection clause of the United States Constitution and the public policy of the State of California, a state school may create relationships with, permit use of public property by, give financial and other aid to, and exercise direct regulation and control over private organizations which restrict membership on racial or religious grounds. It concludes on this question that if a state university supplies land or fraternity houses on campus, maintains strict control and regulation over fraternities, supplies paid faculty advisors, or other administrative or financial assistance, there is little doubt that such a relationship with fraternities which restrict membership on the basis of race, color, creed, or religion would be invalid as against public policy and as a denial of the equal protection of the laws under the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution. The ruling goes on to state that if a state university or college in recognizing or approving the existence of fraternities merely permits students to become members of such organizations, conferring no tangible benefits, and leaving the supervision with the parents or other persons outside the university, except for control over the conduct of the fraternity members as students, the relationship of the state university or college with the fraternity would not be violative of the United States Constitution or of public policy. Finally, the ruling states that between these two extremes, the present nature of the cases makes it impossible to determine where the line might ultimately be drawn.

The formal conclusion reached by the outgoing Attorney General is as follows:

> "The types of relationships which are possible or exist between fraternities and sororities on one hand and the state universities and colleges in California on the other are almost unlimited in number. Certain relationships which are possible or exist between the state schools of higher education and the fraternities and sororities which restrict their membership on the basis of race would clearly be unconstitutional under the United States Constitution and also would be against the public policy of the State of California. On the other hand, other possible or existing relationships between state universities and colleges and fraternities and sororities restricting membership on the basis of race, religion, color, or national origin would be constitutional. The conclusions and analysis of this opinion do not affect the right of lodges, churches, and other private organizations unconnected with the State to restrict their memberships on the basis of race and religion."

Joint Memorandum

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE • NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE
OF B'NAI B'RITH
515 MADISON AVENUE • NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

SUBJECT: Santa Fe, New Mexico, Civil Rights Ordinance

FROM: Paul Hartman and Theodore Leskes

DATE: January 28, 1959

DIGEST: The Santa Fe, New Mexico, City Council adopts an enforceable ordinance barring discrimination in places of public accommodation, resort or amusement.

On December 17, 1958 the City Council of Santa Fe, the capital of New Mexico, adopted a civil rights ordinance.

The measure, which is similar to an ordinance adopted in Albuquerque, New Mexico, in 1952, starts with a declaration of policy against discrimination in places of public accommodation, resort or amusement on the grounds of race, color, religion, ancestry or national origin. The ordinance declares the right to the full and equal accommodations, advantages, facilities and privileges of any such place within the city of Santa Fe to be a civil right.

The ordinance makes it unlawful to bar any person from a place of public accommodation because of race, color, religion, ancestry or national origin or to publish or mail discriminatory notices or advertisements. Among the places of public accommodation, resort or amusement covered are hotels, motels, tourist courts, restaurants, barrooms, swimming pools, bath houses, and all public conveyances.

Violation of the ordinance is punishable by a fine of from $100 to $300 or imprisonment of from 30 to 90 days. The ordinance also provides for revocation of any city license granted to a place of public accommodation if its owner or operator is convicted of two or more violations within a year.

Comment

In 1955 the Legislature of New Mexico passed, and the Governor signed, a civil rights act prohibiting discrimination in places of public accommodation on a statewide basis. However, enforcement provisions similar to those contained in the Santa Fe ordinance were eliminated from the state bill before final passage. Hence, only the cities of Albuquerque and Santa Fe, New Mexico, have statutory machinery to enforce the ban on discrimination in places of public accommodation, spelled out in the state law of 1955.

PH: TL:al

No. 251
CVR-CRC

February 5, 1959

Mr. Haskell Lazere
American Jewish Congress
Southeastern Region
Congress Building
111 N. E. 2nd Avenue, Room 906
Miami, Florida

Dear Haskell:

Thanks for your letter of the 4th. We have not approached the New York Times about reproducing "The Report on the Lost Class of 1959." I now doubt that we will do so.

I have turned your request for materials over to John Constable and asked him to be gentle in the price.

Thanks for the kind words about my visit to Miami. I enjoyed our conversations and am glad to hear that my suggestions are bearing fruit.

Best regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Leo Pfeffer
American Jewish Congress

(A Memo to Community Relations Councils and Group Relations Agencies)

REGARDING:

"Summary and Analysis of Major Civil Rights Proposals Pending in the U. S. Congress"

Prepared by: Commission on Law and Social Action of the [redacted] AJC.

DATE

Memo dtd. 3/3/59
Analysis dtd. 2/24/59

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

Research Dept. - Les. W. Dunbar
(submitted to this dept. Mar. 10, 1959)MF

GREATER MIAMI CHAPTER

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

SATELLITE

VOLUME 2 MARCH, 1959 NUMBER 2

Published monthly for ten months as a newsletter by the Greater Miami Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, 1208 Congress Building, Miami, Florida.

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Help Save

Our Schools . . .

Keep Them Open !

An Editorial

WE STAND AT THE BRINK

Pressures and tensions are rising. The great sea of emotions, which surrounds the issue of integration within our public schools, is reaching the flood stage. Only a dam of intelligent thinking, planning and action can stem the tide.

And, from where we sit, the coming session of the State Legislature, perhaps the most critical session in the history of Florida, may not hold back the torrent. This is an emergency!

We stand at the brink.

Ever since the Supreme Court handed down its decision, the South has been in a dither. The rapidity of court orders has thrown the South into a series of fitful acts. Some have been lawful, some have not. The crusaders for "white supremecy" have had a field day. Those who have accepted the orders intelligently have been heard, too.

Now, the people of Florida must face up to the issue of integration. As a result of many things already etched in history, the school board in Dade County has announced that Orchard Villa, a northwest elementary school, will be opened next fall to children of both races.

At this writing, the "wool hat gang" that has controlled the State Legislature up until now has said that no public school in the State will be integrated. On the other hand, the local leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People have said that they will not rest with only Orchard Villa's being integrated - they have announced that they will appear before the school board with the intent of having many of Dade's schools integrated this year.

Where this give and take will end, no one can be sure. However, the role of the American Jewish Committee has been fairly well outlined.

Looking at AJC, we see an organization that leans toward a moderate liberal view. With all due deferrence to former Governor Millard Caldwell, we take this moderate stand. The ex-chief executive of our State has said that "moderation" has fallen into the hands of those who are in favor of a "do nothing" attitude; he has also said that others who claim to be moderates have swung too far to the left.

To our way of thinking, AJC, as a liberal-moderate group, has established itself as a force that is badly needed in this era of heated emotions and unsound actions.

AJC is attempting to present all the facts to its members and, through them, to the community. AJC does not say "do this" or "don't do that". Rather, it is serving as an educational stimulus and as a sounding board.

Through it, we are all better prepared to face the emergency that is upon us. We owe our debt to the leaders of AJC who are steering this course. We also owe our debt to those who are now taking the lead in helping to stem the tide of undemocratic actions that have been offered as an illegal substitute to the "law of the land".

We stand at the brink of either a bright new adventure in human relations or a period of dark days for all the peoples of Florida. Each of us must determine his own role in this chapter of history. Each of us should, before assuming this role, drink up the knowledge that AJC affords us and then find our individual niche in the human drama which is now being unfolded.

Let it never be said that we entered this period blindly. The American Jewish Committee is like a beacon in the fog of misunderstanding, shedding light wherever it swings.

If we, as individuals, don't take advantage of AJC, if we don't give credit to AJC for its service in this moment of coming-to-grips with ourselves, if we don't get others involved in this particular phase of AJC activity, we should have our collective head examined.

A Roundup of Information

SOS - SAVE OUR SCHOOLS

....The local Citizens Council for Better Schools has called a meeting of community leaders to discuss the mounting school problem.

....Among the AJC members who have coordinated home discussion

Continued on Page 4

Guest Editorials

Closing Schools Is No Solution

CLOSING public schools would be tragic and unnecessary. In the long run it must prove unacceptable to a great majority of our people if they fully understand the factors involved.

That, in sum, is what Assistant Attorney General Ralph E. Odum told educators yesterday in Tampa.

It is a stand which thoughtful persons can well accept.

Mr. Odum was discussing the parent option plan sponsored by Attorney General Richard Ervin and State School Superintendent Thomas D. Bailey. The assistant attorney general said he could not "guarantee" legality of the device to avoid cumpulsory attendance in integrated schools.

Under parent option children would not be allowed to enroll in private schools at state expense unless the school they were attending was integrated. Then parents, both white and Negro, might ask for transfer of their children to segregated schools.

Denial of the transfer requests would permit withdrawal of the students from integrated schools and enrollment in private schools with the parents receiving a state payment of about $30 a month for tuition.

IF MR. ODUM has doubts about the legality of this device, he also must hold serious reservations about another which Mr. Bailey predicted will be introduced in the Legislature next month.

Aimed directly at Dade County, it would require a referendum on closing of all schools in any county where a single school is integrated.

Calmness has prevailed here since the School Board voluntarily agreed to enrollment of four Negro pupils in Orchard Villa Elementary School next fall. This is to the credit of both sides.

But a referendum campaign would be bound to generate bitterness and, perhaps, something worse.

Even so, the prospect is remote that any court would sustain a move permitting the people of a community to vote on whether they will obey what has been proclaimed "the law of the land."

There may be answers. But closing the schools is not one of them. Florida cannot prosper spiritually or materially by stunting the minds of its children.

The above appeared in the March 20th issue of the MIAMI HERALD. We can only hope that it will calm those who are prepared to act within the confines of their communities and those who serve in the State Legislature.

And, we call to your attention the following, which was in the March FLORIDA PARENT-TEACHER that is published by the Florida Congress of Parents and Teachers:

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Somehow, someway, I would like to talk individually with every single P.T.A. member this spring. I would like to say to you, "What do you believe?" "What do you want for your children?" "Do you want to preserve the American pattern of public education for all who are educable?" "Do you believe that education is the business of the state, rather than the church?" And then I would like us to pause and to do some very serious thinking, and to say that although one's emotions might lead us down one path, one's considered reasoning might lead us down another, and that our decision must be reached after we have considered what will ultimately be the greatest benefit to our children.

These are momentous times. We have very immediate local problems to face. In addition, we have very serious national problems confronting us. You and I are caught in a local situation at a time when our nation is caught in such momentous stress it may not survive. Is this, then, a time to say our children can be educated in some makeshift way? Or a time to flaunt the right of a state in the face of the Mother Nation?

If I were to speak with you personally, I would remind you that we who are the average homeloving, P.T.A. members stand a chance of losing our public schools for the children of Florida because we cannot arouse ourselves enough to interpret our desires to the members of the state legislature. Instead, we stand silent while the agitators are heard. The members of the legislature attempt to provide the laws we desire. You have gone on record as, "Believing a system of free public schools under state and local controls is vital to a democratic society." Do not let your delegation leave for Tallahassee without understanding this clearly!

Martha B. Johnson

Ten Years of Public Service

SEYMOUR SAMET COMMENTS ON THE SOUTH

Marking the tenth anniversary of his work as a professional AJC leader, Seymour Samet, our highly regarded Area Director, addressed a recent meeting of the Executive Board. As usual, his observations were profound. We know that all the membership will want to be aware of what he sees around him as he looks at the South.

Believing that the last decade has been the most important one in the field of human rights since the adoption of the Bill of Rights, Seymour is both impressed and depressed. While he is encouraged by the activities of Southerners, such as those who are taking an active part in AJC projects, he finds too many who are living in fear, ignorance and apathy.

He says that up until now, the liberal element was always ready to act as a mediator. Now, there are two extremes in the South; i.e., those who are militant and those who "do not want to get involved".

Unfortunately, he says that he has found that from an area where one might expect the strongest positions, the majority group no longer takes a stand. As a result, the South is giving way to a new breed of American Fascists who are filling the power vacuum.

To illustrate the point, Seymour called our attention to Montgomery, Alabama, where the White Citizens Council has literally taken over the town. All the key municipal officials are members of the Council which has announced that it "is the organized voice of Montgomery." It demands that it be consulted by the city council in all matters of importance. Further, it has said that all citizens who either

Continued on Page 3

SEYMOUR SAMET
Continued from Page 2

speak or write in opposition to total segregation will be socially, politically and economically boycotted.

In the face of this, the majority is unwilling or unable to bring itself to the point of defying such edicts.

To counter this cancer which is growing throughout the South, Seymour says that we must use our sophisticated intelligence, native ability, and money in waging this vital fight for human rights survival in the South.

Local And National Leaders Meet

FLIGHT OF RUMANIAN JEWS

Only a few weeks ago, leaders of Greater Miami Jewry met to pledge their support to the Combined Jewish Appeal which, among other things this year, is attempting to raise a considerable amount of EXTRA funds to aid in the rehabilitation of thousands of Rumanian who have been set free from behind the Iron Curtain.

Our AJC chapter was represented by Col. Nathan B. Rood and Seymour Samet.

Meanwhile, on a national level, four hundred Jewish leaders, representing 19 major national Jewish organizations, met in emergency conference and urged the American Jewish community to rise to the "historic opportunity" afforded by the "great emigration of Jews from Eastern Europe" and make it "one of the momentous developments in contemporary Jewish history."

Among the convening organizations was the American Jewish Committee whose delegates joined in the adoption of a declaration calling upon all national organizations to support the drive of the United Jewish Appeal and to "give encouragement and help to every local community" in order to raise maximum funds.

Leaders of these oganizations heard eye-witness accounts of the unexpected influx of Rumanian Jews into Israel.

"This is no haphazard emigration," declared Rabbi Herbert Friedman of the United Jewish Appeal. "Costs of transporting immigrants and getting them settled in Israel amount to a staggering 12 to 15 - million dollars a month" the UJA official reported.

A Special Emergency Fund of one hundred million dollars over and above its regular campaign is required by UJA to finance the transport and resettlement of an unexpected 100,000 Eastern European immigrants this year.

Irving M. Engel, National President of the American Jewish Committee, in a memo to the National Executive Board, stated, "We are deeply cognizant of the immense burden which the people of Israel are voluntarily assuming in receiving the large numbers of fellow Jews who are now on their way to Israel. We recognize the necessity and the obligation of doing the utmost, in every way possible, to alleviate that burden and to mitigate the need for the great sacrifices which Israel is so willing to make in this emergency. With the other American Jewish organizations here represented, each exerting every effort according to its particular function and its ability to serve, we are prepared to do everything within our power to meet the challenge."

Chapter News

WELCOME NEW MEMBERS

The following have recently joined AJC. We welcome them with open arms and know that they will find great satisfaction in participating in our varied activities:

Mr. and Mrs. Melvyn Frumkes, Mr, and Mrs. Hank Green, Dr. and Mrs. Maurice Greenfield, Mr. and Mrs. A. J. Harris, Dr. and Mrs. Robert Hyams, Dr. and Mrs. Jerome A. Kramer, Dr. and Mrs. Louis Lemberg, Dr. and Mrs. William A. Leone, Dr. and Mrs. Alan A. Lipton, Dr. and Mrs. Milton S. Lubarr, Mr. Ralph A. Nernberg, Mr. and Mrs. Daniel Richter, Mr. and Mrs. Herbert N. Schwarz, Mr. and Mrs. Philip Schiff, Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Stone, Dr. and Mrs. Harold Unger, and Mr. and Mrs. Philip Warshaw.

PLEASE SAVE THESE DATES

Mr. and Mrs. Leo Robinson have graciously invited us to their home on May 3rd for a gala cocktail party in honor of all new members who have joined AJC in the last year.

There will be a Workshop on European Affairs on May 13th when Zachariah Shuster, European Director of the American Jewish Committee, will be the key speaker.

NEW GROUP FORMED

A discussion group met for the first time recently at the home of Mr. and Mrs. William Gladstone. They were most fortunate in having as their discussion leader, Mr. Manheim Shapiro, National Director of Jewish Communal Affairs, AJC. The group discussed the challenging subject "Jewishness - A Problem or Pleasure."

AJC AND THE FEDERATION

David Fleeman, Harold Spaet, Nat Rood and Seymour Samet appeared March 11th on behalf of our Chapter at a special meeting of the Greater Miami Jewish Federation sub-committee on Community Relations, to discuss the AJC's national and local program purposes. This meeting was one of a series of meetings that the Federation is holding with agency representatives in order to consider Federation's responsibilities in relation to these agencies.

LIBRARY COMMITTEE FORMED

Mrs. Louis Rogel has accepted the Chairmanship of our Library Committee. We have a highly specialized library. If you have an interest in reading literature and current pamphlets, you can be a great help to our Library Committee. Please contact Mrs. Louis (Lee) Rogel (MO 6-0802).

David Danzig, National Program Director of the American Jewish Committee and a member of the American Council of the International University, spoke before members of our chapter on Wednesday, March 18th, at a luncheon meeting sponsored by the International Affairs Committee of A.J.C. at the DuPont Plaza Hotel. In his talk on "Catholic-Jewish Relationships", Mr. Danzig gave an excellent picture of new trends and influences which are beginning to affect the Catholic world.

Mr. Danzig has the distinction of having lectured on "Church and State" at the International University of Rome where a program is being developed to promote a "richer current of social cultural cooperation between America and Europe."

As a member of the American Council of the International University, he is much involved with the development of the "Pro Deo" program, a program which is promoting "Democracy Under God."

Are You Participating?

Home Discussion Groups Booming

Are you a member of a home discussion group? If you aren't, please call Mrs. Nat Rood at HI 3-1470, who will be happy to tell you about the group nearest your home.

Of discussion groups, Mrs. Charles Silleto of Des Moines wrote in ADULT LEADERSHIP: "This kind of program is a great benefit to the individual. Members don't move mountains. It creates a terrific interest in the world about you. It helps to approach problems more constructively. There is strength in a large number of discussion groups in a community.

"The home discussion group promotes individual thinking and the practice of self government."

One of A Series

WE BELIEVE

(In commenting on "hate" literature, the editors of the NEW YORK TIMES made a point that we should all consider).

"We are jealous of the right to print and publish and distribute expressions of free opinion. But, as an eminent justice of our Supreme Court once pointed out, the right of free speech does not permit a person to raise a false cry of "Fire" in a crowded theatre. The legal ground upon which the hate-mongers can be met is complicated and occasionally tricky. For this reason, there must be more, and more careful, study of how to meet what is obvious danger to our freedom, our social dignity and our community self respect."

For Those Who Missed It

Shapiro Stimulates Group

Manheim Shapiro, Director of the Department of Jewish Communal Affairs of the AJC, provided an exhilarating intellectual cordial for the after-dinner meeting of the Executive Committee and their member-guests last month.

He spoke on the subject "A Jew Looks At Himself," offering a fresh perspective to this rather jaded topic. He pointed out that it is no longer enough for the Jew to face outward to a non-Jewish world, but rather to begin to reflect more maturely on his own role as a Jew, utilizing the cultural and spiritual reservoirs inherent in Judaism. He explained clearly why a community relations organization such as AJC must be concerned at least as much with Jewish as with non-Jewish attitudes and touched upon the various techniques utilized in modern community relations research.

The essence of his message, however, revolved about five quandaries for the American Jew:

1. What is the meaning of being Jewish? Most American Jews are Jews by default only and not because they realize any positive value from Judaism. He attributes this to inadequate and inappropriate Jewish education, inappropriate in that it is too much oriented towards the long, sad saga of persecution, and insufficiently towards the contributions and cultures of Judaism.

2. What should the American Jew do to support Jewishness? He pointed out the need for a diverse Jewish society - with many expressions and feelings all eminating ideally from a well-spring of basic Jewishness.

3. What should our relation to Jews elsewhere be? Briefly, to cultivate feelings and opinions about Jews in Israel and other parts of the world based upon factual and intelligent observation rather than emotional reactions.

4. What is the role of the Jew in general society? Jews may be too secular in their community activities and too restrictive in their charitable donations.

5. What shall the Jew expect of his Christian neighbor? According to available statistics, American Jews add too much mortar to the wall which still separates us from our Christian neighbors. We expect more anti-Semitism than we might actually find on unbiased inspection.

SOS - SAVE OUR SCHOOLS

Continued from Page 1

groups who have been concerned with the ways of "Keeping Our Schools Open", have been Mr. and Mrs. Al Elkins, Mr. and Mrs. Al Stone, Mr. and Mrs. Mort Halpern and Mr. and Mrs. Art Horovitz.

....Mrs. Floy W. Mussett, past president of the State PTA, has written: "The coming session of the State Legislature will be faced with many problems. One such problem will be the future of Florida's public schools. The Florida Congress of Parents and Teachers believes that a strong public school system is fundamental to the well-being of our State and that no issue, however critical, should prevent our wholehearted support and maintenance of free public schools."

....The AJC's Education Committee has decided to act as a catalyst for other community agencies in an effort to awaken the citizenry and make it aware of what COULD and MAY happen here to our public school system. Mrs. Charles Finkelstein, chairman of the committee invites your membership and asks that you call her at HI 3-5433.

....In the wake of fast-moving events preceding the session of the Legislature, Miami's PTA's are still organizations such as the League of Women Voters remain silent.

....The American Jewish Committee believes that it is to the best interest of all citizens of the United States to uphold the decision of the Supreme Court, which requires all public schools to be desegregated. The AJC is likewise vitally concerned with the preservation of the public school system.

GREATER MIAMI CHAPTER
THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
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MR HAROLD FLEMING
S REGIONAL COUNCIL
63 AUBURN AVE NE
ATLANTA GEORGIA

For Your Information

from THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

Vol. IV, No. 4, April 1959

CROMMELIN TRIES TO WIN MAYORALTY

In a three-way primary race for mayor of Montgomery, Ala., held March 16, retired Admiral John G. Crommelin polled 1,760 votes out of 17,330 -- a little better than 10 per cent of the total. In the ensuing run-off election, the incumbent, Mayor W. A. Gayle, was defeated by Earl James by a scant margin of about 700 votes.

The recent primary results indicate a significant gain for the indefatigable anti-Semitic candidate, at least in the city of Montgomery. Last year, Crommelin had polled only 169 votes out of almost 23,000 cast in Montgomery County during the gubernatorial primaries; statewide, he polled a mere 2,200 votes out of the total of 618,000, less than one-half of 1 per cent.

Crommelin had bid for political power in 1956 also. Some observers discount the 1956 vote in assessing Crommelin's political career as a bigot, because at that time he was regarded more as a naval hero than an anti-Semitic propagandist, even though he had made several bigoted speeches on radio and TV. In 1956, when he opposed Lister Hill for the Senatorial nomination, Crommelin

garnered about 30 per cent of the primary votes -- 112,000 to Hill's 240,000.

FREETHOUGHT MAGAZINE ADDS RACIAL HATRED TO ITS PHILOSOPHY

The Truth Seeker, founded in 1873 and described as the "oldest free-thought paper in the world," has long been devoted to promoting atheism and rationalism. During the past several years, outright racism has been added to its line -- reflecting an alliance between the Truth Seeker's editor, Charles Smith, and James H. Madole, leader of the neo-Nazi National Renaissance Party in New York City. During 1958, Smith and Madole jointly headed a group known as the "Racist Forum," holding periodic meetings to air their fanatic ideas.

The March 1959 issue of Truth Seeker features an article by Smith, "Love Mongers and Love Sheets," which attacks proponents of "Blind Brotherly Love." Identifying himself as "publisher of what these mad Lovers call a Hate Sheet," Smith argues that "the Negro is increasing his percentage of the population through greater fertility -- protected by anti-discrimination propaganda directed mainly by Communistic Jews."

Also in this issue is "A Racist Lecture at a Baptist College" by Eustace Mullins, a long-standing writer for Conde McGinley, Madole and other anti-Semitic publicists. "Why the Jew is Hated" is the March installment of a series by Patricia Schuyler.

IN BRIEF

The North Carolina Supreme Court has ruled that the Rev. James W. Cole,

Ku Klux Klan leader, must serve a prison term for inciting an Indian riot last year. Cole, who has since resigned from the Klan, had been previously sentenced to eight months to two years shortly after Lumbee Indians broke up a Klan rally near Maxton with gunfire.... Rebel Records of Nashville, Tenn., is distributing four "Songs of the South" by Henson Nelson, described in the firm's literature as one of the defendants who had been acquitted in the 1957 Clinton, Tenn., case. Nelson was charged with violation of a Federal Court injunction for obstructing the Court's order directing integration of the Clinton High School. Nelson's "country-style" tunes, recorded on two 45-rpm disks, are: "The Clinton Song," "Difficult & Defeated," "Hey Dixie!" and "I Like Ike!" .... The American Mercury, published by industrialist Russell Maguire, augments its anti-Semitic output with its May issue which charges: "When the international bankers and department store owners wined and dined Mr. A. Mikoyan on his recent visit to the U.S., they gave additional proof of what Mercury has been telling you, namely, that the money changers finance Communism, Marxism, Zionism, Wars and Revolutions." Reprints of a Mercury article attacking fluoridation are currently being widely distributed among dentists.... Merwin K. Hart, in his March 15 Economic Council Letter, attacks columnist Joseph Alsop for denouncing the Protocols of Zion as a fraud and a forgery. (One would suppose that the important thing about the Protocols is not... their possible lack of authenticity, but rather whether they are a prophecy...now being fulfilled," Hart writes. "And most informed Americans would consider them a very accurate prophecy indeed." ..."The Secret World Government, or, 'The Hidden Hand,'" a 200-page diatribe on "The Jewish Peril" by Maj.-Gen., Count Cherep-Spiridovich,

has made a new appearance. Originally published in 1926, the new edition is being sold for $5 by The Revere of Hinsdale, Ill., and Women's Voice of Chicago. Conde McGinley, always out for a volume business, is undercutting by offering the same book for $3.... The March 1 issue of Common Sense devotes more than two pages to "Right Wing Patriot on the Air" — alleged excerpts from a December broadcast of WOR's all-night "Long John" show, which included an interview with Benjamin H. Freedman.

Funds for the activities of the American Jewish Committee
are raised through the Joint Defense Appeal.

April 28, 1959

Mr. Haskell L. Lazere
Regional Director
American Jewish Congress
Room 714 Congress Building
111 N. E. 2nd Avenue
Miami 32, Florida

Dear Haskell:

Just a note to say we are sorry your plans were changed and you couldn't make the Southern Interagency Meeting. Your friend Mrs. Schwartz called and explained your difficulties. C'est le guerre.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
SOUTHEAST REGIONAL OFFICE
Room 714 Congress Bldg. • 111 N.E. 2nd Ave. • Miami 32, Florida • FR 9-6195

South Florida Council
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Chairman
LEON KRONISH
Co-Chairman

Women's Division
BEATRICE MUSKAT
President—Florida
DOROTHY FEINBERG
National Vice-President

HASKELL L. LAZERE
Regional Director

April 22, 1959

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

If present plans jell, I will arrive in Atlanta at 11:55 a.m. Tuesday morning, April 28th. I'm coming by Eastern Airlines, I believe. If its possible to have lunch with you so that we can discuss NAIRO and a few other items, it would be very nice.

See you next week.

Cordially,

Haskell

Haskell L. Lazere,
Regional Director

HLL:fk

P.S. I'm booked at the Piedmont,

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ISIDOR TEITELBAUM

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Leo Pfeffer

REGARDING:

Amer. Jewish Congress statements filed before Congressional committees in Washington.

1. Education Act Loyalty Oath - May 7, 1959
2. Federal Employees Security Program - May 12, 1959
3. Anti-Bombing Bills - May 13, 1959

(SEE)
NAME OR SUBJECT:

MM - Research Department files

CROSS REFERENCE SHEET

NAME OR SUBJECT:

Leo Pfeffer

REGARDING:

"Community Relations Councils

Blind copy

VIA AIR MAIL
Personal

May 26, 1959

COPY

Mr. Haskell L. Lazere
Regional Director
American Jewish Congress
Southeast Regional Office
Room 714 Congress Building
111 N. E. 2nd Avenue
Miami 32, Florida

Dear Haskell:

First, I want to be sure you understand the relationship between SRC and the Florida Council on Human Relations. Until about two years ago the Florida Council was affiliated with SRC; at that time, however, all of the state councils became independent. We continue to have a cooperative relationship, and SRC still provides some financial aid. One of the conditions of this aid is that the state organizations carry on program consistent with tax-exemption, including the prohibition on political activity. The Dade County Council is an affiliate of the Florida Council and, so long as this is true, the same conditions must apply to it, if SRC is to give financial assistance to the Florida Council.

The non-political requirement has been construed by our legal counsel to mean that no specific legislation or political candidate may be supported or opposed. Thus the organization may advocate preservation of public schools, compliance with desegregation rulings, or what not, but may not advocate passage or defeat of H.B. 127 or S.B. 426. So, the answer to your first question is that the Florida Council may not urge its members to work

against school-closing legislation. Groups that are tax-exempt because of their religious nature may enjoy more leeway, but "educational" organizations -- and particularly those without strong political influence -- have to toe the line.

As to your second question, it is our understanding that the Florida Council is committed to orderly desegregation. Our financial aid is not based on any condition that this policy be publicly reaffirmed at any given intervals. The important thing, from our point of view, is whether the program activities are directed toward, and consistent with, that objective. We expect and allow for wide latitude on the part of the leadership of the various state councils in formulating program and strategy. What is meaningful program in Kentucky may not be realistic in Alabama. I should think that the position of the Florida Council would be clearly in favor of desegregation, and that is what I'm given to understand. Given that commitment, however, it doesn't necessarily follow that advocacy on moral grounds should be the only -- or even the main -- public emphasis. The question is, what will be most effective?

Thirdly, the Florida Council and its affiliates can, separately or jointly with others, call on public officials to desegregate the public schools -- so long as no specific legislation is urged or opposed. There is no difference that I know of between unilateral action by the organization and action taken in conjunction with others.

I would welcome an opportunity to discuss the Dade County situation (and the Florida Council's role) with you in person, and I hope we can do that when we are together next. Meanwhile, however, rather than my calling, I think it would mean more if Paul Rilling (who is replacing Fred Routh on July 1) could visit Miami and talk with you and others there about these problems. Paul will be handling relations with the state councils, as well as field activities in general, and could give the matter more detailed attention and follow-through than I can at this point.

If you feel that this is too critical a situation to wait until Paul is on the job, please give me a call collect.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

SOUTHEAST REGIONAL OFFICE

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National Vice-President

HASKELL L. LAZERE
Regional Director

PERSONAL

May 19, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I would appreciate it very much if you could clarify to what extent the Florida Human Relations Council and/or the Dade County Council may become involved in opposing the legislative efforts to close the schools.

For example, may the Florida Council send communications to its membership alerting them to certain school bills which are pending and suggesting that they contact their legislators and write letters, etc., so that the measures may not pass and so that the schools may not be closed?

Secondly, what responsibility does the Florida and Dade County Councils have to continually take public positions in favor of desegregation and to oppose segregation?

Thirdly, may the Dade County Council or the Florida Council join with other agencies in endorsing a resolution calling upon the legislature and the governor to obey the law of the land and desegregate the public schools? Is this also to be contrued as legislative activity? Is there a difference between individual action on the part of the Councils and joining with other groups as a subsidiary signatory?

The above questions are prompted because of a number of instances which have disturbed me no little. There is no point in going into the details in a letter, but if you would care to call me, or if you would like to discuss this matter in person, I would like to do so the next time I'm in Atlanta.

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ISIDOR TEITELBAUM

As you may know, I undertook the coordination of our "Save Our Schools" campaign for the Dade County Council. I confess that the meetings I undertook personally were not simply "Save Our Schools" but were aimed at convincing people that there should be desegregation.

Please let me hear from you soon.

Cordially,

Haskell L. Lazere,
Regional Director

HLL:fk
cc: Fred Routh

BC and copy of Haskell ltr. to: Paul Rilling

VIA AIR MAIL
Personal

May 26, 1959

Mr. Haskell L. Lazere
Regional Director
American Jewish Congress
Southeast Regional Office
Room 714 Congress Building
111 N. E. 2nd Avenue
Miami 32, Florida

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against school-closing legislation. Groups that are tax-exempt because of their religious nature may enjoy more leeway, but "educational" organizations -- and particularly those without strong political influence -- have to toe the line.

As to your second question, it is our understanding that the Florida Council is committed to orderly desegregation. Our financial aid is not based on any condition that this policy be publicly reaffirmed at any given intervals. The important thing, from our point of view, is whether the program activities are directed toward, and consistent with, that objective. We expect and allow for wide latitude on the part of the leadership of the various state councils in formulating program and strategy. What is meaningful program in Kentucky may not be realistic in Alabama. I should think that the position of the Florida Council would be clearly in favor of desegregation, and that is what I'm given to understand. Given that commitment, however, it doesn't necessarily follow that advocacy on moral grounds should be the only -- or even the main -- public emphasis. The question is, what will be most effective?

Thirdly, the Florida Council and its affiliates can, separately or jointly with others, call on public officials to desegregate the public schools -- so long as no specific legislation is urged or opposed. There is no difference that I know of between unilateral action by the organization and action taken in conjunction with others.

I would welcome an opportunity to discuss the Dade County situation (and the Florida Council's role) with you in person, and I hope we can do that when we are together next. Meanwhile, however, rather than my calling, I think it would mean more if Paul Rilling (who is replacing Fred Routh on July 1) could visit Miami and talk with you and others there about these problems. Paul will be handling relations with the state councils, as well as field activities in general, and could give the matter more detailed attention and follow-through than I can at this point.

If you feel that this is too critical a situation to wait until Paul is on the job, please give me a call collect.

All the best.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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PERSONAL

May 19, 1959

Mr. Harold Fleming, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Harold:

I would appreciate it very much if you could clarify to what extent the Florida Human Relations Council and/or the Dade County Council may become involved in opposing the legislative efforts to close the schools.

For example, may the Florida Council send communications to its membership alerting them to certain school bills which are pending and suggesting that they contact their legislators and write letters, etc., so that the measures may not pass and so that the schools may not be closed?

Secondly, what responsibility does the Florida and Dade County Councils have to continually take public positions in favor of desegregation and to oppose segregation?

Thirdly, may the Dade County Council or the Florida Council join with other agencies in endorsing a resolution calling upon the legislature and the governor to obey the law of the land and desegregate the public schools? Is this also to be contrued as legislative activity? Is there a difference between individual action on the part of the Councils and joining with other groups as a subsidiary signatory?

The above questions are prompted because of a number of instances which have disturbed me no little. There is no point in going into the details in a letter, but if you would care to call me, or if you would like to discuss this matter in person, I would like to do so the next time I'm in Atlanta.

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As you may know, I undertook the coordination of our "Save Our Schools" campaign for the Dade County Council. I confess that the meetings I undertook personally were not simply "Save Our Schools" but were aimed at convincing people that there should be desegregation.

Please let me hear from you soon.

Cordially,

Haskell

Haskell L. Lazere,
Regional Director

HLL:fk
cc: Fred Routh

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RECEIVED JUL 6 1959

June 19, 1959

Dear Friend:

I am pleased to enclose a reprint of an article on church-state relations as they affect the Jewish community in the United States that appeared in the Jewish Journal of Sociology published in behalf of the World Jewish Congress in April, 1959.

This article is the text of an address delivered by Shad Polier on January 15, at the Conference of Jewish organizations held in London.

Cordially yours,

Leo Pfeffer

Leo Pfeffer

Encl.

OBSERVATIONS ON CHURCH-STATE PROBLEMS IN AMERICA AND THE INTEREST OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY

Shad Polier

INTRODUCTION

The newly approved Constitution of the Fifth French Republic declares, as its predecessor, that France is a laic or secular state. The American Constitution makes no similar declaration but achieves the same result by withholding from the central government any power to deal with religious affairs. This withholding, which is paralleled in the constitutions of all the individual states is, in any event, binding on the individual states under the Federal Constitution as interpreted by the Federal Supreme Court. For in the United States the ultimate determination of such political issues as the relationship of the individual states to the central government and the relationship of both the central government and the state governments to the citizens of the nation is a judicial matter for the courts generally and for the Federal Supreme Court in particular.

The framers of the Federal Constitution in 1787 contemplated that the general government would be secular. They manifested this, however, more by what they did not say than what they did. They simply refrained from conferring upon that government any power to deal with religious affairs. Indeed, they carefully refrained from even mentioning God in the Constitution. The only express reference to religion included in the text was a mandate that no religious tests should ever be required for service in the government, a prohibition which meant that not merely Roman Catholics or Jews but even atheists could legally be elected to the presidency of this overwhelmingly Protestant nation.

This negative inference was made express some four years after the Constitution was adopted. In 1791 a Bill of Rights was added to the Constitution. Its opening words were: 'Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.' This provision was really little more than a formal statement of what the great pamphleteer and fighter for liberty, Tom Paine, had said in Common Sense some fifteen years earlier: 'As to religion, I hold it to be the indispensable duty of government to protect all conscientious professors thereof, and I know of no other business which government hath to do therewith.'

In 1947 and again in 1948 the Supreme Court spelled out in some detail what the Constitutional provision meant. This is the most authoritative exposition which we have and therefore merits quotation in full. The Court said:

> The 'establishment of religion' clause of the First Amendment means at least this: Neither a state nor the Federal Government can set up a church. Neither can pass laws which aid one religion, aid all religions, or prefer one religion over another. Neither can force nor influence a person to go to or remain away from church against his will or force him to profess a disbelief or disbelief in any religion. No person can be punished for entertaining or professing religious beliefs or disbeliefs, for church attendance or non-attendance. No tax in any amount, large or small, can be levied to support any religious activities or institutions, whatever they may be called, or whatever form they may adopt to teach or practice religion. Neither a state nor the Federal Government can, openly or secretly, participate in the affairs of any religious organizations or groups and vice versa. In the words of Jefferson, 'the clause against establishment of religion by law was intended to erect a wall of separation between church and State' (Mr. Justice Black, Everson v. Board of Education, 330 U.S.1, 15-16).

In short, the United States Constitution imposes upon our governments, Federal and state, an obligation of neutrality -- not merely neutrality as among competing faiths and sects, but also a neutrality as between religion and non-religion.

How has this legal 'wall of separation' affected the Jewish community and Jewish rights in the United States? Before I offer an overall general answer to the question, I think it advisable to consider the operation of the principle of separation of church and state in six specific areas which particularly concern the Jewish community. These are: (1) the role of religion in public education; (2) governmental financial support of private religious education; (3) governmental supervision and control of private religious education; (4) the exclusion of religious schools and houses of worship from particular communities or particular districts within a community; (5) compulsory Sunday observance laws; (6) humane slaughtering legislation.

RELIGION IN PUBLIC EDUCATION

Religious instruction in state schools is found in the overwhelming majority of countries throughout the world. Indeed, it is found even in some Communist countries -- such as Poland and Hungary -- not withstanding the orthodox Marxist doctrine that looks at religion as an evil to be eradicated.

In the United States the state schools -- known as public schools -- originally developed out of Protestant religious schools. Even they were taken over by the state and local civil authorities shortly after the founding of the Republic towards the end of the eighteenth century, they still retained their Protestant orientation. However, during the second quarter of the nineteenth century they began to be transformed into secular schools. This came about as a result of a number of factors, the two most important being the general secularization of American society on the one

hand, and on the other the increasing influx of Roman Catholics, particularly from Ireland. Both groups, the secularists and the Roman Catholics, fought against Protestant teachings in the public schools.

Surprisingly, the struggle was a comparatively short one. In less than a score of years after it was launched it achieved success with the general acceptance of the principle that the public schools should be non-sectarian. By the end of the third quarter of the nineteenth century there was hardly a state which did not by its laws or constitutional provisions require that the public schools be completely non-sectarian.

Nevertheless, religious instruction did continue in some public schools. In some communities the continuance was justified on the ground that since the instruction was not compulsory, and Catholic and Jewish children could be excused from participating if their parents requested it, the non-sectarianism of the school was not violated. In others, an effort at fairness was made by opening the schools to Catholic and Jewish teaching as well; by permitting each of the three major faiths to conduct classes for their children in the public schools, it was felt that there could be no legitimate complaint.

In 1948 the legality of the latter system was presented to the United States Supreme Court for consideration. A community in the mid-west had inaugurated a programme under which one day each week the children in the public schools were divided into three groups, Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish, and each group was taught its respective religion by a minister, priest, or rabbi. (After the programme had been in effect for a short time, the local Jewish community decided to give it up, so that thereafter only Protestant and Catholic instruction was given.) Technically, attendance

was not compulsory and if a parent wished his child to have no religious education, he could so indicate to the authorities and the child would be excused from attending. However, as a matter of fact, very few parents exercised this option.

The Supreme Court in 1948 declared the programme unconstitutional. In effect, the Court held that it is not enough for the public schools to be multi-sectarian; they must be non-sectarian, or, perhaps more accurately, they must be secular. And it makes no difference whether the religious instruction is compulsory or voluntary; it may not be conducted within the public schools under the auspices of the school authorities.

This decision was hailed by the entire Jewish community. Indeed, when the case was before the Court, all the leading American Jewish organizations, religious and secular, presented a brief to the Court urging it to declare the programme unconstitutional. On the other hand, the Catholic Church and perhaps the majority of the Protestant denominations attacked the decision, declaring that its effect was anti-religious. For the past decade most of the Christian religious organizations in the United States have been waging a campaign to bring religion back to the public schools. Opposing them are most of the secular organizations concerned with public education or with civil liberties and practically the whole of the Jewish community. (It should not, however, be supposed that the Christian community is united on the question; there is a significant number of Protestant -- though no Catholic -- organizations that strongly believe in the continued secularity of public education.)

It would be hardly accurate to suggest that American public schools are completely devoid of religious content or atmosphere. Notwithstanding the Supreme Court's decision, one can find some religious practices in most

public schools. There are thousands of public schools throughout the nation, and there is no practicable way to police them all so as to assure their abiding by the Court's decision. Hence, while out and out religious instruction in public schools is rare, lesser religious observances are by no means uncommon. For example, recitation of a prayer is a frequent practice. In schools where there are a substantial number of Jewish children, non-Christological prayers are chosen; but even here, the 'Lord's Prayer', taken from the New Testament, is often included on the assumption that it is non-sectarian since it does not mention Jesus. So too, it is a common practice in many communities to read several verses from the Bible daily. Here too, in schools where there is a substantial number of Jewish children, it is the usual practice to select verses from the Old Testament -- generally Psalms. The singing of hymns, particularly during the Christmas season, is likewise a widespread practice. All in all, however, it may fairly be said that the American public school is a secular school, at least in comparison with state schools in most other parts of the world.

GOVERNMENT SUPPORT OF PRIVATE RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS

The United States, too, is one of the few nations where tax-raised funds are not used in direct support of religious practices or worship. Even in Hungary and other East European Communist countries priests and religious teachers receive salaries from the state. Except in the case of chaplains in governmental institutions -- such as the army, governmental hospitals, and prisons -- this practice is unknown in the United States. There can be no doubt that any Federal or state law appropriating a sum of money for payment of the salaries of clergymen or religious teachers or for the general

maintenance of religious schools would be held unconstitutional by the United States Supreme Court. Actually, the constitution or laws of every one of the 48 states expressly prohibit the direct appropriation of tax-raised funds for religion or religious schools.

This situation came about as part of the development which led to the secularization of the American public educational system. The primary purpose of Roman Catholic opposition to sectarian Protestantism in the public schools was not the removal of that Protestantism, but the removal of Catholic children. Their goal was the erection of a parallel Catholic parochial school system for all Catholic children. This could be affected only if schools in which Catholicism was taught would share in governmental funds with schools in which Protestantism was taught. The Catholic Church therefore demanded not that Protestantism be eliminated from the public schools, but that Catholic schools too receive public funds and thus become part of the general public school system.

To this the Protestants and secularists refused to agree. The alliance of secularism and Catholicism was sufficiently strong to require modification of the existing system towards the middle of the nineteenth century. But the secularists then shifted to form an alliance with Protestantism so that the modification should not be in the form so ardently desired by the Catholic Church. Instead, Protestantism accepted the secularization of the public school system in return for the adoption in the states of constitutional provisions and laws prohibiting appropriation of public funds for religious schools.

As a result of these laws and of the decision of the United States Supreme Court quoted above, we have not had in this country the situation

that prevails in Quebec, where there are no secular schools but only Protestant and Catholic schools with Jewish children attending the Protestant schools. Nor have we had the experience of the Netherlands where the opening of the public schools led to the situation prevailing today in which there are more confessional schools than public schools. Nor have we had the experience of Belgium where governments stand and fall on the acrimoniously contested issue of whether they have been niggardly or over-generous in the amounts appropriated to confessional schools.

In recent years, however, we have begun to encounter this acrimony and bitterness, and this bringing of religion into the public arena. The Catholic Church has never conceded the justice of the compromise under which neither public schools nor public funds could be used for religious education. It is at present engaged in a tremendous school building expansion programme, and it is highly doubtful that its goal of enrolling all Catholic children in Catholic schools can be achieved without public funds. It is accordingly exerting increasing pressure for the adoption of laws, both Federal and state, under which public funds would be appropriated to finance those aspects of parochial school education that do not appear to be specifically religious -- e.g. the transport of the children to the schools, or the purchase of secular text-books and school equipment and supplies.

The Jewish community, too, is rapidly expanding its religious school system, in respect to both after-hour schools (a system which in the United States seems to be unique to the Jewish community) and all day schools or yeshivoth. The Jewish community, however, appears willing to carry by itself the financial burden of its religious school system. There is no significant voice within the Jewish community calling for the use of

governmental funds to finance Jewish education or Jewish schools. Indeed, all Jewish organizations in the United States -- secular or religious -- that have spoken on the issue have unanimously and unqualifiedly expressed their opposition to the appropriation of tax-raised funds for religion or religious education.

STATE CONTROL OF RELIGIOUS EDUCATION

An act of Congress or of a state legislature appropriating public funds for religious schools would be an unconstitutional law respecting an establishment of religion. An act of Congress or of a state legislature prohibiting or unreasonably restricting religious schools would be equally unconstitutional as a law prohibiting the free exercise of religion. The same Constitution that forbids the government to aid religion forbids it to hamper it. The Constitution requires neutrality on the part of the government with respect to religion.

This was made clear in an historic decision of the United States Supreme Court handed down in 1925. During and shortly after the First World War, our country experienced a wave of extreme nationalism and xenophobia. It was during this period that Congress enacted the restrictive immigration law which effectively halted the flow of immigration to this country. And it was during this period that a number of states sought by law to abolish the various foreign language and private parochial schools and to require all children to receive their education exclusively in state schools. Such a law was enacted in Oregon.

The Supreme Court handed down a decision that may properly be called the Magna Carta of the parochial school system, just as the 1948 decision

outlawing religious instruction in the public schools may properly be called the Magna Carta of the secular school system. Parents, said the Court, cannot be compelled to send their children only to state schools, particularly where (as in the case of Catholic parents) their religious convictions prohibit the children from receiving their secular education independently of religious education. States may provide public schools where children can receive a secular education free of cost -- if their parents so desire it; but the children cannot be forced to receive that education in public schools, and the parents cannot be compelled to send them to the public schools.

But, while the state cannot compel children to receive a secular education exclusively in state schools, it can require them to receive a secular education either under public or private auspices. This was decided by the Supreme Court a few years ago. A small but extremely religious chasidic group established a yeshivah in Brooklyn in a section reminiscent of the Polish ghetto. In this yeshivah the children learned only Torah and Talmudic subjects. No secular subjects were taught; and indeed, no English was spoken, the languages of instruction being exclusively Yiddish and Hebrew. The children attended no other schools, but studied at the yeshivah daily from morning to evening.

The parents of the children were prosecuted for violating the law requiring all children to receive a minimum secular education. They claimed that the law was unconstitutional in that it violated their religious freedom because under their interpretation of the Jewish religion it was forbidden to study secular subjects. All the courts that considered the case -- from the lowest children's court to the United States Supreme Court -- over-

ruled their contention. They all held that the religious freedom of the parents must yield to the paramount needs of the general community, which include a citizenry that has received at least a minimum secular education.

The effect of this decision is to empower government officials to supervise the operation of Catholic parochial and Jewish day schools, where both secular and religious education are given to the extent necessary to insure that the children receive the required secular education. Since education in the United States is primarily a matter of state rather than national concern, the amount of such government supervision varies from state to state. In no state, however, has this been a matter of serious concern to the Jewish community. With the exception of such rare and atypical instances as the Brooklyn yeshivah referred to above, the standards of instruction in Jewish day schools compare favourably with those prevailing in public schools, and the state's power of supervision has not to any noticeable extent interfered with the operation of Jewish day schools.

ZONING RESTRICTIONS ON RELIGIOUS BUILDINGS

The power of a state to regulate and supervise education in religious schools is limited to the secular education given there. But the overwhelming majority of Jewish religious schools in the United States do not give any secular education. The children attending them receive their secular education in public schools and attend the Jewish schools after public school hours and on Sunday. The religious education given in these schools is completely exempt from state supervision or control.

But the buildings in which this education is given are not exempt from state supervision and control. The state has the power -- and indeed the

duty -- to require that the buildings shall be safe for the children attending them; that the buildings shall be fireproof, shall have a sufficient number of exits, shall be well-constructed, shall be free of rodents and vermin and otherwise sanitary, etc.

However, here too state regulation and control has been no problem to the Jewish community. The physical aspect of Jewish schools are almost universally far above the minimum standards required by law. The Jewish community has been more than willing to expend the funds required to protect the safety and health of their children in religious schools.

The Jewish community has also been quite willing to comply with the aesthetic views of the community in which its religious schools are established. It has been willing to erect religious school buildings and synagogues that conform to the general architectural pattern of the community, and to make sure that there is adequate room to park cars and thus avoid congesting the surrouding streets.

In most places this willingness of the Jewish community to comply with local building standards has proved sufficient and the Jewish community has experienced no difficulty in erecting new synagogues and religious school buildings. In some towns and villages, however, this has not been the case. Zoning ordinances have been adopted with the view of excluding houses of worship and religious schools entirely from the community, or relegating them to the industrial and less desirable sections of the town. The present trend of Jews away from the cities into neighbouring suburbs -- thus requiring the erection of new synagogues and religious schools -- has made this an increasingly serious problem.

It must be noted that rarely are these exclusionary ordinances motivated

by anti-Semitism. Rarely are they discriminatory against Jews; almost invariably they apply equally to new Christian churches and religious schools. They are enacted simply because the local residents wish to preserve the exclusively residential character of the district or town and object to additional communal buildings.

The constitutionality of these exclusionary zoning ordinances has never been the subject of a definitive decision by the United States Supreme Court. It has been considered by many state courts. Most of these have held such laws to be unconstitutional infringements on religious freedom and have declared them void. A minority of state courts has upheld them. Ultimately, the final word will be given by the Supreme Court.

SUNDAY LAWS AND SABBATH OBSERVERS

Exclusionary zoning ordinances operate most seriously against Orthodox Jews. Reform and most Conservative Jews use automobiles on the Sabbath, and therefore an ordinance which puts a considerable distance between their homes and their synagogues is mainly an inconvenience. To the Orthodox Jew who must walk to his synagogue on the Sabbath and holy days such an ordinance is a serious restriction upon his freedom of religion.

Sunday laws, too, operate principally against Orthodox Jews. With the exception of a few states on the West Coast, all American states have laws prohibiting or restricting business and trade on Sunday, the Christian Sabbath. In a number, persons observing a day other than Sunday as their religious day of rest -- primarily Jews, but also Seventh Day Adventists -- are exempt from these laws, and may conduct their business on Sundays, provided they refrain from engaging in business on Saturdays. Most states,

however, do not have such exemptions or have severely limited exemptions. In these states, Orthodox Jews suffer a serious economic handicap. Their religion requires them to keep their shops closed on Saturdays; the state law requires them to keep them closed also on Sundays.

A few years ago the constitutionality of these Sunday laws was attacked by two Orthodox Jews who operated small kosher butcher shops in the predominantly Jewish section of New York City. They claimed that the laws violated their religious freedom by imposing an economic hardship upon their conforming to their religious conscience. The New York courts refused to accept their contention and the United States Supreme Court refused to upset the state courts' decision.

After this decision was announced, the Jewish community of New York -- more than half of the Jews in the United States live in New York State -- launched a concerted drive to have the state's Sunday law amended so as to exempt persons observing a day other than Sunday as their religious day of rest. Unfortunately, this campaign has so far proved unsuccessful. The reason has been the unyielding opposition of the Catholic Church. The Protestant Church groups have recognized the justice of the Jews' complaint and have endorsed the proposed amendment. But the Catholic Church has been uncompromising in its opposition, and it exerts considerable political power in New York, with the result that it has succeeded in defeating all attempts to provide relief to Sabbath-observing Orthodox Jews.

HUMANE SLAUGHTERING LEGISLATION

Another law which the Orthodox deem a threat to their religious freedom was recently enacted by Congress. European Jewish communities have had long experience with laws requiring the humane slaughter of animals for food.

The first such law in the United States was enacted by Congress a few months ago.

When the measure was first introduced a few years ago, most of the Jewish community, Orthodox as well as Conservative and Reform, and Jewish secular organizations, felt that the measure should not be opposed. Their view was that all that rightfully could be asked was that the measure contain adequate protection for shechitah, the Jewish ritual method of slaughtering animals. The sponsors of the measure were quite willing to write into it all necessary provisions to protect shechitah. One small element of Orthodox Judaism, however, urged opposition to the measure entirety. It argued on the basis of European experience that if the measure were adopted it would be an opening wedge and that in time efforts would be made to eliminate the exemption. This wing of Orthodoxy -- consisting of the older Yiddish-speaking, European-trained rabbinate -- succeeded in converting the other Orthodox groups to its position. The result was a split in the Jewish community; the Orthodox urged opposition to all humane slaughtering legislation; the Conservative and Reform argued for the safeguarding of shechitah by an adequately drafted exemption in the measure.

Despite the strenuous opposition of the Orthodox community, the measure was enacted by Congress and approved by the President. The measure as enacted identifies shechitah as humane and contains an exemption which even the Orthodox agree adequately protects shechitah. There remains, however, their fear that in time the forces behind the humane slaughtering amendment will initiate a campaign to repeal the exemption and thus outlaw shechitah in the United States.

CONCLUSION

These, then, have been the experiences of the Jewish community in six specific areas of the relationship of religion and government in the United States. There are many other arenas of conflict, competition, misunderstanding and of co-operation. Some impinge directly on the nerve of Jewish sensibility; others seem peripheral only because they affect the status of the Jew as an American citizen vitally concerned with the doctrine of separation and all that it implies.

It would be untrue to contend that the Jewish community has a unanimous view on all issues. There are disagreements as to policy and more frequently there are disagreements as to strategy. Some Jewish organizations emphasize principle, others emphasize public relations. Each issue in and of itself reveals variations in the tactics and position of the organized spokesmen for the Jewish community. There is extensive machinery for co-ordination and for the exchange of views in an effort to arrive at common positions. There is co-operation between the secular organizations, the synagogues, and the rabbinic groups. The co-operation could be more intensive and more effective, but it is not altogether absent.

How have the activities of the Jewish community affected its relationship with the Christian community? The principle of separation of church and state is essentially the Protestant contribution to American political thinking. It is too early to tell whether the changing demographic picture of America and the profound influence of religious conformism will alter the alliance of forces for or against the maintenance of this principle. The relationship between the Jewish community and the Protestant community is by and large a healthy one, and even where differences occur these are the

subject of civil debate. Where differences occur with the Catholic community, they do not find only the Jew and the Catholic in contention. The overwhelming portion of Protestant community finds itself in intellectual agreement with the Jewish position. Here and there Protestantism and its myriad sects are ambivalent, but the central position of the Protestant Church finds itself allied with the Jewish position. While 'the competition of creeds' may yet produce hostility and acrimony, it is fair to say that it is a subject debated in the market place of free ideas.

How does the Jewish community view the experiment of separation of church and state and religious freedom that has evolved in the United States? There can hardly be any doubt as to the answer. Despite the comparatively minor hardships and inconveniences indicated above, the American experiment has proved to be a tremendous benefit to the American Jewish community. Perhaps more than any other group in the United States -- certainly more than any other religious group -- American Judaism is committed to the principle of separation of church and state and religious freedom as written into our Constitution and declared by our Supreme Court.

answered by JC 7/6/59

SOUTHWEST AREA OFFICE

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

GUSTAVE F. FALK
Area Director

523 FIDELITY BLDG.
DALLAS 2, TEXAS
Tel. RIverside 7-2830

July 3, 1959

Mr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

If feasible, please send me 5 to 10 copies of the reprint from the Nashville Tennessean of May 31, 1959 on the item "Little Rock Batting Zero - New Factories Thing of Past in Little Rock".

I would like to show this material to some of the leading businessmen in Houston and Dallas, pointing out the industrial losses resulting from the desegregation issue.

Cordially,

Gustave F. Falk
Area Director

GFF:EF

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NATIONAL OFFICE: 386 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

July 20, 1959

Mr. Joseph B. Robison
American Jewish Congress
Stephen Wise Congress House
15 East 84th Street
New York 28, New York

Dear Mr. Robison:

The prospect of attending the NAIRO conference in San Juan is a tempting one, and your kind invitation to take part in the program makes it more so. Regretfully, however, I must decline. Not only is our travel budget sorely strained, by we have several important meetings scheduled for October that would make it virtually impossible for me to be away.

Please accept my thanks for the invitation and my very best wishes for the success of the conference.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming,
Executive Director

P.S. -- I failed to mention that Fred Routh's impending accession to the presidency added powerfully to the temptation. As a poor alternative to being represented, we will communicate our pride and congratulations to the conference.

HCF/sl

RECEIVED JUL 13 1959

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WILL MASLOW, General Counsel

July 10, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The NAIRO Department of National Private Services is setting up the two sessions it will conduct at the 1959 NAIRO Conference in San Juan. The first, from 4:30 to 6:00 P.M., Tuesday, October 13, will be a discussion of the major presentation on "The Decade Ahead" at the General Session at lunch that day. We have decided to break this up into three topics, Federal Legislation, State Anti-Discrimination Laws and Southern Laws to Prevent Desegregation. On each of these three topics we will have a speaker and a discussant. Between them they will cover significant developments during the last year, a prognosis of the problems immediately ahead and program suggestions for the national private agencies.

We are particularly anxious to have you serve as the discussant of the third point. This involves no preparation on your part except making the appropriate plane and hotel reservations. Let me know as soon as you can whether we can count on you.

Yours sincerely,

Joseph B. Robison

JBR:aw

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September 4, 1959

Mr. Paul Rilling
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I'm taking you up on your offer to make a reservation for me at the Piedmont Hotel. If you can get me a nice room for about no more than eight bucks I will appreciate it. Naturally, I expect radio, TV and hot and cold running chambermaids.

I also would like to have an appointment with Ralph McGill when I'm in Atlanta. If you could be helpful in that respect I would appreciate it. I'm enclosing a copy of the letter which I'm sending him today so that you might use your substantial influence in my behalf.

I look forward to seeing you and thanks for everything.

Cordially,

Haskell

Haskell L. Lazere,
Regional Director

HLL:fk
Encl.

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September 4, 1959

Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor
Atlanta Constitution
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. McGill:

I would very much appreciate the opportunity of seeing you and talking with you on my next trip to Atlanta, if it meets with your convenience. I will arrive in Atlanta about mid-day September 14th and depart early evening September 16th. Any time in that period when you have the time, I would be most grateful for the chance to meet with you.

For purposes of identification, let me tell you that as regional director for the American Jewish Congress I service the states of Alabama, Georgia and Florida. We are currently involved in some educational projects, particularly in Florida where school integration is about to take place in the Miami area, which may be of considerable interest to you.

I hope you will have the time to see me and I would appreciate an early reply.

Sincerely yours,

Haskell L. Lazere,
Regional Director

HLL:fk

cc(blind) Paul Rilling

GREATER MIAMI CHAPTER

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

SATELLITE

VOLUME 2 | OCTOBER, 1959 | NUMBER 8

Published monthly for ten months as a newsletter by the Greater Miami Chapter of the American Jewish Committee, 1208 Congress Building, Miami, Florida.

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ALLEN I. FREEHLING

Local AJC Proposal Wins State-Wide Approval

May Go Before White House Conference

Bring in Two New Members

WHEEL OF FORTUNE SPINS TRIP TO NASSAU

The Membership Committee, under the able and energetic chairmanship of Mrs. Peritz (Dollye) Scheinberg, has set its sights on at least 100 additional members before the November Annual Meeting.

As an incentive for all of us, Dollye has announced that all who bring in at least two new members prior to the 15th of November will be given a chance on the Wheel of Fortune that will spin out a FREE TRIP FOR TWO to Nassau, including transportation, food and hotel accomodations.

To be eligible, all you have to do is call the AJC Chapter Office, FR 3-4749, ask for application cards and return them to the office, filled out of course, before the 15th of next month. Dollye and her two cohorts in this project, Mrs. Al (Lilly) Stone and Mrs. Samuel G. (Sadie) Kling will see that a chance on the Wheel of Fortune is given to you before the wheel is spun at the Annual Meeting.

Get busy now and line up your new members. Remember, you may be the lucky one to take that fabulous trip to Nassau.

AJC Youth Committee Reports

OUR PLAN GIVEN STATE-WIDE HEARING

(The Youth Committee, led by James R. Katzman, is making a major contribution to the successful State-wide planning which will precede next year's White House Conference on Children and Youth. To bring you up to date, Jim Katzman prepared the following resume. Ed.)

Our AJC Chapter's Youth Committee sent delegates to two sessions at Tallahassee, on August 17th and October 1st. In doing so, we have become one of 100 cooperating agencies and organizations preparing for Florida's participation in the up-coming White House Conference.

Before going further, I particularly want to pay special tribute to Jerome C. Hofmayer, Babette Ackerman and Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Klein, whose work on a sub-committee, which ultimately proposed recommendations that the Chapter leadership adopted and implemented, may long be remembered.

In essence, we proposed to the State gathering that the President of the United States proclaim a National "Bill of Rights Year". If accepted, this would provide the basis for a nationwide rededication and reexamination of our present strengths and deficiencies as related to the ideal concepts of a free society.

At the August meeting, there was a disinclination to discuss the subject of intergroup relations. In fact, its absence was more conspicuous by the void rather than the breach. The two-day October session provided something different. Fortunately, the format of the White House Conference has been handed down, including the topic "Inter-Group Experience."

I requested and received an assignment to the sub-committee that would study Florida's proposals in this area. (Jim was later named chairman of the group). The subcommittee expressed itself on the many aspects of inter-racial and inter-religious relations in the South, with special emphasis on Florida.

A single recommendation came out of the conference, the one originally proposed by our Chapter's Youth Committee. Happily, I can report to you that this proposal was accepted and approved unanimously and with much enthusiasm. It highlighted the entire conference.

Now, our recommendation moves on to the national stage. You may be certain that this Chapter's representation will put forth every effort to the end that this fundamental concept of liberty and justice will represent part of Florida's resolve and contribution to the 1960 White House Conference of Children and Youth.

It is our firm conviction that through the President's proclaiming a National Bill of Rights Year, the nation will best be able to achieve

(Please turn to page 3)

An Editorial

A TIME FOR ACTION

As Henrik Ibsen once wrote: "A community is like a ship; every one ought to be prepared to take the helm." We agree. Further, we say that this is a time for action by all of those who have shown interest in the AJCommittee.

As you read these few words, many of your fellow AJCites are deeply immersed in rewarding activities, rewarding for them as individuals and rewarding for the community they serve. These members, and you read about them regularly, as they throw themselves into project after project, have been prepared to take the helm. But, what about you?

Have you done more than simply sending in your membership dues to AJC this year? Have you thought about increasing your dues contribution, in the face of the additional load that AJC has taken on, both locally and nationally?

Have you responded to our pleas by bringing your many friends into the AJC fold? Have you volunteered to serve on committees, so that others may take advantage of your point of view? Have you thought about your obligations and responsibilities to the community, which has been so good to you, and, after seeing the crying need for fresh leadership, have you stepped forward, not as a critic, but as a worker with an objective plan at hand?

If you have, then this editorial is not for you—you're doing your share and we all owe you our deepest thanks. However, if you, like so many of us, haven't pitched in to do all that is possible to help AJC reach its many and varied goals, we urge that you begin to do so now.

You'll never regret it, that's for sure!

University of Miami Announces

INSTITUTE ON MIDDLE EAST AFFAIRS

Dr. Peritz Scheinberg, chairman of our Foreign Affairs Committee has asked that we bring to your attention the University of Miami's Institute on Middle East Affairs, which will be conducted in the UM's Beaumont Lecture Hall the evenings of November 9, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23 and 24.

Dr. Charles Issawi of Columbia University will discuss Middle East economics; Dr. Marver H. Bernstein of Princeton will speak on Israel and the Middle East; Dr. Nasrollah S. Fatemi of Fairleigh Dickinson University will lecture on Middle Eastern cultures and religions; Dr. Paul L. Hanna of the University of Florida will speak of governments of the Middle East; and Dr. William B. Munson, director of the Institute from the University of Miami will conclude with lectures dealing with the strategic role of the Middle East during the current East-West tug of Cold War.

The AJCommittee, naturally, is vitally interested in the success of this Institute, as it is in all situations where the community's interests and knowledge is broadened. With that in mind, we urge our members to attend the Institute.

Complete registration information is available at the Evening Division Office at the University of Miami, MO 1-2511.

From "Let's Be Human"

A SINGLE WORD

"Tell us in a single word what is the most important thing in American civilization." This was the task posed for educator Max Lerner by a Polish journalist in Warsaw last year. A dozen responses ran through Lerner's head. Liberty - Equality - Democracy - Tolerance - but none of them seemed exactly right. Finally, thinking furiously, Lerner heard himself say, "Acess."

"We have heard of American **"success,"** said the Polish writer, "but never of American **access.** What is that?"

"Our Declaration of Independence," replied Lerner, "says that men are born free and equal. Actually, we know they are born very unequal, for they may have unequal potential. But, we believe all youngsters should have equal **access** to opportunities to develop the potentials they have. In this sense, **access** is the key to our society."

Chapter Notes From Here and There

East-West Relations Covered

In addition to the discussion groups fully covered elsewhere, we want to congratulate Elaine and Alfred Boaz for the stimulating meeting they hosted, which brought William Gaither, prominent Miami attorney who went behind the Iron Curtain with Ralph Renick and others recently, and a group of AJC members together to discuss the implications of Mr. Khrushchev's visit to the United States.

Mark November 22 Down Now

Here's another reminder that the Chapter's Annual Dinner is slated for Sunday, November 22nd. We'll have all the details in next month's issue. For now, all we ask is that you circle the date on your calendar and make plans to attend the affair with all your friends.

How About Leading A Discussion Group?

One of the backbones of any successful organization is the full participation of all its members. For AJC, the many discussion groups that are pinpointed by geographical distribution around South Florida serve a great purpose. There are still some areas that are yet uncovered. Also, there are some groups that are growing too big and should be divided to give everyone an equal chance to contribute. We're looking for additional group coordinators. Can we count on you? If so, please either call the office or Groups chairman Roddy Rood, HI 3-1470.

Thank You For Your Greetings

In response to your many kindnesses, the Officers, Board Members and Staff all join in extending their best wishes for a Happy New Year to you and your loved ones.

Jewish Attitudes Survey

TRAINING SESSION FOR INTERVIEWERS

Charles Finkelstein, chairman of the Jewish Attitudes Survey has announced that plans have been completed for a training session for all interviewers.

The survey will endeavor to learn more about what Jews in Greater Miami think about themselves as Jews, Judaism itself, matters of Jewish interest and organization, their relationships to non-Jewish neighbors, anti-Semitism and similar subjects. This information will be obtained through a series of interviews with a selected sample of Dade County Jews.

For those interested in becoming a part of this exciting team effort, either call the office or co-chairman Frances Lehman, UN 6-0592.

Two Discussion Groups Under Way

Stuart Simon On Religious Practices In Schools

Dr. and Mrs. Jerome A. Kramer played host for the fall's initial meeting of the South West Miami discussion group.

Choosing the topic "Should We Sanction Religious Practices in the Public Schools?" Stuart Simon was asked to lead the lively and interesting exchange of ideas.

Stuart, whom you will recall wrote of the Chamberlain Case in the last issue of the Satellite, brought the group up to date. The chairman of our Civil Rights Committee explained the grounds upon which the suit had been filed in the Circuit Court.

Group reactions varied—from the complete elimination of all religious practices in the public schools to the continuation of all such practices. Some felt that since we do live in a predominately Christian society, this exposure is not harmful but simply makes our childhren aware of differences which exist.

Others strongly felt that this exposure to difference was harmful, partiuclarly during the Christmas and Easter seasons. A favorable solution hit upon by many would be the elimination of specific approaches in favor of an emphasis on the more general aspects of the religions that have a common end. This may be ideal, but the group recognized that it did not seem to be a realistic approach.

The South West Miami discussion group will next meet on October 28th. If you live in this section, call the Office for details.

Dr. Alan A. Lipton On Securing Children From Prejudice

With forty AJC members on hand at the home of Natalie and Mel Frumkes, Dr. Alan A. Lipton, professor of psychiatry at the University of Miami said that the roots of prejudice in children militates against a good adjustment to life. He said that frequently the prejudiced child is hurt more and suffers longer than the target of the prejudice.

A member of the discussion group amazed the others when she related an example of prejudice in her two and a half year old child. No punches were pulled as the group explored its own prejudices, bigotries that would cloud their coping with meeting prejudicial problems which their children would face.

Mel Frumkes reports that a great deal of enthusiasm in this particular subject was generated. Before moving on to another topic, the group will next discuss the ways in which we should handle a prejudicial situation when our children meet it and, further, the best method of fortifying our children against such an eventuality.

Those members living in the South Biscayne Bay area, wishing to attend the October 21st session, should call the AJC Office at once.

Local AJC News Bits

HAVE YOU HEARD . . .

That Shepard Broad, while in Europe with his wife this summer, met with Catholic leaders in Rome and discussed the Pro Deo program of Social Studies, a project in which AJC has taken an active role . . .

That Charles Friedlander is handling all the public relations activities of our Annual Meeting . .

That Jack I. Green is deeply involved, along with his committee, in planning the best workshops possible as a part of the November 22nd affair . . .

That Laura Berns will chair the Annual Meeting's Hostesses Committee, while Mrs. James (Roz) Kadzman and Mrs. Herbert (Lois) Mathes are co-chairing the Arrangements Committee . . .

That the following have recently joined AJC and are warmly welcomed by all the Chapter membership: Mr. and Mrs. Benjamin Binder, Mr. and Mrs. Herbert C. Bloom, Siegfried Geismar, Jay B. Hess, Dr. and Mrs. Solomon Kann, Mr. and Mrs. Alfred Karg, Dr. and Mrs. Arthur L. Kaufman, Mr. and Mrs. Henry Kaufman, Mr. and Mrs. Samuel G. Kling, Mr. and Mrs. Sidney L. Lewis, Mr. and Mrs. Sidney Rosenberg, Mr. and Mrs. Sidney J. Rudolph, Arnold Scher, Mr. and Mrs. Sidney W. Smith, Mr. and Mrs. Herbert L. Sobel, Mr. and Mrs. N. W. Winokur and Samuel Wolf.

National News Notes

MILESTONES

On August 24, AJC moved its National headquarters to its beautiful new home, the Institute of Human Relations, 165 East 56th St., New York 22, N Y. The $2,500,000 eight-story glass and marble structure is, in Dr. John Slawson's words, "a physical symbol of society's mounting concern with human relations." Dedicated to man's understanding of his fellow man, the Institute will be a unique center for research and education and for diversified programs in the field of intergroup relations dealing with the sources of racial and religious conflict. Its facilities will be used by scholars, religious and communal leaders, educators and opinion molders throughout this country and abroad. In addition to serving the Committee's permanent headquarters, the Institute of Human Relations will house the New York Chapter of the AJC, Community Relations Service, National Labor Service, American Jewish Year Book, Commentary Magazine, all part of the catalogue of AJC services.

A footnote on progress: in 1906, AJC's first office was located in the Hebrew Charities Bldg. at 356 Second Avenue. Its paid staff consisted of one secretary who was later joined by a single clerical aide. Currently more than 26,000 men and women in 44 chapters in 600 American communities are AJC members and the Committee maintains offices in Paris and Buenos Aires, correspondents in a number of European countries, North Africa, Israel.

* * *

ON THE CAMPUS

AJC will cooperate with Civic Education Centers of **Tufts University** in a series of conferences aimed at analyzing and seeking remedies for apparent widespread apathy of American youth to the protection of individual liberties....Now in the planning stage is the second annual **Four C's Conference** forum on intergroup and interreligious relations with participants chosen by three outstanding magazines, Christian Century (Protestant), Commonweal (Catholic), and AJC's Commentary—under the auspices of Columbia University's School of Journalism . . Yale University Press will publish first findings of research conducted by the **Yale Divinity School,** in cooperation with the AJC, on the extent of prejudicial material contained in Protestant lesson materials and texts . . **Hillel Foundation** questionnaire, prepared with AJC cooperation, has been distributed to gather data for a study of religious practices at 78 publicly-supported colleges and universities. AJC will collate material when all responses are received.

LOCAL AJC PROPOSAL WINS

(Continued from page 1)

the goals which prompted the calling of the Conference; i.e. "To promote the opportunities for children and youth to realize their full potential for a creative life in freedom and dignity."

AJC Praised

School Calendars Again Distributed

As an annual gesture of community understanding, the local AJC Chapter again made available its famous School Calendar to all public school principals and social agencies' administrators.

Two hundred and fifty copies of the calendar, which is prepared by the Community Relations Service of AJC nationally, were given to school head Dr. Joe Hall, who, in turn, distributed them throughout the system. An additional 350 copies were sent to agency leaders, who look upon the calendars as a primary resource in the planning of overall programming for the year.

Basically, the calendar designates and explains all religious holidays, national holidays and special events; e.g., "Bill of Rights Day," "Brotherhood Week," etc.

In return, our Chapter has been widely praised for distributing what Dr. H. Franklin Williams, Vice-President of the University of Miami, describes as "the best brief calendar for the guidance of school and university people in the matter of religious holidays."

Here again is another example of the way AJC contributes to the general welfare of the entire community.

We Recommend That You Read

"PREJUDICE WON'T MAKE US SELL OUR HOUSE!"

By Ralph Bass

Reprinted from **Coronet Magazine** of July 1959, this is a popularly written account of a currently successful effort to prevent panic selling in a changing neighborhood.

Springfield Gardens is a middle-class residential community in the borough of Queens, N. Y. Ralph Bass, a resident of the community (and a staff member of the American Jewish Committee), tells what the people of Springfield Gardens did to resist the provocations of real estate operators, bolster the morale and overcome the prejudices of fellow residents. He includes suggestions that have been applied successfully in other communities faced with similar problems.

Inexpensive reprints of the article are available through the office.

Books Termed One Way To Expand Child's View

READING an exciting, well-written book about people and ways of life different from his own can be a delightful pastime for a child. Such reading can help to broaden a youngster's point of view and help him to understand other people better.

"But books are only a beginning," says Ann G. Wolfe. "If parents would expose their children to various types of people in real life, as well as in books, the youngsters' own lives would be enriched."

Mrs. Wolfe is the compiler of the 1959 list, "About 100 Books—A Gateway to Better Intergroup Understanding." The list is published by the American Jewish Committee.

Critical of Parents

Mrs. Wolfe, herself the mother of an 8½-year-old son, believes that too few parents today provide a realistic way for their children to develop knowledge about other people.

In their limited environment, most children are bound by the barriers of their parent's social group. Such groups, Mrs. Wolfe says, are quite homogenous—religiously, economically, racially and educationally. Thus, many children are totally unfamiliar with other ways of living because they lack first-hand acquaintance with people out of their own circle.

Books, although not the entire answer, can help extend the limits of such a child's understanding. However, Mrs. Wolfe stresses, they should be good books that are selected carefully. She takes exception to books that "type" people of minority groups. Too often in children's books, she says, domestics are shown as Negroes; the corner vegetable man, heavily moustached, is an Italian, and the laundry man is Chinese.

A Job for Editors

"I hope," she added, "that this practice will be dislodged. It is a job for editors, who must challenge authors more about the kinds of stories they write for children."

The task of reading and analyzing new books, and compiling the recently revised listing, was a challenging one for Mrs. Wolfe and the Division of Youth Services of the American Jewish Committee.

Included are stories about American Indians, Quakers, Jews and Mexicans. Because of the increasing importance of Asia and Africa in world affairs, children should find the new stories about these countries interesting.

Books on Japan, Mrs. Wolfe notes, offer young readers much color about an old, traditional culture mixed with a recently modernized one. Several recently published books describe life in the south today. However, there are only a few about Puerto Rico.

Each of the 100 books listed is described in a brief paragraph that also lists the author, publisher, price and the age group for which it is written. The list, in book form, costs 25 cents. It is available from the committee, 165 East Fifty-sixth Street.

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THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
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15 East 84th Street, New York 28, N. Y. • TRafalgar 9-4500

November 6, 1959

To: Community Relations Councils and
Group Relations Agencies

From: Joseph B. Robison

We enclose a copy of the brief in the case of Camacho v. Doe, filed by the American Jewish Congress in the highest court of the state of New York opposing the requirement that voters must be able to read and write the English language. The case was brought by an American citizen born in Puerto Rico who is able to read and write Spanish but was not permitted to register because he is not literate in English. The AJCongress brief supports his contention that the provision in the New York State Constitution and the State Election Law requiring literacy in English violates the Federal Constitution. AJCongress stated that it filed this brief as a friend of the Court, in part because there are a number of Jewish citizens who are literate in Yiddish but not in English, and in part because, even if there were no such disfranchised Jewish citizens, it would be concerned with the fact that these provisions constitute an impairment of democratic principles.

The brief presents data showing that adoption of the literacy requirement in 1921 was clearly a product of chauvinism. Only 12 of the 50 states in the Union require literacy in English as a qualification for voting. Arguing that literacy in English is not necessary to comprehension of political issues, the brief shows that these issues are fully discussed in the Spanish press in New York as well as in the Yiddish press.

Encl.

✓ JC - BC
PA - MF

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

WASHINGTON, D. C., CHAPTER

~~1625 EYE STREET N. W., WASHINGTON 6, D. C.~~

District 7-3204

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November 24, 1959

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432,
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Friends:

Please note our new address:

The American Jewish Committee
Room 805, Continental Building
1012 14th Street, N.W.
Washington 5, D.C.

Sincerely,

R J Greene

Robert J. Greene

(a disciple and ex-subordinate of Fred Routh at Mich. FEP Comm.)

RJG/s

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FILE COPY

REMEDIES FOR RACIAL OR RELIGIOUS DISCRIMINATION BY HOSPITALS

Arbitrary refusal of hospital care for the sick or injured because of race, creed or color is a tragic form of group discrimination.

For this reason Chicago and Illinois have recently provided special protections to prevent such discrimination.

The purpose of this pamphlet is to tell you what can be done about it.

Laws alone will not guarantee each citizen full and equal enjoyment of hospital facilities. Officials charged with law enforcement, as well as aggrieved persons themselves, must be vigilant in protecting the rights of all who are in need of hospital care. In Illinois there are ample legal means to achieve this end.

Prepared as a public service by the
COMMISSION ON LAW AND SOCIAL ACTION
of the
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
189 WEST MADISON STREET
CHICAGO 2, ILLINOIS
DEarborn 2-7355

DIRECT PROSECUTION

Two laws* permit prosecution by law enforcement officers on their own initiative or on complaint by a victim of hospital discrimination:

I. Chicago Hospital Anti-Discrimination Ordinance

This ordinance became law in Chicago in 1956. It reads:

> "No hospital, nor any person acting as superintendent or manager, or who is otherwise in charge or control of any hospital, nor any person connected with or rendering service in any hospital in any capacity whatsoever, nor any agent or employee thereof shall deny to any person admission for care or treatment, equality of care or treatment in a hospital, or the use of any of the hospital facilities and services relating to care or treatment of such person, on account of race, color, creed, national origin or ancestry, provided that a member of the medical staff of said hospital or an authorized physician designated to act for him may examine such person and determine the need of such person for medical care or treatment." (Chicago Municipal Code, (137-13.1)

Section 137-19 provides for a $100 to $200 fine for any violation.

Two forms of discrimination with respect to care or treatment are prohibited — discrimination in *admission* to a hospital; and discrimination in *use of hospital facilities.*

Enforcement of this ordinance is by quasi-criminal proceeding in the Municipal Court of Chicago, to be prosecuted by the Corporation Counsel of Chicago.

This ordinance was passed under the city's statutory power to regulate the conduct of hospitals (Ill. Rev. Stat. (1955) c. 24, Sections 21-20, 23-83). And "the right to regulate includes the right to compel persons engaged in businesses catering to the public to furnish equal facilities and accommodations to all members of the public without discrimination." *Pickett* v. *Kuchen,* 323 Ill. 138, 140 (1926).

---

* The Illinois Civil Rights Law (Ill. Rev. Stat. (1955) c. 38, Sections 125 ff.), providing for equal right to the service of places of public accommodations, does not include hospitals, clinics or dispensaries among the enumerated places of business to which the Law is applicable. As a result, it apears that the prohibitions of the law apply only to certain specified classes of business, not including hospitals. See Cecil v. Green, 161 Ill. 265 (1896); Grace v. Mosely, 122 Ill. App. 100 (1904).

2. Illinois Emergency Medical Treatment Law

A state law enacted in 1927 requires all private and public hospitals to render first aid or emergency treatment to all severely injured persons. It reads:

> "No hospital, either public or private where surgical operations are performed, operating in this State shall refuse to give emergency medical treatment or first aid to any applicant who applies for the same in case of accident or injury where the same shall be liable to cause death or severe injury." (Ill. Rev. Stat. (1955) c. 111½, Sec. 86).

Section 87 provides a fine of $50 to $200 for each violation.

PRIVATE CIVIL SUIT

Criminal prosecutions have not generally been effective in enforcing laws against discrimination. Proving facts is more difficult in criminal cases. Public officials have full power to decide whether or not to start a criminal case, and control its prosecution. Lastly small fines are usually no deterrent. Some businesses which consistently violate anti-discrimination laws treat such fines as an ordinary cost of doing business.

Even though the hospital anti-discrimination laws do not expressly provide for civil action against a discriminating hospital directly by the victim or his family, there is substantial legal authority for actions for damages or other relief. These authorities hold that an aggrieved person whose interest the legislative enactment was designed to protect has a civil cause of action against the violator of the law; 2 Restatement, Torts, Sec. 286; *Fitzgerald* v. *Pan American World Airways*, 229 F. 2d 499 (1956); *Kardon* v. *National Gypsum Co.* 69 F. Supp. 512 (1946); *Sloan* v. *F. W. Woolworth Co.* 193 Ill. App. 620, 625 (1915); *O'Donnell* v. *Barach*, 1 Ill. App. 2nd 157 (1953); Private Remedies Under State Equal Rights Statutes, 44 Ill. Law Review 363 at 373 (1949); *Bolden* v. *Grand Rapids Operating Co.* 239 Mich. 318, 214 N. W. 241 (1927); 6 McQuillin, The Law of Municipal Corporations, Sec. 22.06, Page 292 (3rd ed., 1949).

LOSS OF TAX EXEMPTION

The remedies outlined so far are conventional, and experience has shown, often inadequate to end discriminatory practices.

In 1955 the Illinois legislature supplied a tool for making conventional remedies effective. Recognizing the public purpose which grants to hospitals an exemption from taxation, it amended the tax laws as follows:

"No hospital, however, which has been adjudicated by a court of competent jurisdiction to have denied admission to any person because of race, color or creed, shall be exempt from taxation," (Ill. Rev. Stat. (1955), c. 120 Sec. 500 (7).

Before a hospital's tax exemption can be challenged under this law, there must first be a *court judgment* that the hospital has discriminated because of race, creed or color, and such discrimination must have been in denying *admission* to the hospital.

To date there is no definition of what kind of a court judgment is required. Any of the following would appear to be such a court judgment:

1. A finding of such discrimination in an action for Declaratory Judgment. (See Ill. Rev. Stat. (1955), c. 110, Sec. 57.1). However, the person discriminated against is not necessarily the proper party to bring such an action. This plaintiff must be a person affected by the hospital's tax exemption—i.e., a taxpayer. This is true at least in Cook County, where only a taxpayer can complain to the Board of Appeals of the tax exempt status of a hospital. *People* v. *Nixon*, 353 Ill. 556 (1933); Ill. Rev. Stat. (1955), c. 120, Section 598). In areas outside of Cook County, anyone interested in the amount of taxes raised (including a municipality) may file a complaint before the Board of Review. (Ill. Rev. Stat. (1955), c. 120 Sec. 589 (4); *People* v. *Marshall Field & Co.*, 355 Ill. 633, 636 (1934). It would seem, therefore, that the suit for Declaratory Judgment should also be filed by a taxpayer or one interested in the taxes collected.

2. A conviction for denial of admission under the Chicago Hospital Anti-Discrimination Ordinance.

3. A conviction under the Illinois Emergency Medical Treatment Law for denial of admission because of race, creed or color.

4. A judgment for the plaintiff in a civil action against a hospital based upon a finding of denial of admission because of race, creed or color.

Armed with such a judgment, any taxpayer could file a complaint before the local Board of Review or Board of Appeals which grants or refuses tax exemptions. See *People* v. *J. B. Inderrieden Co.*, 375 Ill. 458, 461 (1941); *People ex rel McDonough* v. *Illinois Central Railroad Co.*, 355 Ill. 605, 608 (1934). If the Board fails to refuse tax exemption pursuant to a properly-presented complaint, a mandamus suit should be filed for the purpose of compelling the Board to place the property on the tax rolls.

To be argued by
Leo Pfeffer

COURT OF APPEALS

State of New York

In the Matter of the Application of

Jose Camacho,

Petitioner,

against

John Doe, Richard Roe, John Styles, and John Brown, whose true names are unknown, said names being fictitious, the persons intended being the Inspectors of Election in and for the 26th Election District of the 6th Assembly District of the County of Bronx, and constituting the Board of Inspectors of Election of said Election District,

Respondents.

BRIEF FOR
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS
AMICUS CURIAE

Preliminary Statement

This is a proceeding challenging the validity under the United States Constitution of the provision in the New York Constitution and the Election Law requiring literacy in the English language as a qualification to vote in any election, Federal, State or municipal, held in the State of New York. The petitioner is a native American citizen, born in Puerto Rico, who is completely literate in the

Spanish language but is unable to read and write in English.

The petitioner applied to a Special Term of the Supreme Court in Bronx County, the place of his residence, for an order addressed to the Board of Elections of his Election District directing them to allow him to take a literacy test in Spanish (or, presumably, otherwise to establish to their satisfaction his literacy in that language) and then to permit him to register and vote on Election Day. Special Term, adjudging the provision in the New York Constitution and Election Law not to be in conflict with any provision of the Federal Constitution, dismissed the proceeding, and the petitioner appealed directly to this Court pursuant to subdivision 4 of Section 588 of the Civil Practice Act.

Interest of the Amicus

The American Jewish Congress has a twofold interest in this litigation. The organization was formed in part "to help secure and maintain the equality of opportunity, * * * to safeguard the civil, political, economic and religious rights of Jews everywhere" and "to help preserve and extend the democratic way of life." There are a number of citizens of the Jewish faith who are completely literate in the Yiddish language but are unable to read or write the English language. Literacy in English was not an absolute requirement for naturalization until 1950. The decision in this case affects such persons, and the American Jewish Congress deems the denial of the franchise to such persons a deprivation of their civil and political rights.

In a larger sense, however, even if there were no citizens of the Jewish faith disenfranchised by the decision of the court below, we would still have an interest in this case. We are concerned with the preservation of American democratic principles. This to us involves two corollary implications: First, that no adult citizen who is able to understand and act intelligently in respect to the political issues of the day should be denied the right and duty of participating in the election of the government of the state and nation. Secondly, we believe that any effort through compulsion to elevate a particular language or culture over other languages or cultures, or to make it the exclusively recognized official language or culture of all the people, is inconsistent with the concept of cultural pluralism to which we believe modern American democracy is committed. The recent incorporation of Alaska and Hawaii as equal states in our Union gives evidence of this, for both states have large non-English speaking populations with cultures far removed from the Anglo-American cultural tradition which the assailed provision of the New York Constitution and statute presupposes.

For these reasons we have sought and received leave to submit this brief amicus curiae.

The Statutory Provisions Involved in This Proceeding

The last paragraph of Article II, Section 1 of the New York Constitution provides as follows:

"Notwithstanding the foregoing provisions, after January first, one thousand nine hundred twenty-two, no person shall become entitled

to vote by attaining majority, by naturalization or otherwise, unless such person is also able, except for physical disability, to read and write English."

Section 150 of the Election Law provides in part: "* * * In the case of a person who became entitled to vote in this state by attaining majority, by naturalization or otherwise after January first, nineteen hundred twenty-two, such person must, in addition to the foregoing provisions, be able, except for physical disability, to read and write English. * * *"

ARGUMENT

The Issue to Which This Brief is Addressed

This brief amicus curiae is addressed to the validity under the Fourteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution of the above quoted provisions of the New York Constitution and Election Law. The Fourteenth Amendment provides in part that "No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

It is not necessary to determine which of these provisions is invoked here to challenge the literacy-in-English qualification. The basic test of validity is the same under any of them, and all are probably applicable. The right to vote at least for Federal officials is undoubtedly a privilege or immunity of citizens. Ex parte Yarborough, 110 U.S. 651; Wiley V. Sinkler, 179 U.S. 58. It is reasonable to suggest

that the right, at least on the part of a citizen, to participate in selecting the representatives that govern him is a liberty of which he may not be deprived without due process of law. Cf. Meyer v. Nebraska, 262 U.S. 390; Pierce v. Society of Sisters, 268 U.S. 510. A disenfranchisement of voters on grounds of language certainly is a denial to them of the equal protection of the laws unless the disqualification is constitutionally justifiable. Guinn v. United States, 238 U.S. 347; Lane v. Wilson, 307 U.S. 268.

The issue, therefore, is whether a requirement that voters be literate in the English language is constitutionally justifiable. We do not here discuss the constitutional aspects of a voting requirement of literacy in a commonly used modern language; it is not necessary in this case to reach that issue. We contend only that a provision restricting qualifying literacy to the English language is not justifiable under the Fourteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution.

The Test to be Applied

According to the report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights (1959), pages 67-68, there are approximately some 618,000 American citizens of Puerto Rican ancestry living in New York City. About 170,000 of them have lived here long enough to satisfy the state's residence requirements for voting. However, 59% of Puerto Rican residents of New York read and write only Spanish and are therefore not permitted to vote. Although the exact number so disenfranchised is not indicated in the Commission's report, the report does state that "This Commission has found that Puerto Rican-American citizens are being denied the right

to vote, and that these denials exist in substantial numbers in the State of New York."

We submit that only the most cogent grounds can justify the denial of the franchise to so substantial a part of American citizens who are residents of New York. It is quite reasonable that a court in reviewing the constitutionality of an act of the legislature should give great weight to the judgment of the legislature in its determination of the necessity of the legislation. Ordinarily, if a situation exists which the legislature deems to require legislative action, the courts will not interfere with its determination of the appropriateness of a proposed remedy unless the legislature's act was patently unreasonable, United States v. Carolene Products, 304 U.S. 134. Where, however, the legislation abridges a fundamental right of American citizens, a far sterner test is imposed. "The rational connection between the remedy provided and the evil to be curbed, which in other context might support legislation against attack on due process grounds, will not suffice." Thomas v. Collins, 323 U.S. 516, 530. As was said in Thornhill v. Alabama, 310 U.S. 88, 95-96: "Mere legislative preference for one rather than another means for combatting substantive evils, therefore, may well prove an inadequate foundation on which to rest regulations which are aimed at or in their operation diminish the effective exercise of rights so necessary to the maintenance of democratic institutions."

Where the legislation restricts the right to vote the most stern judicial test is to be applied when its constitutionality is challenged. In United States v. Carolene Products, supra, the Supreme Court did not

find it necessary"* * * to consider now whether legislation which restricts those political processes which can ordinarily be expected to bring about repeal of undesirable legislation, is to be subjected to more exacting judicial scrutiny under the general prohibitions of the Fourteenth Amendment than are most other types of legislation. * * *" In subsequent cases, however, the court did find it necessary to pass upon the question and answered it in the affirmative. Thomas v. Collins, supra, Thornhill v. Alabama, supra.

The reason for the imposition of a sterner test in cases involving fundamental liberties, particularly those affecting the franchise, is obvious. One may well urge that in general, removal of unwise laws should be sought by appeal not to the courts but to the ballot and to the processes of democratic government. But this necessarily implies that recourse to the ballot is unobstructed and that the processes of democratic government are kept free to operate. It follows that the court should subject to a closer than ordinary scrutiny and impose more exacting standards in respect to legislative actions that obstruct the channels for legislative change. It little profits the Spanish-speaking Puerto Ricans or Yiddish-speaking Jews that the literacy test assailed here can be removed by action of the legislature if those against whom the test discriminates are barred from participating in the process of selecting the members of the legislature. In such a case the court must assume something of the nature of a fiduciary for the protection of the otherwise unprotected disenfranchised and must demand a strict accounting on the part of the legislature.

This is particularly so where the disenfranchised is a racial, religious or national minority. United States v. Carolene Products, supra, Meyer v. Nebraska, 262 U.S. 390; Farrington v. Tokushige, 273 U.S. 284. In the latter case, the court answered in the affirmative the question left open in the Carolene Products case: "* * * whether prejudice against discrete and insular minorities may be a special condition, which tends seriously to curtail the operation of those political processes ordinarily to be relied upon to protect minorities, and which may call for a correspondingly more searching judicial inquiry. * * *" See also Smith v. Allwright, 321 U.S. 461.

This Court therefore must determine what legitimate end the assailed literacy test sought to achieve, and whether the use of the literacy test is a valid means to achieve that end. In this respect, we submit that the only legitimate end that could be sought to be achieved was to assure that citizens exercising their elective franchise have a reasonably intelligent understanding of the issues and the candidates upon whom they are called to pass judgment, so that they can make "intelligent use of the ballot." Lassiter v. Northampton County Board of Elections, 79 S.Ct. 985, 990.

It is, we submit, beyond the constitutional power of the legislature to employ the grant or withholding of the elector's franchise as a means to induce persons to learn the English language. We do not challenge the power of the state to encourage and facilitate the learning of the English language by residents of the state. For that purpose the state and municipalities can and do provide free instruction in the English language

for foreigners and engage in public campaigns to induce residents to learn English. However, to deny persons their constitutional right of engaging in the election of their government as a means to influence them to learn English, is, we submit, a form of impermissible coercion.

In Meyer v. Nebraska, supra, the Supreme Court held that a state could not declare it a crime for persons to teach children a foreign language; and in Farrington v. Tokushige, supra, the court held that the operation of a foreign language school could not be hampered by unreasonable and arbitrary regulations motivated by a desire to discourage the learning of a foreign language. In West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette, 319 U.S. 624, the Court held that the privilege of attending a free public school could not be withdrawn from children who refused to salute the flag or pledge allegiance to it. This, the Court held, was as much a form of coercion as the means employed in the Meyer and Tokushige cases. Since the legislature patently cannot coerce adult persons to learn the English language, it cannot achieve this end indirectly by withholding from them a constitutional right unless they do so.

Attendance at public school is a state-created privilege. Yet in the Barnette case the Supreme Court held that it might not be withheld from children because of their refusal to salute the flag. Voting is not a privilege but a right, and it therefore may certainly not be withheld either to penalize those who refuse to learn to read and write the English language or to induce them to do so. Unless literacy in the English language is actually necessary in order to be able to vote it

may not legally be made so, and a person not literate in English may no more be deprived of his right to vote than of his access to courts of law or the benefits of social security or workmen's compensation.

It follows, therefore, that the only ground upon which the statute assailed herein can be justified is that literacy in English is a necessary (and not merely convenient) means for "the intelligent use of the ballot." Only if this court finds by clear, cogent and convincing evidence that a person literate in a language other than English cannot intelligently exercise the ballot, can the statute assailed herein be upheld.

Moreover, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the burden of establishing this necessity is upon the State. The right of American citizens to vote in elections is a precious one, of which they should not be deprived except for the most grave reasons. It is not enough that there is a rational connection between the means and the end. Nor is it enough that persons literate in English may exercise the ballot more intelligently than those literate in Spanish or Yiddish. That college graduates may exercise the ballot more intelligently than elementary school graduates would not justify disenfranchisement of the latter. To justify the deprivation of so fundamental a right, the State must establish that such disenfranchisement is unquestionably necessary to avoid a clear and present danger to the integrity of the electoral process.

Background of English Literacy Qualification for Voting

In determining whether literacy in English is a necessary qualification for intelligent exercise of the ballot, it is relevant to consider

the purpose for which the qualification was prescribed. An examination of the background which gave rise to the requirement indicates that its purpose was not to assure a more effective and intelligent exercise of the franchise on the part of voters, but partly to influence acquisition of the English language by the foreign born population and partly as an act of prejudice and discrimination against discrete and insular minorities. The proposal first received active consideration in New York when it was presented to the New York State Constitutional Convention of 1915 by Mr. Gordon Knox Bell and Mr. Charles H. Young. The debate surrounding its introduction is extremely enlightening.

Mr. Young in introducing the amendment, stated "That in these troublesome times there seems to be no greater duty upon the people of the State of New York than the duty of making our foreign born population acquainted with American institutions and thus giving them at least an opportunity to acquire patriotism from knowledge of our history and government." 3 New York State Constitutional Convention 1915, Revised Record, 3001, 3004. He pointed out that in New York over 30% of the population was foreign born. "What," he continued "we are after is patriotism as well as literacy and we cannot have it unless the people understand the English language * * * More precious than even the forms of government are the mental qualities of our race. While those stand unimpaired all is safe. They are exposed to a single danger and that is by constantly changing our voting citizenship through the wholesale but valuable and necessary infusion of Southern and Eastern European races, whose traditional heritances are wholly different from our own, without

education, we shall imperil the structure we so laboriously struggled to maintain." Id. at 3011-3012.

In support of the proposal Mr. Bell said: "Gentlemen, we must stop to think of what we are. This is not a question of nations, it is a question of races, and when all is said and done there is not a man in this room who dares deny that we are an English race, born and bred and brought up with the traditions of the men of England; of Anglo-Saxon stock." Id. at 3015-3016.

Louis Marshall, the famed constitutional lawyer, moved to strike out the word "English" from the proposed amendment. In support of his proposal Mr. Marshall said: "I have offered this amendment because I am not one of the English race. There is not one drop of Anglo-Saxon blood that courses through my veins, and yet I think that I have as much an appreciation of the spirit and genius of our institutions as has any other member of this body. It seems to me that those gentlemen who have introduced this measure, and those who have in such unmeasured terms approved it, are contributing to the Know-Nothing idea. To think that nobody shall be permitted to exercise the right of suffrage in this state who is unable to read and write English is to think that nobody can have the spirit of Americanism or the spirit of patriotism who is unable to read that language. I have no objection to a requirement of a literacy test, so far as the exercise of the franchise is concerned, but I do object to making that test the test of the English language alone. There are thousands of people in this state who are well educated citizens, who are intelligent men, who know all that need be known about the nature of our government,

who are much more intelligent than many of those who can read and write English, and yet who cannot read that language * * * Let me tell you, for example that there is in this state a body of people numbering about a million who read the Yiddish language. Many of them cannot read any other language. Most of them read newspapers published only in that language. I have before me a list of five newspapers published in the City of New York, whose average daily circulation in Yiddish is upwards of 500,000 in the aggregate. * * * These newspapers are wide awake. They reach an intelligent reading public, a reading public which obtains its opinions with regard to public affairs largely through their columns. They are publishing daily reports concerning what is going on in this convention, with regard to the work which is here done. I have had occasion to read a number of these papers in the last few weeks and I find that they treat this convention more fairly than a certain portion of the English press of the City of New York. * * * These people cling to their language out of sentiment. * * * These people would resent as an insult any measure introduced into this constitution which would say that if they read the Yiddish language alone and cannot read English, they are ignorant, unintelligent, unfit to exercise the right of suffrage. * * * We are told here that these people because they may not be able to read the English language, because they came to our shores as refugees from oppression, ready to devote themselves and their thoughts and their minds and their hearts to the development of this country, who are able to read and write a language through which they can gain knowledge and information in regard to the affairs of this country, are unfit to

exercise the right of the franchise. * * * There is no reasonable objection to the test that a citizen shall be obliged to read and write, but there is also no reason why he should be compelled to read and write English alone." Id. at 3017-3020.

Mr. Nathan Burkan, in opposing the qualification requiring the literacy test in English, stated: "The highest and most priceless privilege of a citizen is the right to participate and have a voice in the government - the right to vote for all officials and for the adoption and rejection of fundamental laws. * * * In its final analysis the arguments of the proponents is that this bill will elevate the electorate in respect to education and intelligence and will make for universality in the use of the English language. The way to educate the electorate, to make it intelligent is not by disfranchisement but through the instrumentality of your schools and institutions of learning. * * * It is abhorrent to believe that those who toil by the sweat of their brows, who create and improve prosperity, who aid in the development of the great resources of this state and in the building up of its industries and commerce shall be disfranchised because they cannot comply with an irksome test." Id. at 3152.

Mr. Arthur Baldwin stated that: "The greatest privilege that any country can confer upon its citizens is the right to participate in government, the right to vote. It is a privilege which dignifies that citizenship and knits the recipient to the body politic." Id. at 3156.

Mr. Peter Donovan in opposition asserted that "* * * the fact that a man cannot read and write English does not necessarily imply that he

cannot vote intelligently." Id. at 3158.

Mr. Mark Eisner agreed on the ground that "There are many men in this city today who can only speak and write in German or in Yiddish of in some other language who are better qualified to vote on Election Day than some others who are masters of the English language and literature. I believe this amendment is * * * another piece of reaction * * * and for the reason that it is not a true test, not an honest test, not the kind of test which will bring forth the best from among our citizenship I * * * vote No." Id. at 3158.

Mr. Abraham Harawitz echoed these views, stating that "I am strongly opposed to any measure which will curtail the right of citizenship simply because a man cannot read and write the English language. I know people who can read and write German, French and Italian, who are probably more educated and who probably understand our American institutions much more readily than some of our citizens born in this country." Id. at 3168.

On the other hand, Mr. Frank Mann, echoing the prejudice against foreigners expressed by Young and Bell, asserted that the arguments of the opponents convinced him to vote for the requirement because he believed those people who read foreign newspapers were a menace to this country. Id. at 3163.

Perhaps the most eloquent expression of opposition to the proposed amendment of literacy in the English language was stated by Robert F. Wagner, later to become United States Senator from New York, and one of the greatest leaders in the struggle for equality and tolerance. Mr. Wagner said: "The Proposed Amendment provides that no person shall be

entitled to vote unless able to read or write the English language. Obviously the proposal is directed against the foreign born American. * * * Remembering that the great mass of foreigners that come annually to our shores are assimilated into and become part and parcel of the American people because they strive and hope and succeed in acquiring the right to vote, can you not recognize in the amendment a clandestine effort to prevent this assimilation of alien blood into our citizenship and to segregate and exclude the foreigner from the rights, the privileges and the opportunities which we have always held out to all men?" Id. at 3022.

"* * * In so far as you dare to go, you take from him [the foreigner] the opportunity and the privileges which your ancestors enjoyed when they like the immigrants of today found in this land a refuge from the very spirit of intolerance and hate which finds expression in this amendment. * * *" Id. at 3023. "If the literacy test was not applied to the Irish and the German, why should it be applied to the Jew, the Italian or the Slav of the new immigration? Like our ancestors, they are now fleeing from ignorance, from inequality; like our ancestors they expect to find here freedom and equal opportunity. Are we going to deny them an equal opportunity?" Id. at 3024.

"If literacy were a valid test of voting, do you know that nearly 50 per cent of our early settlers * * * would not be entitled to vote? * * * Would we disfranchise our ancestors merely because they could not read or write the English language? * * * there is no good reason whatsoever for the adoption of this amendment. It comes before this body without the

sanction of public sentiment, without the prestige of expert opinion, without the support of reason or logic. * * *" Id. at 3026.

The proposal was put to the Convention and was defeated by a vote of 77 to 67.

This was in 1915. By 1921, the political climate of the nation and of the State of New York had considerably changed. Liberalism and hospitality towards the foreign born was replaced by a fear and prejudice against all foreigners, and particularly against those who came from Eastern and Southern Europe bringing with them a culture and language which was strange and frightening to many native Americans. That was a period when many Americans believed that the welfare of our country demanded the elimination of cultural differences. Homogeneity was the goal and would-be immigrants were welcomed or excluded in accordance with unproved assumptions of their assimilability, Immigration Commission Reports, Sen. Doc. 758, 61st Cong., 3rd Sess. (1911); Hearings before House Committee on Immigration, 67th Cong., 3rd Sess. (Nov. 21, 1922), p. 279, et seq.; House Report 350, Part 2, 68th Cong., 1st Sess. (1924); Davie, World Immigration. People who boasted of being 100% Americans were looked upon with favor, while "hyphenated Americans" were in disrepute. Hayes, Essays on Nationalism, pp. 239-40.

This adolescent period of ultra nationalism and chauvinistic culturism expressed itself in a variety of legal measures throughout the nation. In Oregon, for example, Ku Klux Klan elements in the state succeeded in procuring the enactment of a law prohibiting all private and parochial schools. Meyers, History of Bigotry in the United States,

293. At the same time, a number of states enacted laws making it a crime to teach foreign languages to children. In upholding one of these laws, the Supreme Court of Nebraska explained that the "* * * legislature had seen the baneful effects of permitting foreigners, who had taken residence in this country, to rear and educate their children in the language of their native land. The result of that condition was found to be inimical to our own safety. To allow the children of foreigners, who had emigrated here, to be taught from early childhood the language of the country of their parents was to rear them with that language as their mother tongue. It was to educate them so that they must always think in that language, and, as a consequence, naturally inculcate in them the ideas and sentiments foreign to the best interests of this country." Meyer v. State, 107 Neb. 657.

On the national scene, the United States Congress for the first time in its history enacted a restrictive immigration law designed to exclude or strictly limit immigration from non-English speaking countries. It incorporated into American law the racially discriminatory national origins quota system, a system predicated upon the very concepts presented in the New York State Constitutional Convention some five or six years earlier by Mr. Young, Mr. Bell and Mr. Mann. In New York State this temper of ultra nationalism and cultural chauvinism expressed itself in the enactment for the first time in its history of the law which is challenged in the present litigation. War brings many evils and one of them is an illiberality towards foreigners. Xenophobia is almost always a consequence of war and it certainly was an aftermath of the

First World War. In New York, the xenophobia resulted in the adoption by the legislature and the people of a proposal which it had six years earlier rejected as discriminatory and bigoted. It was a law whose purpose was not to insure the intelligent exercise of the ballot but to elevate the English language and the English culture over all other languages and cultures.

We submit that this background must be given great weight in determining whether a requirement of literacy in English is necessary in order to achieve the only end that is within the legitimate competence of the legislature of the State of New York, i.e., the assurance that voters can reasonably understand the issues of the day and make an intelligent choice among competing candidates for public office.

Literacy in English and the Intelligent Use of the Ballot

For the following reasons, we submit that there is no such cogent proof that literacy in English is necessarily required for intelligent exercise of the ballot as would justify the denial to so many American citizens of the fundamental democratic right to participate in the selection of their goverment:

1. The literacy in English qualification is barely a quarter of a century old. For a century and a half the State of New York, beginning with its Constitution of 1777, did not require literacy in English as a requisite to vote. During that period many illustrious and great persons were elected to high office in the State of New York. Three of its governors became Presidents of the United States. Increasingly progressive

laws were enacted by the State Legislature until the State of New York reached the enviable status of being in the forefront of progressive and enlightened legislation. Certainly during this period there is not the slightest evidence that the fact that persons not literate in English participated in the selection of the government was in any way prejudicial to the public welfare.

2. Even today more than three-fifths of the States of the Union have no literacy qualification at all for voting. Thus, in 31 of the 50 States, one need not be literate in any language in order to cast a ballot. Lassiter v. Northampton County Board of Elections, 78 S. Ct. 985, 990. There is no reason to believe that the administration of the government and laws in these States is inferior to that in the other 19 States. Without regard to whether the requirement of literacy is reasonable, we urge that, in view of the fact that three-fifths of the States require no literacy at all, there is no clear need for the requirement of literacy in English.

It should be noted further that of the 19 States which do have a literacy requirement only 12 specify that the literacy be in English. Hence, of the 50 States in the Union, fully 38 States do not require literacy in English as a qualification for voting.

3. Whatever might be the case in respect to some minute and rarely used foreign language, literacy in so widely used a language as Spanish (and Yiddish) assures that the Spanish (or Yiddish) speaking voter can be fully enough familiar with the issues and candidates presented to him to make an intelligent choice.

There are three Spanish-language newspapers, having a combined daily circulation of 82,000, published and distributed in New York. Report of the United States Commission on Civil Rights 1959, p. 67. Two of these newspapers, El Diario and El Emparcial, have a format similar to that of the Daily News and the Daily Mirror. Like their two English-language prototypes the first six pages of El Diario and El Emparcial are mainly devoted to current political and civic issues. The more significant political and civic issues are explored further by featured columnists and in the editorials. Prior to September 17, 1959 La Prensa was much like the World Telegram and Sun and the Herald Tribune in format and coverage. Since that date the more popular tablid form of layout has been adopted. However, the coverage is apparently as complete as before.

There are two Yiddish newspapers, the Day-Jewish Journal, having a national circulation of 65,000 and the Forward, with a national circulation of 80,000. The former also publishes a weekly organ. The Americaner, with a circulation of 20,000. There are in addition a number of weekly and monthly publications. These newspapers give detailed coverage to domestic news, emphasizing both American and Jewish aspects. In addition, they include extensive editorial matter commenting on the domestic scene. 8 Universal Jewish Encyclopedia 190.

Both the Spanish and the Yiddish newspapers use the same news services as the English press.

In addition there are a number of radio stations in New York regularly broadcasting news and news analyses in Spanish and Yiddish. These programs are listed in detail in the Spanish and Yiddish newspapers.

Literacy in English and American Democratic Policy

When the constitutional amendment of 1921 imposed literacy in English as a requirement for voting in New York, it altered a long standing democratic tradition in the American community. One of the fundamental premises of American democracy is that, except for the most cogent reasons, no person should be subject to the rule of a government in whose selection he does not participate. We declared our independence from Great Britain because its monarch and its parliament imposed taxation upon us without representation and subjected us to rule by legislatures in whose selection we did not participate.

The forward progress of American democracy has been towards the extension of the franchise. At the time that our Constitution was adopted only a small minority of the people were entitled to vote. The right to participate in the selection of the government was limited to adult, white males, who were citizens and who possessed substantial real property. Since that time each generation of Americans has acted to extend the ballot and reduce the limitations on its exercise. Thus, the first step was to remove the property qualifications. Then the ballot was extended to those who were not white. After that, the right to vote was accorded to women. Today, there is talk of lowering the age of voting from 21 to 18 years. Only the literacy tests run counter to this progress toward the universal ballot.

There is a valid reason to deny the right of the vote to persons who have not yet reached the age of maturity, or to those whose limited mental capacities render them unable to handle their own affairs. There is no

valid reason to deny the ballot to a person who is competent to manage his affairs and to exercise intelligent judgment in respect to the issues of the day simply because he acquires his knowledge and information in one rather than in another language.

The 1921 provision manifested an urge towards a culturally monolithic society. This was even then contrary to the traditions of our country. See Kallen, Cultural Pluralism and the American Idea, passim. As Mr. Justice Douglas stated in Dennis v. U.S., 341 U.S. 494, at 585, "We have wanted a land where our people can be exposed to all the diverse creeds and cultures of the world."

Only recently, on September 9, 1959, the United States Commission on Civil Rights issued its report, "With Liberty and Justice For All," in which it dealt in detail with the denial of the right to vote on the basis of language. Three of its members went so far as to urge that the needs of our expanding democracy require that we sweep away all limitations on the right to vote except those based on citizenship, age, length of residence and institutional confinement. In urging this far-reaching proposal, to be embodied in a constitutional amendment, these Commissioners said (Report, pages 97-98):

> The proposed amendment is in harmony with the American tradition and with the trend in the whole democratic world. * * * The march of education has almost eliminated illiteracy. In a nation dedicated to the full development of every citizen's human potential, there is no excuse for whatever illeteracy that may remain. Ratification of the proposed amendment would, we believe, provide an additional incentive for its total elimination. Meanwhile, abundant information about political candidates and issues is available to all by way of television and radio.

The United States also condemned discrimination on the basis of language when it joined the United Nations and subscribed to the principles set forth in the United Nations Charter. Article 55 of the charter pledges the organization to promote "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion." (Emphasis added.)

The American policy with respect to the issue involved in this case was set forth by the United States Supreme Court in Meyer v. Nebraska, supra. In speaking of the statute seeking to prohibit the teaching of a foreign language to children, the Court said: "It is said the purpose of the legislation was to promote civic development by inhibiting training and education of the immature in foreign tongues and ideals before they could learn English and acquire American ideals; and 'that the English language should be and become the mother tongue of all children reared in this State.' It is also affirmed that the foreign born population is very large, that certain communities commonly use foreign words, follow foreign leaders, move in a foreign atmosphere, and that the children are thereby hindered from becoming citizens of the most useful type and the public safety is imperiled.

"That the State may do much, go very far, indeed, in order to improve the quality of its citizens, physically, mentally and morally, is clear; but the individual has certain fundamental rights which must be respected. The protection of the Constitution extends to all, to those who speak other languages as well as to those born with English on the tongue. Perhaps it would be highly advantageous if all had ready understanding

of our ordinary speech, but this cannot be coerced by methods which conflict with the Constitution - a desirable end cannot be promoted by prohibited means." (Emphasis added.)

Conclusion

For these reasons, we submit that the provisions in the New York State Constitution and the Election Law imposing literacy in the English language as a prerequisite for voting and barring from the ballot persons completely literate in another language is unconstitutional and the decision of the court below should therefore be reversed.

Respectfully submitted,

Shad Polier
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October 1959

SEMINAR ON AMERICAN RACIALISM

HELD BY THE AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION

AT THE BROADWAY TABERNACLE CHURCH, NEW YORK CITY

on January 16, 1942

The seminar opened at 2.00 p.m. with words of welcome by Allan Chalmers, minister of the church. "This building was once burned down because of an abolitionist meeting held here", he said. "Any church that entertians such a seminar as this is put in an embarrassing position. Don't embarrass the minister by failing to measure up to the great problem and opportunity American racialism presents. This is a matter which calls for serious consideration and unfaltering action."

Mr. Chalmers introduced Donald Cottrell of Teachers College, Columbia, Chairman of the seminar, who said in part, "This is a new kind of thinking for me. The problem before us has timeliness and significance for the future. Racialism is both a condition which disturbs us and an opportunity for American society to reconstruct not only its form, but also its methods, its attitudes, and its sensitivity to human values. In this discussion we have an opportunity to consider what is perhaps the heart of a great reconstruction that is in process.

"I first want to make a very few remarks about the plan of the conference. I should like to express the appreciation of the American Missionary Association Division Committee, the agency of the Congregational Christian Churches dealing with this problem, to those of you who have come here to represent a great many different groups and people interested in the fields of education, religion, and race relations. I should like to tell you a word about how the calling of this seminar originated. The American Missionary Association Division Committee is the committee on policy as well as the committee on recommending specific action, and in its study of policies which should be followed by the Congregational

Christian Churches, it has been confronted with the question: 'Has the line of development of the Association in the field of missionary education been successful, or has it become, in a large measure, ineffective in dealing with the problems of present-day American racialism?' The Committee feels that perhaps we have reached the stage where we should see new horizons in our policy and we felt justified in asking a group of people to confer with us on these problems. Miss Morton, Mr. Johnson, Mr. Brownlee, and I were asked by the Committee to make arrangements for the conference. Mr. Brownlee was asked to prepare a statement, which was mailed to all persons present today and to many others, and which I trust has made as profound an impression upon all of you as it has upon me.

"The most effective way we can open our meeting is to ask Mr. Brownlee to define the problem for this conference against the background of the ideas he has presented in his paper."

Fred L. Brownlee, General Secretary, American Missionary Association.

I am here to make a confession. As we look over the many years and review the history of the American Missionary Association down to 1942 and then face up on the issue of racialism, we are reminded that the fundamental purpose of the group here in New York which started the A. M. A. was to remove from American society the sins of caste. It was one hundred years ago that they consecrated themselves to this purpose. The Abolitionist Movement which they promoted and the Civil War which they sought to prevent led to Emancipation, after which they went into the business of establishing schools and colleges for the freedmen. There is no one here this afternoon who for one moment would say that these pioneers in education for Negroes made a mistake. They were very wise in their choice of a line of service. Many here this afternoon are graduates of those schools.

If Negroes were brought to the United States as slaves for economic reasons but later emancipated for humanitarian reasons, what is it that still keeps them in a bondage of tradition and custom more binding than chattel slavery? We call it racialism or racism, but that is but a rationalized name with which we cover the symptoms of the disease. Missionaries are in danger of becoming so pleased with what they have accomplished that they lose sight of major continuing problems. Our concern today is the major issue, the fundamental problem, the disease at the heart of white and Negro relations. In this seminar it is our hope that we may get down to the roots of the matter and discover tangible means of doing something basic.

My paper was written last summer. Since then, a great deal has happened. We have been wondering whether or not the world crisis in democracy throws into high light the question of democracy here in America. We are questioning the integrity of the United States in fighting for democracy while still so deficient in practicing it with reference to its minority groups, particularly the Negroes. We are eager for a searching consideration of the present issue according to the following statements and questions which are in your hands. Frankly, the American Missionary Association is hoping to get out of this seminar some suggestions, some counsel that will help in the formulation of policies for future major service, shall we say for the next century, or perhaps longer?

STATEMENTS AND QUESTIONS ON AMERICAN RACIALISM

A. Assumption of the Seminar

Back of the undemocratic treatment of Negroes in America lies a generally accepted, whether defined or undefined, doctrine of racialism.

B. Purpose of the Seminar

1. To face the issues of this assumption squarely in the light of past experience and the present world conflict.

2. To discover ways, if possible, whereby agencies concerned may function more effectively in the elimination of racialism in America.

C. Suggestions for Discussion

1. How does the present acceleration of interest in democratic government throw into high light the undemocratic treatment of Negroes?

   Is the dominant group in America primarily concerned about maintaining its way of life through its present form of government, and are we being called to arms to defend and make secure a form of government rather than the application of democratic principles in the whole of our social order?

2. How may those who care primarily about the application of democratic principles in the whole of our social order arrive at their goal through democratic processes?

   Shall the federal government step in and actually guarantee the rights and privileges of minority groups, or must we wait everlastingly for the collective expression of individual wills?

3. Since the roots of racialism lie more deeply imbedded than governmental treatment alone can extract, wherein have schools and churches been failing?

   What structural and functional changes must be made in schools and churches in order that they may help to make real the democratic ideal and the Christian social ideal?

4. Practically speaking, what may this seminar mean to each of the agencies and movements represented here?

   As for the American Missionary Association, it is open to suggestions and advice.

   How much of its present work among Negroes should it continue more or less indefinitely?

   Along what new lines, if any, should the Association proceed?

Bonislaw Malinowski, Anthropologist, Yale University.

I should like to direct my comments now to the assumption of the seminar. I think it would be well for some of those here who know their facts much better than I do to tell how this doctrine of racialism, which runs counter to older assumptions of our religion and our common unity as attested by science, is applied and why it continues to exist. What, in practical operating terms, is this thing we call "racialism"?

Edwin R. Embree, President, Julius Rosenwald Fund.

Mr. Malinowsky is asking for evidences of racialism. Racialism in Germany

has become part of the national gospel. We deny racialism, yet we have it. In the case of the yellow race we have excluded them from citizenship. This includes some six hundred million people discriminated against because they are yellow-skinned. In the case of our colonial possessions, we never think of the Samoans as American citizens. Although we have owned these colonies since 1898, Congress has not even passed an act defining the status of the people living there. These brown-skinned Polynesians are not American citizens of the superior class. We moved into the white revolution that occurred in Hawaii to protect the Hawaiians from themselves, and have administered their country since 1898.

Less legalistic is our attitude toward the red Indians of this country. We practically eradicated them. In the case of the East Indians, we give them the same status as the darker peoples. The theory is that the white Western Europeans, in general the Teutons and Saxons (although we do extend it to include all white Europeans), are the ruling class in the United States and all other peoples are subordinate, their subordination being almost in direct proportion to the amount of pigment in their skin.

C. H. Tobias, National Council, Y. M. C. A.

I think America faces this present crisis with embarrassment because of the fact that it has tried to evade the application of the great freedom documents to the Negroes of America. The Constitution, the Bill of Rights, and the Declaration of Independence were all written and put into effect while Negroes were in slavery. They were not meant to apply to them, and when the Emancipation Proclamation was issued and the amendments to the Constitution guaranteeing full citizenship to all people were made a part of the law of the land, neither the North nor the South meant at that time, nor have either the North or the South since then showed any inclination, to take very seriously the guarantees in those amendments so far as the rights of Negroes are concerned.

That, I think, is the chief cause of the embarrassment at the present time. And that, I think, was the force of Pearl Buck's important letter of November 14, 1941, to the New York Times in connection with crime in Harlem. She called for a show-down, saying it was time to face the facts as they are and decide what we are going to do about our racial minorities in America. Shall we continue to get by on the basis of a common understanding among white people, or shall we say what shall be the status of the Negro?

William H. Kilpatrick, Teachers College, Columbia.

The answer to Dr. Malinowski's question is not so easy to give in logical terms because it must be descriptive of what prevails, and what prevails does not follow logic. I see four components that together approximate the situation.

First, the old caste system runs deep into our culture. In Europe there has been in many countries for a very long time the matter of classes. There are lower classes that are definitely fixed in their position, certain upper classes that are officially recognized as such, and middle classes. The people who settled this country brought with them a knowledge and, in some degree, a practice of that class system. When they introduced slavery it fitted very definitely into the old class system. In the South before slavery was abolished every Negro had to use the term "master" in addressing every white man. That same thing holds in India and Ceylon. Our forefathers brought with them that age-old caste system and slavery fitted into the pattern.

Second, psychologically there is a tendency to attribute the faults of an individual to the entire group. We divide "us" from "others"—the "we" group and the various other groups. When we are judging the misbehaviour of any member of our group, we blame it on him as an individual. When we are judging the misbehaviour of any other person, we attribute it to the group of which he is a part. Anything we do not like we tend to attribute to all the members of the other group.

Third, there is the matter of outward, visible symbols. People can think more easily if they have an outward and visible sign. The fact of color gives that sign. Mr. Embree could also have included the East Indians in the groups who are denied citizenship here on the basis of race. The Jews suffer the same way insofar as anybody can tell that they are Jews.

Fourth, the whole thing has certain metaphysical significances. We like to attribute some kind of metaphysical conception to give substantiation to our practices of racism.

Henry Noble MacCracken, President, Vassar College.

Because both anthropology and psychology are new we are still struggling along with a kind of folk anthropology and folk psychology that is not supported by the facts. For example, many people think that the brain of the Negro is inferior to that of the white man; that in certain racial groups hysteria tends to arise easily; etc.

Buell Gallagher, President, Talladega College.

We have looked at the wide-spread character of the disease of racism and have noted the need for a scientific attitude. It seems to me that the principal device used to perpetuate racism in America is segregation. That device is practiced universally in this country. Segregation can take place in many forms, and can be crude or subtle. For example, there is spacial segregation—"the other side of the tracks"; and temporal segregation, where the dominant group will permit others to attain a certain degree of achievement only after that stage has been reached and passed by the dominant group. Three principal characteristics of segregation are quite obvious. It is not segregation when we voluntarily choose to live by ourselves. At any time we wish to we have the option of moving back. I used to have a church in New Jersey and nearby was a wealthy community.

As you approached you saw a large sign which read, "This is a Christian community." What they really meant was "No Jews allowed". The people who lived in that community were not segregated although they lived apart. The Dunkards and other religious groups live by themselves as a closed community. Neither are they the victims of segregation, for they can change their status at any time they wish.

When people are not accepted by the dominant group, they are segregated. Segregation involves separation, subordination and compulsion. It can be done through the most polite etiquette. Always lurking behind this segregation business is compulsion. It is to be wondered whether the slow killing of the hopes, aspirations, and ambitions of a race over long years is not worse than physical lynching.

If we could find some point of strategic attack we could push forward. Therefore, I suggest segregation as that point of attack. It is highlighted by the segregation in the military service. Last night I listened to the heart-broken story of a mother. Her boy had yearned and hoped to be in the Navy. He had prepared himself through study for this and had come up for enlistment. Of the group that passed the examinations he alone was asked to furnish a character witness. This he did. Then, as they were all lined up, his name was called and the officer said, "Step out of line." That boy was willing to give all he had for the system that denies him the right to make the sacrifice.

Hortense Powdermaker, Queens College.

Dr. MacCracken has said that we are operating under a folk anthropology and a folk psychology. We are doing that not because these sciences are so new. The anthropologists have been extremely esoteric about their science and not until quite recently have any of them concerned themselves with problems of basic interest and with popularizing the results of their scientific work. I am unable to see why the basic facts cannot be made intelligible to a child of ten. We

rarely have any work in anthropology until graduate school, and it is rather late to start there to develop new attitudes. The place to begin is in the early elementary grades. If we are to get out of "folk sciences" we shall have to push some movement to popularize these subjects.

Mr. Chalmers.

But can we change the child unless in some way we manage to change the society in which that child lives? We do not understand quite the tragedy of racism. We shall all sleep tonight without being too much worried that this hundred-year old problem of the A. M. A. has not been solved, but the victims of racism who must meet the problem personally, suffer continually.

Miss Powdermaker.

I do not think one can do very much with older people, but we should start with the young person. We can get quicker results with young children.

George E. Haynes, Department of Race Relations, Federal Council of Churches.

We are confronted with this fact, that the whole system of education is as yet at the very beginning of knowing how to train the emotions. The best review a committee of educators made last year of the whole literature in this area on the elementary school level came to the conclusion that our public school system is very much at the threshhold of this whole question and that the amount of real scientific knowledge about it is very small. We have made some experiments in the churches. It is well known that adults can learn as well as children can, but even there we do not know how to reach those deep feelings and emotions that lie at the base of our attitudes.

Rachel Dennis Du Bois, Intercultural Education Workshop.

In our school work we have been experimenting with the use of the festival to get various groups together. We believe it is better to work with small

groups in face-to-face relationships. In one instance we found that the children knew of the existence of different nationality groups in the city, but beyond that they knew very little about them. So we took the children on a trip around the city to introduce them to the various communities at first hand.

We had difficulty in getting parents to attend Parent-Teachers Association meetings. We asked the parents to teach the teachers the folk lore, songs, and dances that they knew. We tried to get across the feeling of the essential oneness of all peoples. It was in one of our circle dances that an Italian woman became the dancing partner of a Negro. Her displeasure was evident, but so skillful was he that she forgot her repulsion in the joy of dancing, and the man said later, "I think I saw a prejudice start to die." The following week four parents came to the meeting who had never been there before.

We must be more experimental in our whole approach to the problem of racism and try to reach the attitudes behind our intellect. People act according to how they feel about what they know, not on what they know.

Helen Kenyon, Director, Board of Home Missions, Congregational Christian Churches.

One of the fine young men in Poughkeepsie went to camp with very little prejudice against Negroes, but came back full of the attitudes of condescension and superiority toward them. It is apparent that our military organization helps to build race prejudice toward the Negro. What is to be done about it?

Rufus Early Clement, President, Atlanta University.

It was decided that Negroes shall not be deprived of the opportunity to attend graduate school because of their race. Several things have happened and several things have not happened as a result of that action. Some of the states have dodged the Supreme Court decision. Two or three have attempted to do something in a minor way to satisfy the letter of the law. Some have set up scholar-

ship funds for out-of-state study. Some have set up graduate schools in not too strong Negro institutions already in existence. By and large, very little has been done in a constructive manner at all. However, that is not to say that the Supreme Court decision was not worth while as a starting point.

Oscar E. Maurer, Minister, Center Church, New Haven.

In Maryland a Negro has been graduated from the school of law and one is now registered there, but no Negroes may register in other departments of the graduate school. Generally speaking, Negroes are not welcome in graduate schools.

F. D. Patterson, President, Tuskegee Institute.

The increasing participation of the federal government, to a certain extent at least, is going to be wholesome and important in working in the direction of the solution of the problem of better education. This is one of the things we need most. We have a tremendous group of people totally without education, both white and Negro, and they must have the opportunity they now lack. Federal government aid is good, and we have a long way to go before it becomes a danger to our democratic principles.

Stewart G. Cole, Service Bureau for Intercultural Education.

We are aware of the hardship worked on those who are discriminated against. But what effect does discrimination have upon persons who practice it? The people discriminated against cannot fail in time to get a sense of inferiority and suspicion. The very best efforts put forward by white people to help are frequently rebuffed because from their long experience Negroes have learned to be suspicious. This complex problem has now reached large proportions and the disease cannot be cured readily.

Oswald Garrison Villard.

The colored people are seething with indignation. Here we are calling for

a remedy to overcome race prejudice and injustice, and the government we have chosen to be the government of all the people discriminates in a national emergency when we need every man we can get. What is the use of talking about schools and education? It seems to me that talk of education and leaving it to the schools is often the last refuge of a thwarted reformer. There is only one side to this question, not two. The very people we have put in office are the ones who are practicing discrimination and thereby arousing dangerous feelings. Some of my Negro friends have plainly said they hope the colored man on the other side of the globe will teach the white man a lesson. The United States fails to live up to its pretensions. Are we going to let Secretary Knox say no colored man can serve his country in the Navy? Are we going to continue the policy of permitting no colored man to serve in the Marine corps? This is the place where we must take our stand and we must not be deterred. Some say it is embarrassing to bring up this problem now. It is never embarrassing to a righteous man in a righteous cause to stand up for the Constitution.

Lester B. Granger, National Urban League.

We must insist that the government take a more active stand for the rights of minority groups. I am concerned about some of the practices carried on by the government in the national defense program. Every person here knows the way in which the Office of Production Management has pussy-footed, quibbled, and lied in order to protect the right of Negro citizens to work on defense contracts. The way in which reactionary cliques are able to govern is by the power of appropriation. For example, a House Committee is said to have blocked the Federal Works Agency to the point where Negro defense housing has been reduced and re-designation has been made for white workers. In Detroit dwellings for five hundred Negro families have been re-designated for white workers due to pressure brought to bear on the Federal Works Agency.

George W. Crawford, Lawyer, New Haven.

I think those who get into this area sometimes pass this matter over lightly and say that the government ought not to be appealed to, that we ought to use other means. The good that can come out of government intervention is not to be minimized. However reluctant the southern states are to carry on graduate education for Negroes, the decisions at least look in the right direction. It is true you cannot go the whole distance and you cannot entirely rely upon what may come out of government intervention, but it is also true that we should expect as much as we can get and insist on getting as much as we can from that source. Those interested in legislation in this area well know how frequently when we have sought to get civil rights bills in the northern states which will protect Negroes in public places, someone always says, "You cannot legislate morality into the people". Of course you cannot legislate morality and develop people's attitudes, but you can help, and if the legislature always waited until the general attitude reached a certain stage, there would never be occasion to pass any laws at all. While there are other means of approach and other techniques, nevertheless we ought to appeal to the government for assistance.

Arthur Spingarn, President, N. A. A. C. P.

The Levy Act, which is the New York civil rights bill for Negroes, has been resorted to in many more instances than happens to get into the papers. The problem has been to get other states to approximate this Act.

Mr. Brownlee.

Is the federal procedure which compels citizens to fight in time of war a justified procedure for a democracy? If so, then is it any less democratic for the government to decide what should be done in giving full citizenship status to Negroes? In other words, must not the government step in if we are not to wait forever for the development of proper attitudes on the part of the people?

Mr. Cottrell.

I am going to suggest that we move on to our third question and, as soon as you are ready to do so, directly into the fourth question on this list. The Committee has no intention of casting this seminar into a rigid mold and placing an interpretation upon the function of the session. Consequently we invite you to add to the interpretation which we have placed on this paper and to revise it. The problem then, if you are in accord with my sense of our meeting, is "Where has the work which we have tried to do in this matter been improperly conveived, and secondly where has the work been ineffective?"

Mr. Clement.

That is a question which the government itself asks when you begin to question what they are doing. Are we agreed that a truly democratic society is one in which there is no discrimination based on race or color?

G. E. E. Lindquist, National Fellowship of Indian Workers.

In the seminar on race relations held by the Home Missions Council a resolution was passed calling upon the Office of Indian Affairs in Washington because there was a move on foot to segregate North American Indians in special military units. The resolution asked that the Indians as citizens get the same rights in the Army and Navy as other citizens do. Today the American Indians are not segregated in any unit, but enlisted as any other American citizen. This appeal to the government may have turned the trick.

Mr. Haynes.

Government reflects the attitude of the majority that can enforce its will on it. One of the reasons why we do not get more of those things we expect from the government is that the weaker minorities cannot get their will across to the government. In order to be successful, interested groups must keep close check on

measures and follow them through. That is the way government gets things done. If we could get the church people all over this country to realize that if they would awaken to some of these things, and if they would become interested, government would change.

Mr. Spingarn.

I do not think this is the time for action. One of the tenets of equity is that no one can come into court without having clean hands. We have talked about education. We forget that 95% of the people we want to teach are filled with prejudice. If you let the great majority of teachers teach race relations, we would get nowhere. We are impatient with the government. How can churchmen who practice race segregation go to the government and say that they should not have segregated regiments when they have segregated churches? We cannot wait till the war is over. We should continue education. We cannot wait the hundred years or the thousand years more. We have got to do something now. The first thing is to reform ourselves as a body, but as individuals we can do something and I think we ought to address ourselves to those questions.

Mr. Maurer.

Connecticut has resisted federal pressure to defer Negroes from the draft.

Mr. Crawford.

Under the practice of the selective service act the divisional commanders of the various corps areas have very largely under their control the apportionment of quotas within their areas. In one division it was specified that the quotas for that section should be exclusively limited to white selectees and that Negro selectees should be deferred. The white people themselves protested against this discrimination because it meant that for every Negro who was deferred a white selectee was inducted out of order. This is contrary to the provisions of the selective service act.

The first board to object was one in which there was not a single Negro registrant. The objection was made on the basis that such discrimination was contrary to Connecticut tradition. Then there were many remonstrances from all over the state. State headquarters was notified that no selectees would be inducted unless all the selectees were inducted in the order in which they were reached. This has happened twice in that state.

Mr. Malinowski.

I want to support Mr. Spingarn's statement. We should come to the crucial point as quickly as we can. One of most important points is C-1 in the Statements and Questions on American Racialism.

I feel very strongly, not as a native citizen since I am not one, but as a native of this world and as a white man, that this war must be fought on all fronts—and that includes the moral front. As a teacher I believe in the value of the moral importance of scientific truths. We anthropologists know that the doctrine of racism is not based on scientific truth, and that it is as dangerous for those who are oppressors as it is for those who are victims. We are all deeply convinced that first and foremost no healthy body politic can exist in combination with the type of racial discrimination which the Anglo-Saxon world practices.

We have been discussing the privilege of Negroes to fight and die for this country. Are they going to fight for the government which has a color bar, or are they going to fight along side of us for true democracy? True democracy is certainly not the imposition of the will of the majority, but it takes into consideration the full rights of minorities.

I would like to question what Mr. Spingarn has said. Should we not fight this battle on all fronts? It is true that not one of us has a clear conscience with respect to his professions and his practices. When I went into the South I was shocked to find that there existed there two types of Christianity, and came

to the conclusion that God must have two bosoms in order to receive the faithful. I believe you are one step ahead of the Union of South Africa where the principle of racial discrimination is included in the documents of government. We must see that the government enforces as well as passes laws.

It is important that the white people be educated to the implications of racism. Racism as a form of folk-lore would not live two minutes if it did not have a whole block of vested interests behind it. When race prejudice is buttressed with a whole set of legal, economic, social and political vested interests, the fight is hard, and here I want to reflect on Mr. Brownlee's statement that "in one hundred years we have not solved the problem". We shall not be able to pass any world-shaking resolution here, but we insist that the flag of democracy has a very black stain on it and we should wipe it out.

C. S. Ledbetter, Minister, Charleston.

Such conferences as this one are apt to result in nothing because after much discussion we do nothing afterwards. If we could impliment some of the fine things said here and carry them out into the communities, that would be much better than waiting for children to grow up. Perhaps we could work together, without regard to race, behind a single project. In one city where the population is half white and half Negro, air raid shelters were constructed in the proportion of eleven for white people as against one for Negro people.

Thomas E. Jones, President, Fisk University.

Just what can we do here? This meeting in itself is an achievement. This group ought to be able to put some pressure or give some guidance or prick the consciences of people in this period of international fluidity that might keep alive and make effective the thing we have been interested in for the past hundred years. What will be the increase in national and state controls, is a real

question for all of us. This and similar groups who have something in their souls—it may be a kind of religion—should try to keep ourselves free from national and state controls to represent this idea as we work in our respective fields. Let us keep a conference like this together and let us resort to each other's minds and feelings and work in this period.

We have been suggesting ways and means of getting inside the door of state and federal affairs so that skillful and wise individuals can sit at the elbow of people making decisions and influence what is being said and done. Now I suppose that that technique has impressed us as being one of the most effective devices which has been used in the last few years. One of the most recent examples of that is the Churchill-Roosevelt conversations. Here were two white men planning the world. Now that has been changed, and I imagine some people in this room know why and how that change came about. The ramifications of that kind of thing involving millions of people are simply thrilling.

In times of war and crises where a decision may turn on a hair, it gives people who have such concerns great influence and power if we are right there at the moment. If we could look at our plan of strategy and re-examine and re-evaluate that technique, then, as the experience of the General Education Board has shown in the southern state departments of education, something could be accomplished if our representatives are at the key places.

Down at the grass roots we must keep experimenting on projects that are small enough—little social science laboratories—where we can discover new techniques of stimulating and controlling people's actions. The trouble with many of us reformers is that we try to take on the whole world, and when we find we cannot, we become disillusioned and defeated. I would say that there are three things we can do: 1) stay together, 2) get into the government, 3) experiment with small projects.

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

The same people that make up the government also make up the churches. You cannot have a democracy when one-third of the population cannot vote. There has been a recent decision of the Supreme Court which held that the primary is an essential step in the selection of political candidates and as such is subject to the regulations of the United States.

Our Commission has been working through the churches—the white women of the churches. You know one thing that the South respects is the Supreme Court of the United States and our consciences are never quite comfortable in evading its decisions. Therefore, it is a great step forward when the Supreme Court passes laws which will insure a more perfect democracy, for although at first the South may not follow the spirit of those laws, eventually it comes to observe them. We need federal aid for public education. To that end we need to have bill S-1313 passed. We need money in the South. We need help. We are going to have segregated schools in the South for many years to come. But there is no reason why we should not have equal opportunities for both races and we have got to get the money because we have not got it.

The opposition to this bill has come out of the North. We have got a lot of liberal teachers in the South, but they have got to get more money. The white teachers are not going to vote to have their salaries cut to assure equal salaries for white and Negro teachers. Education is of prime importance in helping to eradicate racialism in the South because even if a law should be passed declaring the poll tax illegal, we of the South could devise more ways to disenfranchise Negroes than you Northerners could think of if you lay awake many, many nights.

When twelve of our thirteen southern states eliminate Negroes from a democratic election, how is it going to look to other nations? This year our candidates must not make race a political issue. Our allies include many colored peoples. We must get our candidates to see this. The women of the South are doing

a perfectly courageous piece of work on the race problem. But you must help us. Pass bill 1313.

Ralph C. Jenkins, President, State Teachers College, Danbury, Connecticut.

Racism is a big problem, but instead of attacking it in all its ramifications, why don't we concentrate on one issue at a time, such as, for example, the elimination of discrepancies in Negro and white salary scales for teachers?

William N. DeBerry, Minister, Springfield, Massachusetts.

It seems to me that the implication of Mr. Spingarn's statements was that the Church had better clean house before making demands of the government. I am very sure that, as someone has suggested, we have to fight this battle on all fronts. However, in spite of all their shortcomings, we know that the major achievements in human betterment have come through the school and the Church.

John D. Banks, Pilgrim Fellowship of the Congregational Christian Churches.

The educational means which are available include not only books and schools, but also movies and the radio. For example, the Columbia School of the Air of the Americas does more good in the very area we are now discussing than almost anything that has been attempted by us. I think it is time that money be spent to insure education that will do the most good and be most effective. There are people who are interested in movies who are waiting for such groups as the Federal Council of Churches or any interested group to start something that might be termed perhaps "American Pictures, Inc." There are young people coming into the movie industry who would be good material to be put to work—young people who see the possibility of movies in an education larger and beyond that of books.

Very few of us realize that behind many of the stories we read in the newspapers there are certain small offices that are getting their projects across through free space offered to them in magazines and newspapers. Something like

that needs to be organized along the line of American racialism--a kind of Information Bureau. There are young people coming out of school each year who are interested in that kind of thing and there is no church group that will put them to work at it.

In the field of radio we are coming rapidly to the place where the resources of the combined churches through the Federal Council could sponsor an hour at a good time. Dramatic presentations of the place of the Negro people in American life are a possibility. Our education does not tend to keep up with the type of propaganda work which is done by people who use it for selfish purposes. We need to make more efficient use of available facilities. Some church money ought to go into the newer types of education.

Ambrose Caliver, U. S. Office of Education.

There are three points to which I would like to speak briefly. I wonder if you are aware of the fact that race antagonism seems to be increasing at a very rapid rate right now? It is unfortunate; we feel it keenly in Washington. There are many instances that I could cite which indicate that racial feeling is becoming tense. And, while we deplore the fact, there seems to be no organized group or individuals doing anything about it. What is true there, I am sure is true elsewhere. There seems to be a studied effort to thwart the movement that has gained impetus in recent years toward liberality and better racial feeling. Hence there is great timeliness of a meeting like this today, provided it results in some constructive social action.

Then there is the whole question of leadership. For some time I have taken the position that what Negroes need most of all is an emotionalized, intelligent leadership. We had emotional leadership for seventy-five years and it has taken us a long distance. During the past twenty-five years we have been getting a highly intellectualized leadership, so much so that we have had no zeal about what

we have been doing. We now need a combination of the fire and zeal of a Father Divine coupled with the intelligence of a Charles Johnson or a Charles Thompson to fire people with an enthusiasm to do something constructive.

I want to call your attention to what seems to be a very constructive forward step now being fostered by the federal government. It is trying to address itself to some of these particular problems and even though it is not doing everything it could do, it is trying through the broadcasts entitled "Freedom's People" to do something. This series dramatizes the story of Negroes in American life to show the nation what Negroes have done in building up this country and to help Negroes develop a sense of belonging here. We have been trying to nationalize the whole picture in such a way that it would catch fire and give someone some enthusiasm and zeal about what Negroes have done and can do.

Harold Kingsley, Minister, Chicago.

Our question in Chicago is one of morale and attitude of the colored people toward this war. I have been in Cleveland, Washington, New Haven and Hartford, and every place I have been the colored people are talking about the same thing: what is to be our attitude toward this war? We have been faced with discrimination in industry and in the army and navy, and we feel in Chicago that while the navy was making so many changes in its personnel, our good friend Mr. Knox might well have been changed too. In Cleveland blood offered by colored donors was refused by the Red Cross. Every time the Negro turns around in this war business, he is rebuffed. We all have sons to go. I have two. Other families have more. It is difficult for us to arouse enthusiasm for the war. Negroes are approaching it with sullenness. We are going into it like dumb driven cattle. The enthusiasm that others are able to enjoy is not ours.

Now, we ministers are worried about that. We have to preach to our people about being Christians and fighting for their country. We are not interested in

a racial war and every time a high official is quoted in magazines on his epithets against the yellow Japanese, we have an abhorent feeling.

William J. Schieffelin.

It seems to me that we are so close to the situation in its darker aspects that we do not see the grand vista beyond. Many years ago Tenneyson wrote the following lines:

"For I dipped into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the Vision of the world, and all the wonder that would be;

Saw the heavens fill with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales;

Heard the heavens fill with shouting, and there rained a ghastly dew
From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue."

But the poet who made those predictions, which today have been realized, also wrote the following:

"Till the war-drum throbbed no longer, and the battle-flags were furled
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world."

If he spoke truly in the first instance, why not in the second? Why don't we look ahead and see that even though our democracy is not perfect, we do have a wonderful prospect. Let us have the wider vision and the greater hope.

Evening Session

Mr. Cottrell.

What are the next steps for all organizations having these common concerns? Perhaps you will agree that we need to force ourselves to say in succinct terms what we think should be done about the matter of American racism. Where are we failing to do what we might do with better probability of making headway in our work? I think we need to focus sharply this evening on some agreements which may lead us to where we want to go.

Mr. Brownlee.

Mr. Easom, of the Division of Negro Education of the State of Mississippi wanted to be with us today, but he could not come. I have a letter from him which I would like to read in part to you.

> "From my point of view, it would be very short-sighted policy on the part of any church organization to discontinue its assistance to our Negro colleges in the South, just as I think it is short-sighted policy on the part of foundations to discontinue their work in Negro education. So far as the church is concerned, it might as well take the position that it should no longer preach the gospel of Jesus Christ, the founder of the church. The church has been doing this for many years; why not change to something else now? Such an attitude on the part of the church would be just as sane and sensible as a decision to discontinue aid to our institutions of learning.
>
> "The elimination of racialism cannot be done in a year, a decade, or even a century. I am convinced also that we have never gone about the solution of this problem as expertly as we should. We need to approach it from the standpoint of less emphasis on racialism and more emphasis on the common needs of all people in a community, in a section of our country, or in our country as a whole. This prejudice can be broken down. I have seen it done in Mississippi. It has got to be broken down, however, in the right way and in the course of time.
>
> "It is my earnest hope that our churches and even the foundations will yet re-consider and stay with this program in the Deep South. I am afraid that it will be a sad day when they all pull out and leave the field entirely."

Mr. Embree.

I want to bring you the greetings of Will Alexander who came to New York last night purposely to come to this meeting but was called back to Washington.

I would associate myself in general with Mr. Easom's remarks to the extent of saying that so long as there is a dollar in the Rosenwald Fund treasury, that Fund will have Negro education as its chief interest. I hope that the American Missionary Association will also give the welfare of Negroes its main attention for the next century.

I want to make a special suggestion in the form of a motion. It seems to me that we are at the opening of another era not only in America, but in world affairs. I do not know that that era is going to be any better, probably it will

be worse. But at any rate, a great many of the traditions and norms of history are being shattered and there is an opportunity now for some quite new things and for organization on a world basis. There has been some reference made already to movements that some of us have been fostering to bring America into a more intimate relationship with some of our colored allies as well as with our Anglo-Saxon allies. I am convinced that either we shall make a peace that will include on a democratic basis all the races of the world, or else in the next generation we shall have a real war—a war in which these submerged peoples will no longer content themselves with their status. I do not know whether we can persuade anybody that the way to avoid another war is to organize a real democracy of nations. We certainly were not able to organize a real peace at the end of the last war. A democratically governed, united nation in the future will place the American Negro in a larger framework of world democracy in which the Negro plays an important role.

Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I should like to move that:

> It is the sense of this meeting that the American Missionary Association be asked to appoint a commission on racism and international relations; and that the American Missionary Association be asked to implement that commission with an initial operating budget so that material can be gotten together and the various forces in this field can be rallied.

There should certainly be a budget of five or ten or fifteen thousand dollars. When and if that commission is appointed, I should like to see on it not only those of us who are old wheelhorses in racial work, but such persons as Pearl Buck and Margaret Mead. They are tremendously interested and ready to be active in the total question of world democracy. The bringing in of such minds as these will greatly stimulate the thinking and add a great deal to the power of such a commission.

Mr. Embree's motion was seconded.

William F. Frazier, Executive Vice-president, Board of Home Missions of the Congregational Christian Churches.

I am much interested in any practical comment on this situation with which we are dealing today. Last week I had dinner with six colored men of Atlanta; men about as prominent in the business life of Atlanta as you can find. I asked them the question we are now discussing. One of them said that the most important thing the American Missionary Association could do is to assist Negroes to get the ballot. In Atlanta there is a group of people wearing a blue button saying, "I am a qualified voter, are you?" It is important that Negroes should have the right to vote in the primaries. They are not able at present to vote there in any main election.

Another one of the men said, "That is all right, but when you have added the Negroes to the list of voters and see how incompetent they are from the economic standpoint, you have simply added a group that can be manipulated and bought, so you have added nothing fundamental. I have had the same thing said to me by several Negroes in two Connecticut cities, the feeling being that such men as have access to the better type of job have it because of a white sponsor. But now the white sponsor is disappearing and without a sponsor it is hard to break through any economic level and what remains is primarily domestic and agricultural work.

We have to ponder if there is any way to get at the bottom of this economic problem. We are a nation of 126 million with 14 million who have not had access to the training or privilege of functioning in the life of the nation in such a way that they can make a real contribution. The two problems we face are 1) Is there any way to get at the question of providing a political foundation? and 2) Is there any way of getting at economic fundamentals?

Our friend from Mississippi has suggested that we should support institutions of education. But the man in that group that I talked with, who is connected with

the schools, said that the majority of Negro graduates are going into the public schools to teach and whenever a Negro becomes a teacher he must have a closed mouth and cannot take part in the life of the race because of the politics of the school machinery in which he finds himself.

I feel that the statements of these men were significant. One felt that the essential thing was to deal with the political question. Another felt the essential thing was to some way break open the iron bar that has shut so many of the race out of economic development. A third felt that the general approach in our educational system has not been to help the whole race but rather to help a few get into a type of job where they could make a fair living.

Horace Mann Bond, President, Fort Valley State College, Georgia.

I would defend the processes of education and also those institutions in the South which train Southerners to work in a southern setting. If we can imagine the Negro population in the South and in the North without the work of the graduates of such schools as Atlanta, Fisk, Lincoln, and others, I think you would have something very much worse than anything we now have.

I have been made to realize from my experience in Georgia that there is no need for a Pollyanna frame of mind and certainly we cannot look for the millenium in the next century. But we realize our difficulties. If we will look back a few years, we will all be convinced that the condition of the Negro population is far advanced from what it was. I am not being at all complacent, but I think the contribution of the A. M. A. schools in training these people has been one of the most significant in the development of American civilization. I am happy in what has taken place; and if we can have the fortitude to realize that we are going to have our ups and downs but will adopt a perspective that will carry us through many years, I can think of no contribution that can be made in any of these fields more satisfactory than that promised by the slow process of educating people with character and intelligence to work with people in both the South and North

regardless of war, bitterness, and the obstacles we face now.

Mr. Jones.

Agreeing with all that has come out of our discussion, I would like to come back to the motion presented by Mr. Embree. If we can throw our whole attack in the next decades on racialism, we would have more chance for success than in anything we can think of. Of course we cannot legislate for the A. M. A., but in that area it seems to me we should be able to interest new foundations. A number of them have come into being and scarcely one of them has taken any interest in the race question. I think it is because they have not been interested in the old pattern. Everyone is looking for something that will be effective in this new world situation. It is not enough to ask the A. M. A. or these foundations set up on a continuing basis to do this. Could we not go on record as a group to keep thinking in the direction of racial work, sweep in new minds and new forces, and keep working at the people who are going to sit around the peace table and those back in the grass roots about this thing in the period of reconstruction and confusion that is bound to come when the firing stops? Could we not be sensitive in that area and see that somebody is at the right place to assure that those groups working in the problems of racial minorities have support and guidance? In those ways we could become a bulwark and a force in this new period in our attack on the race question.

I should like to see also that we agree that we cannot solve these problems out of our throats. The hymn book and Bible are very well, but we have got to preach with our muscles in projects, in physical reconstruction, in ways backed up by the soul that will not give in, bow and die. If we could apply this and not get lost in the details, I believe we could get somewhere.

Mr. Haynes.

Our Federal Council of Churches has a Commission on a Just and Durable Peace

that is dealing with the international aspects of the post-war era. I think they are going to deal with the international aspects of racialism. They have felt that America's impact on the whole situation is most unique and that there will be a place for all of the groups that are trying to work out a common procedure. The Commission is to be set up to represent the conscience of America. If the commission suggested by Mr. Embree is to be set up, we hope that it will be done in consultation with other organizations that might be interested so that whatever is done represents a cross-section of the agencies that will be able to make it effective; that what comes out of this process will in some way be implemented.

Mr. Crawford.

I am in favor of the motion but I am also in favor of a definition of functions which would lead somewhat in a different direction from that indicated by Mr. Embree. We have been talking about democracy. I think that one of the concerns of this or any other similar gathering must be that there should come to pass, as a part of the expression of education and democracy, the democratic management and control of Negro education by Negroes. I have nothing to say that is necessary in defense of the history of Negro education and its administration up to this time. But I think we should be entirely mistaken if we assumed that education or any of the other concerns of Negro life are to go on in the future under the same sort of management. It was perfectly all right and could not be avoided in the eras that have passed to have hand-picked, paternalistic administrators in the Negro schools. But the new generation, to which many of us here do not belong, will have a different idea. The Negro people will insist that they be placed in positions of responsibility. Those who are working in this area must get the idea that they are working with Negroes, not for Negroes, and on a basis that does not imply even a beneficent paternalism as far as the Negro is concerned.

My interest in this motion is this: I do not believe that any commission appointed by this meeting or the Federal Council of Churches or the Phelps-Stokes Fund or any other foundation is worth its salt to accomplish the things that need to be done unless it somehow represents the voice and best thinking of the Negro people themselves in policies and leadership. I therefore recommend that:

> If such a commission as that suggested here tonight is developed, it will concern itself primarily with the setting up of some body on which will be adequately represented the Negro people.

It would seem to me that instead of looking toward the formation of such a commission under the auspices of the A. M. A. or any foundation, the proper step would be to formulate some sort of procedure by which there could be set up a representative organization where the voice and opinion of the Negro people will be reflected. We are at the place where the old policy must give way. Trustee boards in Negro schools have somehow got to reconcile themselves to the larger representation on those boards of people who will not only be sympathetic with the aspirations of the Negro people, but will actually represent them.

Mr. Cole.

There is one group of leaders in this country that is not very well represented here today. I speak of the public school educators, and particularly those who are immediately responsible for teaching children. However much we may improve Negro education, we can never expect to solve this problem of race until we re-educate our white students. There has been a strong change in the temper of the nation with reference to teaching inter-race relations in the public schools. The National Education Association will present a year book on inter-cultural education in San Francisco and some of us will participate in that discussion. Dr. Ruth Benedict has recently prepared a manual for the teachers of social sciences in the United States. Our Bureau for Inter-cultural Education is furnishing such a manual. The Education Policies Commission of the National Education

Association recently asked for a memorandum on this subject. The public school people are definitely interested in this whole problem.

R. B. Eleazer, Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Atlanta.

This is the field in which the Southern Commission on Interracial Cooperation first began its work. Since then we have attempted to add suggestions for specific courses; but these, after all, reach only a limited number of students. However, courses dealing with race relations have been introduced in departments of history, literature, civics, sociology and education in the South. 750 college professors in 400 colleges have from time to time put into their courses study units calculated to make the students more intelligent and familiar and appreciative of the place of the Negro race in American society.

Of late we have been concentrating on an approach to the teachers colleges, realizing that unless we can get at the teachers who deal directly with the students, we have an almost impossible job on our hands to reach the children. We have on our list of cooperating institutions every teachers college in the South with perhaps two or three exceptions. About thirty or forty are regularly attempting to do something constructive in relation to the problem. We have published a vast amount of literature intended to fit into these various integrated courses of study. These courses are used to undercut false notions about race. I examined a number of history books of the type commonly used in our southern schools and I found nothing in them to give the Negro child any pride of race or any feeling of belonging to this country. I found nothing recording the place of his race in American culture. The white child, too, sees nothing of this and I think it is safe to say that the average child coming through the average course in American history will come out with his prejudices confirmed. A more honest presentation of American history will do something to the attitudes of both colored and white children. Of some twenty civics books I went through, only one gave as much as a

chapter to race problems. We have been attempting to condition the teachers to carry to the millions of white children some fundamental concepts of a very simple sort that will change their notions and attitudes. I do not know of any way you can hope for any permanent progress until you have done something to the minds of the great mass of people who determine our social and political policies. You say, "Give the Negro the ballot". Yes, but how? "By law". But it cannot be done that way. In North Carolina, a very liberal state, I talked with a very intelligent Negro, the owner of some trucks and land, and a highly respected person. I said, "Do you vote?" "No", he replied. "Do any Negroes here vote?" "No." "Why not?" I asked. "Nobody told you not to, did they?" "No, but we understand that we are not expected to vote." That is a very real device for disenfranchisment in the South—social pressure. You can never give the Negro suffrage by law or by any appeal to law.

Ruth Benedict, Columbia University.

I am an educator and of course I believe something can be done through education on racial problems. However, I am thinking of myself now as a church member. It seems to me that since we are gathered here at the call of a church group, there is something for us to discuss about what the churches can do. It seems to me that we are overlooking a great organization that could be put to work. Are we able to place the influence of our churches behind any local need so that Negroes could, for example, get proper housing?

The churches have a great membership. The church is a great and going concern. How much they could throw behind a movement that would attempt to solve the race problem! As I understand this meeting, we are here to consider the ways and means in which the churches can be put to work to implement programs for better inter-racial cooperation.

Mr. Brownlee.

The problem is even larger than that. We of the churches need to be concerned with education, legislation, and all the other factors in our culture that can be utilized to the end that inter-racial brotherhood be brought about and a truer form of democracy established.

Miss Kenyon.

We have been told about the Negro defense housing project in Detroit which was diverted to a white project. Where were the churches of Detroit when that happened?

Thomas A. Tripp, Board of Home Missions, Congregational Christian Churches.

Looking at the relationships of life might give us a better perspective. Perhaps the easiest work is done in the secondary relationships such as foreign missions. But maybe our work should be in primary relationships—in our own neighborhoods. We must help the churches to know what they can do. For example, there is the excellent work of Williams of Chattanooga. His church saw to it that the Negroes got places in which they could buy good shoes at fair prices. If we could set up some sort of process whereby we could keep pegging away with little leaflets and pamphlets, we could help little church groups to know what they could do and how they might do it. That would be as great a contribution to solving the race problem as anything else I can mention.

Miss Powdermaker.

When people operate on their race prejudices, they have two possible motivations: 1) it pays and they do not suffer, and 2) their actions stem from anxiety and fear. In many states in the South I frequently found that white men who were pillars of the church were the very ones who were mistreating their Negro sharecroppers. So far as I could see, in one particular community the local church

took no stand. It would seem to me that here in this community prejudice brought prestige as well as profit. We cannot do anything about the profits, but we can do something about the prestige. Churches could work on both of these things. You cannot allay fears with facts because fears are not based on facts. The anxieties and fears have to be removed by emotional methods. This comes within the province of church work.

Mr. Cottrell.

I should like to call our attention to Mr. Embree's motion to set up a commission to do a particular job. Another way to look at this motion might be to see it in broader terms. It might be in order for us to ask how large a task in terms of organization there is to be done in the field of race relations. What kinds of organizations seem to be involved? What organizations do we now have to rely on? What resources of existing groups could be drawn together? How large a task would it be to co-ordinate our activities? This meeting has been called to consider what one church group may do, but the meeting is also conceived in larger terms—in terms of eliminating American racism from American society. What is the job for all groups working at this problem? The task is more than working out techniques of attack.

Mr. Tobias.

I think the A. M. A. should continue to make Negro education the major part of its program. I think it should seek to strengthen the existing institutions. I mean by that to secure financial support and increased endowments for its colleges. I think that is a primary responsibility. I think that those of us who are here as visitors and who through the years have had an opportunity to observe the work of the A. M. A. are obligated to let the members of the Association under whose auspices we are gathered here know how outside observers view the work done by the A. M. A. This is no time to let up, but a time to re-double efforts and to enlarge programs.

A second task for the Association would be to use its influence with leaders of the church with which it is affiliated to the end that they may come up to the front line, as it were, in their interest in race relations. Pearl Buck has been referred to. I am convinced from all that I have observed and read about her that she is doing a valliant job in this area. We will recall that she put all her prestige on the line. She identified herself with all her world prestige with the struggles of the Negro group. Since, she has had little groups of Negroes in her board room at the John Day Company every week, with people like Raymond Gram Swing, Lowell Thomas and others, bringing them into contact with Negro leaders who might express themselves to such outstanding public persons. That is a suggestion to an organization that is distinctly a church organization of the opportunity and the responsibility that it has to line up the most important people in the churches to the end that they may make themselves known and felt on the issue. It is exactly the method that has been followed with regard to other great questions in our country. I can think of twenty persons who, if they were to speak today in one voice to the President of the United States about the problems that we have discussed here today, would bring about a change in conditions overnight. I think it is the responsibility of an organization like ours to line up the really important people, but I think that this needs to be done also so that when a person speaks out as Pearl Buck has done, she will not be alone, and the President and the Congress of the United States will know that she is not alone. The government will know that other important people in American life stand with her.

Katherine Gardiner, Federal Council of Churches.

I think we need to have leaders who will popularize the problem of race relations in our churches. Some goals in regard to segregation in the churches need to be adopted.

Mrs. Elizabeth G. Whiting, Council for Social Action of the Congregational Christian Churches.

Why could not the story of the rejection of Negro blood be used to bring the whole problem before the people of our churches? It is a new approach and it is timely.

Douglas Horton, General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches.

Could we not write a brief letter taking up some of today's suggestions, and describing the intolerable situation which we find ourselves in? I for one would be glad to sign such a letter. It would not go from any of the organizations represented here, but from a group of us as individuals.

My conscience has been pricking me ever since I arrived. We all feel the force of the arguments which have been laid before us. What can the little church in Jonesville do about it? Would it be well for the people to seek out Negro families in their communities and bring them into the white churches? Should I as a member of Broadway Tabernacle seek out a Negro church in Harlem and take my family there? Let us say that 90% of the churches fail to live up to their ideals, but there is a minority of churches up and down the country looking for ways to break down race barriers. If there were two or three Negro families in some of the white churches and vice versa, would they serve as a symbol of what we might have? I am asking questions for I am puzzled. We would like to have a good, wise, intelligent technique which we ourselves could use in our own neighborhoods.

Mr. Patterson.

The A. M. A. should stay in the picture. It has done a great work and that job is not yet finished. I have been wondering, as all of our educational institutions look forward to the next hundred years, if we do not have the obligation to be perhaps a little more realistic about the job we are attempting to do. It may be that the Negro people are more ready for a realistic job of education than

ever before. I think they are disillusioned about integration into the American culture pattern. Some of them feel that some minority strategy of approach is going to be necessary for some time to come. I believe our leadership will be more effective if we can put our problem in words that the masses of the Negro people can understand—that we attend to the problem of how to make a more satisfactory economic adjustment possible. I am impressed with the fact that we as leaders are probably a little bit too far ahead of the masses. I do not think they always see us and know what we are driving at. That is because they do not interpret the things that we have to say in terms of their major needs at this time. Neither the white nor the colored group here represents the masses. We have a responsibility to get sufficiently close to them so that the methods we choose to solve these problems will be those they can understand. The vast majority are not concerned about racism. They are concerned about economic needs, and until we try to reach them through that need, we shoot beside the mark.

Mr. MacCracken.

It does seem to me that such a commission as was suggested by Mr. Embree calls for the encouragement of church activity in this field.

Mr. Cottrell.

May I read the motion which Mr. Embree presented.

> That it is the sense of this meeting that the American Missionary Association be asked to appoint a commission on racism and international relations; and that the American Missionary Association be asked to implement that commission with an initial operating budget so that material can be gotten together and the various forces in this field can be rallied.

I should like to call for a vote on this motion.

Robbins W. Barstow, President, Hartford Theological Seminary.

I am very much aware of the psychology to which Mr. Crawford has referred: that any group must realize that it is much better to work with any other group

than for them; to try to integrate an idea through their cooperative efforts than to embody an idea directed toward the other group. In the second place, I do think that we are organized to the point of despair. In my own community whenever a new organization is proposed I always hope that we can scrap six of the existing ones. It might be a wise procedure in carrying out the spirit of the motion presented by Mr. Embree, to suggest the following:

> That the American Missionary Association be encouraged to carry these contacts further and perhaps call a conference so that with the aid of these existing agencies it can be seen if they can correlate what they are doing and among themselves sub-divide into groups to accomplish the work before them.

There is a need for existing organizations to correlate their studies and surveys. Along that line it seems to me we could carry the spirit of this proposal without forming another organization.

Mr. Tobias.

I should like to say, with respect to the Commission for a Just and Durable Peace, that its references in the preliminary drafts to Africa and India are so incidental as to suggest that no satisfactory treatment of the subject from the world angle would come out of that Commission, and that is not a criticism of the work of the Commission. The Phelps-Stokes Fund is the one to study Africa and peace aims. Mr. Embree's motion takes in all the colored peoples of the world. When we remember the struggle of Japan before the League of Nations in the interest of the principle of racial equality, it would seem that there needs to be considerable study of this question. I think we can say that Negro leaders are thinking about this. Men in the educational field, like Rayford Logan and groups working with him, have seen the need for something. Therefore, I find myself hoping that the A. M. A. will take the responsibility for organizing such a commission whether it wants to take the responsibility for carrying it on or not. We should get the best people in America interested in this vital question, regardless of

race or creed. I believe that confidence in the A. M. A. is strong enough to assure its wholehearted support in this new venture.

Mr. Caliver.

I was going to caution against a motion attempting to carry on more studies of Negro life in America. Negroes have been studied more than any other group in the world. I would like to see a motion to take those studies and see whether they are any good and go forward in developing a technique of social action in terms of the studies already made.

Miss Kenyon.

The A. M. A. has been particularly successful in making indigenous approaches at its various schools. I wish we could have five to ten thousand dollars for one project in the South and one in the North in which our churches and schools, white and Negro, could work on some phase of the race relations problem.

Mr. Clement.

I want to support Mr. Embree, that we ask the A. M. A. to undertake the establishment of a commission, but I would like to suggest that if the A. M. A. finds that $10,000 is too small a fund or is not available, that they will not hesitate to talk with other corporations about this whole idea. Racism is not local or even national, but international.

I keep thinking about Japan's plea for brotherhood before the League of Nations several years ago. I keep thinking of Haile Selassie's plea. We are not going to have peace in the world of any sort until we agree that we ought to have some kind of society where discrimination based on race is non-existent.

This commission, if it is appointed and put to work on the problem of racism and the international situation, ought to have as its frame of reference the

fundamental assumption that mankind is one, and that there should not be a society where discrimination is made on the basis of race or color.

Monroe Work, Tuskegee Institute.

We are working out our program for peace before the war has ended. That is well for we need to do this. We have no organization today to handle the race situation, but we are in a position to do that by setting up an organization such as has been proposed by Mr. Embree.

N. C. Newbold, North Carolina State Department of Education.

Mr. Embree's motion appeals to my imagination. I hope that this group will find it desirable to accept the motion. If we find ourselves enmeshed in too many organizations and discover that there is a duplication of effort, we could easily withdraw.

Mr. Barstow.

My point is that commissions, committees and other organizations do not tend to withdraw when they find duplication. I would suggest that a new commission should grow out of exploratory contacts if it is seen that such a commission is needed.

Charles H. Thompson, Editor-in-chief, Journal of Negro Education.

I am in favor of the motion. It would seem desirable to combine the energies of the many organizations interested in the same field of work.

It was finally moved, seconded and carried that the following action represent the sentiments of the seminar:

> Voted that it is the sense of this assembly that the American Missionary Association be encouraged to carry forward its contacts looking toward a closer integration of existing agencies in racial work, correlating their studies and surveys,

and using cooperatively their expert staffs in coming to close grips with the problems of racism in America and in the world at large; and should it be desirable, a general commission might be formed to implement future work.

Mr. Crawford.

I move that this conference express its appreciation to the American Missionary Association for calling and sponsoring this seminar, and to the Broadway Tabernacle for extending its hospitality to us.

Mr. Cottrell.

I think I express the appreciation of the A. M. A. Division Committee and of myself personally when I thank you for the generous manner in which all of you who are busy and some who have come a long distance have given of your time and interest in attending and participating in this seminar. We appreciate it greatly.

3/27/42
300
hpd

FISK UNIVERSITY
SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

RACE RELATIONS DIVISION
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

CHARLES S. JOHNSON, DIRECTOR

ALVIN E. ANDREWS
JOSIE B. SELLERS HORNE
GRACE JONES
HAROLD KINGSLEY
HERMAN H. LONG
MARGARET MCCULLOCH
EDMONIA GRANT

November 7, 1944

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I am coming to Atlanta on November 11 to see the Cranbrook Exhibit and I should like to have some time with you and the other members of the Southern Regional Council Staff. I should like to gain enough information about the SRC to be able to cooperate more intelligently as an AMA Staff worker. I have just wired Dr. Ira DeA. Reid asking him if the Council office is open on Saturday. If it is not, I shall be forced to be in Atlanta on November 10.

I am on my way to New York but the understanding in Atlanta will contribute much to my effectiveness there.

Sincerely yours,

Edmonia W. Grant

(Mrs.) Edmonia W. Grant
Director of Education

EWG:GWH

AMA

December 27, 1944

Miss Margaret C. McCulloch
Race Relations Division
American Missionary Association
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tennessee

Dear Miss McCulloch:

Thank you for your letter of December 22. I am sending you under separate cover a package of materials illustrating the "Tenth Man" project which Dr. Kleazer promoted in the high schools when he was with the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. I think that these will be useful to you in your analysis of race relations projects for young people.

There is a good deal of this sort of thing in the files of the Commission, but with our limited staff we can not undertake to assemble it or make notes about it. I am afraid that Mr. Brown got the wrong impression on this point. Of course, you are welcome to come and make whatever use of the files you wish.

All good wishes for the new year.

Sincerely yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m
Separate cover

P.S.- Please return the materials when you are through with them.

FISK UNIVERSITY
SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

RACE RELATIONS DIVISION
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

CHARLES S. JOHNSON, DIRECTOR

ALVIN E. ANDREWS
JOSIE B. SELLERS HORNE
GRACE JONES
HAROLD KINGSLEY
HERMAN H. LONG
MARGARET MCCULLOCH
EDMONIA GRANT

December 22, 1944

Dr. Guy Johnson
Dr. Ira deA Reid
Southern Regional Council
Room 432 - 63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson and Dr. Reid:

On his return from his recent trip East Mr. Edward Brown of our staff told me that he had talked with you relative to materials on interracial activities of high school age groups which I am desirous of assembling and examining for use in preparing a pamphlet for the Missionary Education Movement. The enclosed form letter will give you a bit more detail on the scheme of the pamphlet.

Mr. Brown tells me that you advised him that there are a good many reports of such activities in your files and that some of these could be "just bundled up and sent along" to me, that others would have to be kept in your files but that notes based on them could be sent me. I should very much appreciate having these materials as early in January as you can let me have them as the draft of the pamphlet must be ready shortly thereafter.

If there is any further information I need to give you for your guidance in selecting materials please let me know at once and I shall be prompt in answering questions though I have tried to indicate the type of materials in the enclosed letter.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret C. McCulloch

Margaret C. McCulloch

mcm:h

FISK UNIVERSITY
SOCIAL SCIENCE INSTITUTE
NASHVILLE 8, TENNESSEE

RACE RELATIONS DIVISION
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

CHARLES S. JOHNSON, DIRECTOR

ALVIN E. ANDREWS
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GRACE JONES
HAROLD KINGSLEY
HERMAN H. LONG
MARGARET MCCULLOCH
EDMONIA GRANT

Drs. Johnson & Reid
Southern Regional Council

Dear Dr Johnson & Dr Reid.

The Missionary Education Movement of the United States and Canada is preparing a series of pamphlets on Christianity and race relations in the United States, for use in the home mission study program in 1946. Our office is assisting with one of these, designed for 15-17 year old boys and girls and older youth, that will describe projects already being carried on and make suggestions for further action. Many encouraging activities are being carried on by such youth groups all over the country but it is difficult to assemble accounts of them. Will you help us at this point?

This letter is going to editors of youth magazines and interracial publications, leaders of youth groups, and workers in inter-racial organizations. Whichever you are, will you use the channels open to you to ask young people or their leaders to report any activities in race relations which they are conducting, either to you for forwarding to us or directly to me at this office? We shall also be grateful for any stories that you have at hand. Please indicate the age of the young people engaging in the activity.

We should like to know of programs conducted by young people for better understanding among Indian, Oriental, White, and Negro people; of interracial study or fellowship groups, of action projects either by youth of one racial group for another, or by two or more racial groups working together on some enterprise of common interest.

Any information to be used in this particular pamphlet should be in my hands before the end of January 1945, the sooner the better.

Sincerely yours,

Margaret C. McCulloch

Margaret C. McCulloch

mcm:p

ama

November 26, 1945

Mrs. Edmonia W. Grant
Director of Education
Race Relations Division, AMA
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Dear Mrs. Grant:

Thank you for sending us copies of the very attractive Christmas cards and the promotion blurbs. We have been somewhat snowed under recently with our annual meeting and the inevitable aftermath of activity, but we have selected a good list of Council members to whom we are sending samples of the cards today. I hope that there will be some good responses.

Very best wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

The Board of Home Missions

of the Congregational and Christian Churches

287 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION

FRED L. BROWNLEE
General Secretary

RUTH A. MORTON
Director of Schools

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
Director of Race Relations

MRS. EDMONIA W. GRANT
Director of Education
Race Relations Division

RECEIVED
NOV 16 1945
Southern Regional Council

November 15, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Dr. Charles S. Johnson has suggested that you might help in the promotion of sales of our Christmas greeting cards. Enclosed are the two cards which we now have on sale. We conceive of the project as one card with two different scenes because the legends are the same on both cards. In filling orders we send one-half of each scene.

Under separate cover we are sending you fifty of each scene and 100 promotion blurbs. You may want to distribute these with a letter to the members of your Executive Committee as well as to your staff and others. We think that it is very important that these cards have wide distribution at Christmas time. They are of extreme importance at this particular Christmas. We appreciate your cooperation.

Very truly yours,

Edmonia W. Grant

(Mrs.) Edmonia W. Grant
Director of Education
Race Relations Division, AMA
Fisk University, Nashville

EWG:AS

The Board of Home Missions
of the Congregational and Christian Churches
287 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
FRED L. BROWNLEE
General Secretary
RUTH A. MORTON
Director of Schools
CHARLES S. JOHNSON
Director of Race Relations
MRS. EDMONIA W. GRANT
Director of Education
Race Relations Division

RECEIVED
NOV 16 1945
Southern Regional Council

November 14, 1945

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E. Room 432
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

Our first Christmas after victory bids us to re-think the message of "Peace on earth, good will toward men" in terms of today's world. We have tried to do this with our new Christmas greeting cards.

Because we thought you and your colleagues might be interested in using this new greeting card, we are enclosing one for your examination. Please display it advantageously.

The cards with envelopes cost $5.00 per hundred. The cards are not folded in order that those who want to have their names engraved on them by some local printer may be able to do so. We do no engraving.

Because our supply is limited, I advise you to place your order with me at Fisk University as soon as possible in order to insure delivery. We are beginning to fill orders now.

Cordially yours,

Edmonia W. Grant

(Mrs.) Edmonia W. Grant
Director of Education
Race Relations Division, AMA
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tenn.

EWG:AS
enc.

Our first Christmas after victory bids us to re-think the message, "Peace on earth, good will toward men," in terms of today's world. This we have tried to do with our new Christmas greeting card which is enclosed.

The cards with envelopes are $5.00 per hundred. The cards are not folded in order that those who want to have their names engraved on them by some local printer may be able to do so. We do no engraving.

Send your order and check to:

Mrs. Edmonia W. Grant, Director of Education
Race Relations Division, American Missionary Association
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tenn.

Please make the check payable to Dr. Charles S. Johnson, Director

"... a world in which there shall be justice and right dealing between men of all races, and in which the Christian Law of Brotherhood shall be fulfilled."

"...and we ask Thy help and guidance that we may do our utmost to help make this a better world, a world in which children may grow up unafraid."

March 8, 1946

Dr. Fred L. Brownlee
American Missionary Association
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Dr. Brownlee:

I am writing to ask your help in clarifying the status of the American Missionary Association's grant to the Southern Regional Council. We were under the impression that Dr. Charles S. Johnson had approved a grant in the amount of $1,000 for our 1945 budget. In July of last year we received a check for $250, which was described as a quarterly payment, but this was all we received. A recent letter from Miss Wernert to Miss Clay states that no provision has been made for an additional appropriation.

Since Dr. Charles S. Johnson has gone to Japan, we are not sure what the situation is now with respect to an appropriation to the Council. Naturally, we are hopeful that we will receive an appropriation of at least $1,000 toward our 1946 budget. Shall we submit a formal application? I shall greatly appreciate your advice.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

The Board of Home Missions
of the Congregational and Christian Churches
287 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION

FRED L. BROWNLEE
GENERAL SECRETARY
RUTH A. MORTON
DIRECTOR OF SCHOOLS
CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR OF RACE RELATIONS

RECEIVED
MAR 18 1946
Southern Regional Council

March 15, 1946

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

Your letter of March 8 concerning the A. M. A. appropriation for the Southern Regional Council is before me.

As I understand it, Dr. Johnson tentatively listed $1,000 in his budget for 1945-1946. Our fiscal year runs from June 1 through May 31 and appropriations are sent out quarterly. However, this item is a part of the general appropriation for the work of the Race Relations Department subject to Dr. Johnson's recommendations. At present he is in Japan. We shall have to await his return, and I would advise that you write him directly at Fisk University concerning this matter.

Yours cordially,

Fred L. Brownlee

Fred L. Brownlee

flb hd

THE BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS
OF THE CONGREGATIONAL AND CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
287 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION

RECEIVED
JUL 25 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dear Friend:

We hope you have used the "Races of Mankind" posters with profit to your groups. To keep you, our patron, up-to-date with our new materials, we are sending you copies which are enclosed. "What Do You Know about Races?" is a question and answer test which you are free to mimeograph for use with your groups. In your poster set you received a copy of the annotated bibliography, "American Minority People during World War II;" enclosed is a revised copy.

Last year our inter-racial Christmas greeting cards came off the press late and many people expressed regret that they did not know about them earlier. Cards for Christmas 1946 are now ready for sale. From the enclosed announcement and samples, you see that two different cards are available on white, yellow and blue paper. These cards with envelopes are $7.00 per hundred, a price which you recognize as a wholesale price. If you like the cards well enough to use them, we should like to have your order early. The cards are packaged flat so that if you desire it, your printer can engrave your name with ease.

Very truly yours,

Edmonia W. Grant

(Mrs.) Edmonia W. Grant
Director of Education
Race Relations Division, AMA
Fisk University
Nashville 8, Tenn.

EWG:AS
enc.

September 20, 1946

Dr. Fred L. Brownlee
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

Dear Dr. Brownlee:

Thank you for your letter of September 18. I am glad that you like New South.

We are sending under separate cover one hundred copies of the August New South, and we are putting you on the list to receive a hundred copies each month. I am sure there is no one who can make better use of the publication. We deeply appreciate the interest and support of the American Missionary Association.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:MJ

Send 100 copies Aug. New South, + return to Mrs. Tillison

E.H.
9/20/46
Memo to EKN. to send him 100 copies each mo.

Give to G.B.T. after replying

The Board of Home Missions
of the Congregational and Christian Churches

287 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N.Y.

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION

FRED L. BROWNLEE
GENERAL SECRETARY

RUTH A. MORTON
DIRECTOR OF SCHOOLS

CHARLES S. JOHNSON
DIRECTOR OF RACE RELATIONS

September 18, 1946

RECEIVED
SEP 19 1946
Southern Regional Council

Dr. Guy B. Johnson
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Johnson:

I'm particularly pleased with the August number of "New South"--all the numbers are good. Could you send me one hundred copies of the August number for wise circulation?

It might be to the good of the Southern Regional Council to send me one hundred copies each month. The A.M.A. was the first missionary society to support the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. I'm eager to keep some of our key people informed about the work of the SRC.

Yours cordially,

Fred Brownlee

Fred L. Brownlee

flb hd

RECEIVED
NOV 20 1946
Southern Regional Council

One World
One People

CENTENNIAL INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS

Friday, November 22, 1946

BROADWAY TABERNACLE
211 W. 56 St. at Broadway
New York City

Morning
Afternoon
Evening

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION 1846 1946

Morning—Ten o'Clock

BASIC UNDERSTANDINGS . . . Ira De A. Reid, *presiding*

FACTS ABOUT RACE . . . Ruth Benedict, *Anthropologist*

MORE FACTS ABOUT RACE . . . Ashley Montagu, *Anatomist*

FACTS AND EMOTIONS . . . . Smiley Blanton, *Psychiatrist*

DISCUSSION

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Luncheon—Twelve Forty-five

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Afternoon—Two o'Clock

PROGRAMS OF ACTION . . . Channing Tobias, *presiding*

BUREAU FOR INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION . . . H. H. Giles

N A A C P . . . . . Marian Perry

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE . . . . . Julius Thomas

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL . . . . . Paul Williams

AMERICAN COUNCIL ON RACE RELATIONS . . . Will Alexander

FEDERAL COUNCIL OF CHURCHES . . . . George Haynes

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION . . . . Herman Long

CHURCH FELLOWSHIPS . . . . . Galen Weaver

DISCUSSION

Dinner—Six-Thirty

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Evening—Eight o'Clock

(Open To The Public)

ONE WORLD—ONE PEOPLE . . Truman Douglass, *presiding*

HUMAN WELFARE AND RACE . . . . . Benjamin Mays

AUNT MARY ANN'S BIRTHDAY . . . . . Fred Brownlee

ADVENTURES IN EQUALITY . . . . . Margaret Halsey

•

WHAT'S WHAT AND WHO'S WHO

In sponsoring this Centennial Institute the American Missionary Association seeks to thrust its ideals of human brotherhood into the future on the basis of intelligent understanding and forthright action. The Association was founded in a Baptist church in Albany, New York, on September 3, 1846, as an abolition society. It opened the first antislavery mission in Africa and the first school for freedmen south of the Mason and Dixon Line. It sought from the beginning to foster free public schools and trained their first teachers. It took the lead in chartering Howard University and founded Hampton Institute, Fisk University, Atlanta University, Talladega College, LeMoyne College, Tougaloo College, Straight College (now Dillard University), and Tillotson College. In 1896—fifty years ago—these institutions had fewer than 300 bona fide college students; today they have 11,500, with a combined annual current expense budget of four million dollars. Its Department of Race Relations, under the direction of Charles S. Johnson, is at the service of all agencies and institutions which seek to improve human relations through better interracial relations. Its office is at 287 Fourth Avenue, New York City.

Broadway Tabernacle, in the early days, was the Chatham Street Chapel, which was the center of antislavery agitation under the inspiration of Arthur and Lewis Tappan, New York merchants, who were among the founders of the American Missionary Association.

IRA De A. REID—Sociologist; Professor at New York University and Haverford College; Author.

RUTH BENEDICT—Anthropologist; Professor at Columbia University; Author.

ASHLEY MONTAGU—Anatomist; Professor at Hahnemann Medical College; Author.

SMILEY BLANTON—Psychiatrist; Director of the Consultation Clinic at the Marble Collegiate Church; Author.

CHANNING TOBIAS—Director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

H. H. GILES—Executive Director of the Bureau for Intercultural Education; Formerly a Professor of Education.

MARIAN PERRY—Assistant Special Counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

JULIUS THOMAS—Director of Industrial Relations, National Urban League.

PAUL WILLIAMS—President of the Southern Regional Council.

WILL ALEXANDER—Vice President, Julius Rosenwald Fund.

GEORGE HAYNES—Director of the Department of Race Relations, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.

HERMAN LONG—Associate Director of the Department of Race Relations of the American Missionary Association.

GALEN WEAVER—Director, Committee on Church and Race, Congregational Christian Churches.

TRUMAN DOUGLASS—Executive Vice President, Board of Home Missions of the Congregational Christian Churches.

BENJAMIN MAYS—President of Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia.

MARGARET HALSEY—Author and Lecturer.

FRED BROWNLEE—General Secretary of the American Missionary Association.

INSTITUTE ON RACIAL UNDERSTANDING AND INTERRACIAL ACTION

A One-Day Study Conference Commemorating the
One Hundredth Anniversary of the American Missionary Association

Broadway Tabernacle, 211 W. 56th St., New York City

RECEIVED
OCT 28 1946
Southern Regional Council

November 22, 1946

Tentative Program

(Attendance at the Morning, Luncheon and Afternoon Sessions is limited by 200 by special invitation or request.)

10:00 A.M.--12:30 P.M. BACKGROUND FOR ACTION, Dr. Truman B. Douglass presiding

A. What To Believe About Race . . . . Dr. Ruth Benedict, Professor of Anthropology, Columbia University

B. A Psychiatrist Looks at Race and Race Relations . Dr. Smiley Blanton, Director of Consultation Clinic, Marble Collegiate Church

C. Race, Anthropology and Religion . . . . Dr. Ashley M. F. Montagu, Assoc. Professor of Anatomy, Hahnemann Medical College, Philadelphia

D. Discussion

1:00--1:50 P.M. Luncheon and Discussion

2:00--5:45 P.M. MEDIA AND METHODS OF GROUP ACTION, Dr. Ira Reid presiding

A.	N. A. A. C. P.	Mr. Walter White
B.	Urban League	Mr. Julius Thomas
C.	Race Relations Dept., Federal Council of Churches	Dr. George E. Haynes
D.	American Missionary Association	Mr. Herman Long
E.	Southern Regional Council	Mr. Paul Williams
F.	American Council on Race Relations	Dr. Will Alexander
G.	Bureau for Intercultural Education	Dr. H. H. Giles
H.	Discussion	

6:15--8:00 P.M. Dinner . . . . . Speaker, Margaret Halsey

(Attendance at the Dinner Session is limited to 300 by special invitation or request)

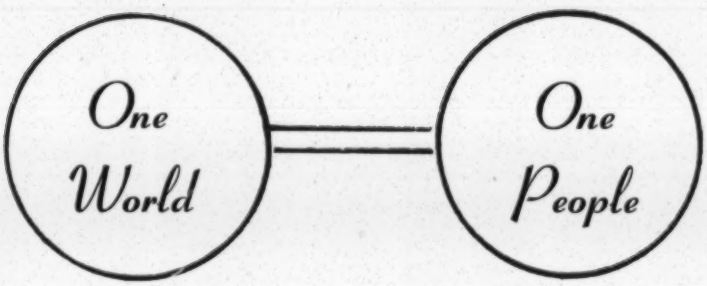
8:15--10:15 P.M. RACE RELATIONS IN ONE WORLD, Dr. Charles S. Johnson presiding

(The Evening Session is open to all who will come.) Special music.

A. A Bird's-eye View of the Last Century . . . . Mr. Fred Brownlee

B. Human Welfare and Race . . . . Dr. Benjamin Mays

C. The United Nations and Race . . . . Dr. Lyman Bryson



You are cordially invited to participate in discussions of racial understanding and interracial action at the Broadway Tabernacle at Fifty-sixth Street and Broadway, New York City, all day Friday, November 22. The occasion is the One Hundredth Anniversary of the American Missionary Association, which established the first anti-slavery mission in Africa and opened the first school for freedmen south of the Mason and Dixon Line, and today supports strong colleges in the South and maintains a significant Department of Race Relations under the direction of Dr. Charles S. Johnson.

The persons listed in the enclosed tentative program are the very best in their field. The morning and afternoon sessions are limited to 200 by invitation or special request. Please return the enclosed card immediately, indicating the sessions you plan to attend. To those who return these cards, a formal program will be sent as soon as it is printed.

The evening meeting is open to the general public. Please let your friends know this. If you would have us send a special invitation to certain persons whom you would like to have attend the other sessions, please send me their names and addresses.

FRED L. BROWNLEE,
General Secretary,

American Missionary Association,
287 Fourth Ave., New York 10, N. Y.

I plan to attend the following sessions of the Conference on Racial Understanding and Interracial Action at Broadway Tabernacle on November 22:

..... Morning session

..... Noon lunch

..... Afternoon session

..... Dinner

..... Evening session

Name.....

Address.....

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

MR. FRED L. BROWNLEE

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

287 Fourth Avenue

New York 10, N. Y.

A ROLL CALL OF SOUTHERN EDUCATIONAL GROUPS

RECEIVED
MAR 31 1947
Southern Regional Council

A Report Prepared for
The Commission on Curricular Problems and Research
By
Ellis F. Hartford
Coordinating Agent

November 30, 1946
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Ky.

A ROLL CALL OF SOUTHERN EDUCATIONAL GROUPS

Introduction

The Commission on Curricular Problems and Research of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools has given consideration to the problem of reconversion which faces it in postwar Southern education. During the war years, its activities, as were all those of the Association, were held to a minimum. A great many of their recent contributions have been necessarily related to the war effort. During this time, however, the chief undertaking of the Commission--the Southern Study--was completed. This major undertaking resulted in a number of significant reports by individual schools participating in the Study and a final report by the staff. In normal years the completion of a major study such as this would have meant a great deal of discussion, interest, and action by a number of schools and colleges as the findings were reviewed and evaluated. This opportunity for the maximum realization of the findings and values of the Southern Study may be irretrievably lost as one of those intangible casualties of the war. Certainly, all that can be done to retrieve that opportunity should be the concern of this Commission and of the colleges and secondary schools which compose this great regional Association.

This much, however, is clear. The emergence from the war and the completion of the Southern Study brings the Commission to the point of rethinking, planning and formulating its longtime, continuing program of service to and through the colleges and schools composing the Southern Association. The Commission is concerned that it shall meet its responsibilities, that it be ready to perform those research and service functions for the Association it may have to do, and that it shall fulfill the role in Southern education which peculiarly belongs to it as a regional agency.

In other words, this Commission is concerned that its reconversion be in terms of the mission it should undertake and the contribution it should make to education in the South.

The problem of reconversion to postwar education is a concern of many other regional groups--associations, commissions, committees, councils, and societies--interested in various educational programs and problems of the South. The Commission believes that a necessary step in the reconversion is an effective mobilization of all regional educational agencies in order that a concerted, cooperative attack may be made upon the problems which must be solved in this region.

The Commission has given consideration to this opportunity with the thought that its own activities and program might be more readily coordinated with those already in progress. Conversely, it was felt that any assistance it could provide in the way of encouraging effective cooperation among the regional programs of education would meet with a ready response.

Accordingly, the Commission arranged for a permanent office to be maintained by a Coordinating Agent as a part-time representative of its Executive Committee. This office began to function on January 4, 1946. The first instruction to the agent was that a brief survey be made of the regional groups which are at work upon educational problems, studies, and researches in the South and a report be made to the Commission.

The method of study was simple. Early in January, 1946, twenty-five inquiries were sent to as many regional groups requesting the needed information. Twenty-three replies were received in time to be incorporated in a preliminary report which was made to the Commission at the meeting in Memphis on March 26, 1946. Following the March meeting it was decided to continue the study in the attempt to provide a more complete report. Consequently, thirty-four letters of inquiry were sent to additional regional groups in March and April, 1946. Twenty-five of these replied early enough to be utilized in this report.

For the most part, the information set forth in this report is that submitted by the officials reporting for the various groups. However, in a few instances it was necessary to consult official publications of regional groups and other sources to find necessary additional information. In this connection the 1944 directory of the Southern Rural Life Council entitled Agencies Concerned with the Quality of Rural Life in the South and certain publications of the Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education provided useful supplementary information. It is hardly necessary to add that the report can hardly be considered complete in any literal sense. The list of regional agencies and organizations is lengthy and the line of demarcation between those concerned with education and those related to other regional problems is nebulous. Hence, it was necessary to make certain arbitrary decisions at the risk of appearing to be inconsistent. It is obviously difficult to keep a list of such proportions strictly up to date. Meetings are held at various times throughout the year, new officers are elected, activities are completed or begun so frequently that changes occur before information collected can be utilized in a report. For such errors of omission and commission as may be discovered, the coordinating agent must plead guilty.

The report is offered in the hope that it will be found useful by Southern educators and groups who are concerned with the task of educational reconstruction in the region. Many old problems remain; new ones plague the would-be improvers of the Southern scene as they return to post-war educational positions. It is intended that this brief roll call may assist in the reorientation of individuals and groups at work upon the educational problems and opportunities of the South.

Roll Call

1. Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes

2. Association of Southern Agricultural Workers

3. Catholic Committee of the South of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference

4. Commission on Curricular Problems and Research of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools

5. Commission on Institutions of Higher Learning of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools

6. Commission on Secondary Schools of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools

7. Commission on the Teaching of Sociology of the Southern Sociological Society

8. Committee on Education of the Southern Association of Science and Industry

9. Committee of the South of the National Planning Association

10. Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education of the American Council on Education

11. Committee on Teacher Training in Church Related Colleges of the South

12. Committee on Work Conferences on Higher Education of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools

13. Conference of Academic Deans of the Southern States

14. Conference of Deans of Southern Graduate Schools

15. Conference on the Humanities

16. Conference of the Presidents of Negro Land Grant Colleges

17. Conference on Public Institutions of Higher Learning in the Southern States

18. Council of Southern Mountain Workers

19. Division of Surveys and Field Studies, George Peabody College for Teachers

20. Heads of Departments and Deans of Education in State Universities and Land Grant Colleges of Education

21. Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina

22. Institute for Research and Training in the Social Sciences, Vanderbilt University

23. Interstate School Building Service

24. Julius Rosenwald Fund

25. Mid-South Rural Education Conference

26. Regional Conference, American Education Fellowship

27. and 28. Regional Conferences, Department of Classroom Teachers, National Education Association

29. and 30. Regional Offices, Soil Conservation Service, Department of Agriculture

31. Resource Use Education Committee, South Central Region

32. Southeastern Library Association

33. Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools

34. Southern Association of Colleges for Women

35. Southern Association of College Registrars

36. Southern Association of Junior Colleges

37. Southern Association of Private Schools

38. Southern Association of State Secretaries

39. Southern Association of Student Governments

40. Southern Association of Student Presidents

41. Southern Business Education Association

42. Southern Conference for Human Welfare

43. Southern Conference on Teacher Education

44. Southern Cooperative Group

45. Southern Council on International Relations

46. Southern District Association, American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation

47. Southern Division, Music-Educators National Conference, National Education Association

48. Southern Economic Association

49. Southern Educational Film Production Service

50. Southern Education Foundation, Inc.

51. Southern Governors' Conference

52. Southern Historical Association

53. Southern Medical Association

54. Southern Regional Committee on Farm Family Living

55. Southern Regional Committee, Social Science Research Council

56. Southern Regional Council, Inc.

57. Southern Regional Training Program in Public Administration

58. Southern Regional Unit, College and University Department, Catholic Education Association

59. Southern Rural Life Council

60. Southern Sociological Society

61. Southern States Work Conference on School Administrative Problems

62. Southern University Conference

63. Southwestern Library Association

64. Tennessee Valley Agricultural Correlating Committee

65. Tennessee Valley Library Council

1. Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools for Negroes.

No reply received. Generally known as the comprehensive regional organization of negro colleges and secondary schools. Cooperates with the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools which maintains a Committee on Negro Schools. An annual list of approved colleges and secondary schools for negro youth is announced by the latter organization under this cooperative arrangement. The list for 1946 includes 31 class "A" colleges, 17 class "B" colleges, 5 class "A" junior colleges, 3 class "B" junior colleges, and 122 secondary schools in the eleven states of the region.

Secretary: L. S. Cozart
Barber-Scotia College
Concord, North Carolina

***

2. Association of Southern Agricultural Workers.

Organized in 1899 as the Cotton State Association of Commissioners of Agriculture. Name changed, 1911.

Membership composed of agricultural and homemaking specialists at work in the colleges, research agencies, and commercial organizations of the South.

Purposes: (1) To present results of research and other studies.
(2) Clearing house services for work of agricultural experiment stations.

The Association formulates policies, provides leadership for the improvement of Southern rural life, brings together researchers of commercial concerns in efforts to build greater unity in agricultural teaching in the South.

Annual meetings are held.

Publications consist of abstracts of addresses.

Secretary: F. E. Miller
State Dept. of Agriculture
Raleigh, North Carolina

***

3. Catholic Committee of the South of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference.

A regional group of the National Catholic Rural Life Conference, an organization of bishops, priests, and lay persons dedicated to the economic, social, and

spiritual interests of the American farmer. The national organization has the following purposes:

(1) To strengthen and develop the Catholic faith in the rural districts.
(2) To promote the general welfare of the rural population.

The Catholic Committee for the South conducts rural life schools for priests, sisters, and rural leaders.

Executive Secretary:
The Very Rev. Msgr. Hubert Lerschen
Rayne, Louisana

***

4. Commission on Curricular Problems and Research of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

Organized in 1935. The Commission is charged with the following duties under the Constitution of the Southern Association (V, Sec. 4):

(a) It shall study and report to the appropriate standing committee on the accrediting policies of this and similar associations.
(b) It shall study and report to the appropriate standing committee notable procedures in administering programs of studies.
(c) It shall stimulate experimentation and report to the appropriate standing committee significant trends in either secondary or higher education.
(d) It shall nominate to the Executive Committee persons to succeed those whose terms expire.

Major accomplishment of the Commission was the initiation and completion of the Southern Association Study during the years 1938-1945. The official report of the Southern Study, as it is commonly known, has been completed and published in The Southern Association Quarterly for February and August, 1946. Reprints are to be made available in the near future.

The Commission is undertaking the task of making brief studies on problems affecting member institutions in cooperation with the two other commissions of the Southern Association.

Chairman: William S. Taylor
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Secretary: W. L. Mayer
North Carolina State College
Raleigh, North Carolina

Coordinating Agent: Ellis F. Hartford
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

5. Commission on Institutions of Higher Learning of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

Established by the Association in 1919. Its function is that of establishing standards and seeing that they are observed. Colleges applying for admission are surveyed by the Commission and recommendations are made to the Executive Committee of the Association. Reports of various phases of institutional activity are secured annually. At the annual meeting of the Association the Commission functions through standing committees. All of its recommendations go to the Executive Committee, thence to the entire Association for approval.

Chairman: Rufus C. Harris
Tulane University
New Orleans, Louisiana

Secretary: Goodrich C. White
Emory University
Emory University, Georgia

Executive Secretary: M. C. Huntley
2041 21st Avenue, South
Birmingham, 5, Alabama

***

6. Commission on Secondary Schools of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

Organized in 1912. The Commission is responsible for establishing standards for member secondary schools and for requiring that these be observed. As specifically stated in the Constitution for the Southern Association (V, Sec. 3) the duties are:

(a) It shall prepare, subject to the approval of the Association, a statement of the standards to be met by Secondary Schools which are members or which desire to become members.
(b) It shall prepare all needed blanks and certificates.
(c) It shall make such inspection of schools as it deems necessary.
(d) It shall submit to the Executive Committee for transmittal to the Association for approval and publication, lists of secondary schools within the territory of the Association which conform to the standards prescribed.
(e) It shall submit to the Executive Committee lists of member schools and schools applying for membership which do not conform to the standards as prescribed.
(f) It shall nominate to the Executive Committee persons to succeed those whose terms expire.

Chairman: Mark Godman
State Department of Education
Frankfort, Kentucky

Vice Chairman: R. R. Vance
State Dept. of Education
Nashville, Tennessee

Secretary: Frank C. Jenkins
American Red Cross
230 Spring Street, NW
Atlanta 3, Georgia

***

7. Commission on the Teaching of Sociology of the Southern Sociological Society.

The Commission grew out of the work of annually appointed committees on the teaching of sociology, a practice which began shortly after the Southern Sociological Society was organized in 1935. The Commission is established on a relatively continuing basis. It conducts research and study through the work of three subcommittees as follows:

(a) The objectives of sociological instruction, particularly in the introductory course.
(b) Materials and methods for sociological instruction.
(c) Testing or measurement of the effectiveness of sociological instruction.

Annual meetings of the Commission and of the society were temporarily suspended during the war but the Commission continued its studies. Papers upon the subjects studied by the various subcommittees or by individual researchers of significant papers related to the work of the Commission have usually been made available for distribution.

Chairman: Wayland J. Hayes
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee

***

8. Committee on Education of the Southern Association of Science and Industry.

Membership composed of 15 educators and industrial leaders in various Southern states.

Purposes: (1) To prepare material on natural resources for use at the various school levels and promote its use.
(2) To stimulate the education of teachers to the end of more effective resource use education.
(3) To use every means of making southern people conscious of "Southern Opportunity."

Activities: Cooperates with state departments of education and other organized groups in Southern education.

Chairman: Wortley F. Rudd
Medical College of Virginia
Richmond 19, Virginia

***

9. Committee of the South of the National Planning Association.

No reply received. A relatively new organization sponsored by the National Planning Association. Reported to be concerned with regional problems and to be planning research and surveys. Permanent organization was completed at a meeting in Birmingham on November 21.

Chairman: J. Melville Broughton
1101 Security Bank Bldg.
Raleigh, North Carolina

***

10. Committee on Southern Regional Studies and Education of the American Council on Education.

Appointed in April, 1943 by the American Council on Education. The Committee was created to undertake a study of:

(a) The resource needs of the Southern area.
(b) The research materials bearing on these needs.
(c) The adequacy of methods for improving educational materials bearing on resources and their use.
(d) The possibilities of inter-agency and inter-state cooperation to develop more effective educational use of resource information dealing with Southern resource-use problems.

During the first year of its existence, the Committee completed an exploratory study which indicated the need for a regional facility to assist state and regional groups to develop and implement programs in resource-use education. Accordingly, the Committee was established to serve in this capacity with the following general functions:

(a) Serve as a clearing house for information on resource use education.
(b) Assist the states, and agencies and institutions within states, to develop and increase the effectiveness of their resource use education programs.
(c) Identify need for, develop, and secure coordination of regional program in resource-use education.

The Committee has consistently followed two major policies in the exercise of the functions listed above:

(a) Services are provided after coordination among appropriate state and regional agencies.
(b) Organizations which are, or might be, capable of performing any of the above services are encouraged to do so. The committee has taken the position that one of its major objectives is to work itself out of a job.

Major activities have included: the holding of three major regional conferences (Gatlinburg Conferences I and II) and Chapel Hill; preliminary work on a regional volume, EXPLORING THE SOUTH; preparation of reports of these conferences; two conferences with regional agencies; assistance to several universities and colleges in the development of regional materials, services, and instructional materials; instrumental in establishing The Regional Materials Service at George Peabody College; preparation and publication of the study CHANNELING RESEARCH INTO EDUCATION; and collaboration with regional groups such as the Southern States Work Conference, Southern Rural Life Council, Tennessee Valley Authority, and the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

In addition, there have been numerous instances of cooperation with and assistance to state agencies and institutions in matters relating to resource use education.

A periodic newsletter, RESOURCE USE EDUCATION, is prepared and distributed to interested groups, colleges, schools, and individuals.

Chairman: Maurice F. Seay
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Executive Secretary: John E. Ivey, Jr.
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

***

11. Committee on Teacher Training in Church Related Colleges of the South.

This Committee submitted only a nominal report stating that it is not functioning actively at the present time. Inability to hold meetings has prevented the formation of objectives and the development of a program. The only activity which has been completed to date was a study of teacher training programs in the church related colleges of South Carolina by means of questionnaire.

Chairman: W. C. Herbert
Wooford College
Spartanburg, South Carolina

12. Committee on Work Conferences on Higher Education of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

Committee first appointed in 1941 by the Executive Committee of the Commission on Institutions of Higher Education and the Commission on Curricular Problems and Research to develop a work conference which undertakes to explore current problems in Southern education. Work conferences were consequently developed and held as follows:

Date	Place	Report
1. July 6-19, 1941	University of the South Sewanee, Tennessee	General Report. Printed in The Southern Association Quarterly, November, 1941.
2. June 21-27, 1942	Sewanee Military Academy Sewanee, Tennessee	Second General Report. Printed for the Southern Association Quarterly, Durham, N. C., 1942.
3. 1943	No conference held	Third General Report, Printed for the Southern Association Quarterly, Durham, N.C., 1943.
4. 1944	No conference held	Fourth Report. Printed in The Southern Association Quarterly, October, 1944.
5. 1945	No conference held	Fifth Report. Printed for The Southern Association Quarterly, Durham, N. C., 1945.
6. 1946	Converse College Spartanburg, S. C.	Completed report, Studies in Higher Education in the South, to be published at an early date.

During the war years when it was impracticable to hold a summer work conference the Committee rendered valuable services to institutions which undertook studies of problems by faculty groups. Institutional studies in higher education have been reported in 47 institutions with a total of 142 committees at work. The range of subjects under study included: curriculum, 30 committees; planning for postwar education, 12 committees; teacher education, 10 committees; evaluation and examinations, 9 committees; guidance and personnel service, 7 committees and numerous others. Significance of this type of institutional study is expressed by the Committee as follows:

> ... such indigenous study initiated by institutions concerned with the study of their problems through the utilization of their own resources is probably the most significant development in higher education in the South. (See fifth report, page 5.)

A second recent major activity of the Committee has been participation in the Cooperative Study of Teacher Education in cooperation with the Southern Conference on Teacher Education and the Conference of Deans of Southern Graduate Schools.

A third recent activity of the Committee planned in lieu of a summer work conference for 1945 was the preparation of a document on Southern education which summarized the materials developed in the work conferences in the cooperating institutions, and by affiliated organizations. The tentative report entitled Studies of Higher Education in the South received wide circulation.

Additional publications have occasionally appeared from the Committee in The Southern Association Quarterly; the report "College and Community" in the February, 1945 issue representing an unusually valuable contribution.

Chairman: Edgar W. Knight
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Executive Secretary: Roscoe E. Parker
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

***

13. Conference of Academic Deans of the Southern States.

Only a nominal report received covering the recent war time period during which the group was necessarily inactive. Annual meetings resumed in connection with the forthcoming sessions of the Southern Association in Memphis. Contemplated plans indicate interest in fostering inter-college committees to study problems of general education for teachers, and faculty workshops for work on college curricula. Program announced for the Memphis meeting deals with "Creative Arts in the Liberal Arts Curriculum," and "The Teacher Shortage in Colleges and Universities."

Chairman: Marten Ten Hoor
University of Alabama
University, Alabama

Secretary-Treasurer: Martha S. Grafton
Mary Baldwin College
Staunton, Virginia

***

14. Conference of Deans of Southern Graduate Schools.

Organized twenty years ago. Membership composed of deans of graduate schools at thirty-six colleges and universities of the South.

Present projects:
(a) Study on "Minimum Standards for the Ph. D. Degree."
(b) Graduate education for Negroes.
(c) Plan for accreditation of graduate schools.

The Conference is further interested in the work of three committees on improving instruction in the humanities, social sciences, and the natural sciences. Meetings were held in conjunction with the Work Conference on Higher Education at Converse College, July 21-31, 1946. Preliminary work has been done looking to the establishment of a great regional science research center at Oak Ridge, Tennessee, to be sponsored by a cooperating group of Southern institutions.

President: D. C. McIntosh
Oklahoma A. & M. College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

Secretary: Roger P. McCutcheon
Tulane University
New Orleans 15, Louisiana

***

15. Conference on the Humanities.

The Study Conference on the Humanities in Higher Education in the South was planned in 1943 and convened at Vanderbilt University July 24-29, 1944. At the conference a continuing Executive Committee was established to promote the development of the program planned in the meetings at Vanderbilt. The term of the Continuing Executive Committee was set at five years.

The Conference conducted a statistical study of the Humanities in the South using questionnaires completed by 20 representative colleges and universities. The study conference prepared and published a report THE HUMANITIES IN HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE SOUTH.

A supplement to the Report on the Humanities in Higher Education in the South has been issued by the Continuing Executive Committee.

Chairman: Leroy E. Loemker
Emory University
Emory University, Georgia

16. Conference of the Presidents of Negro Land-Grant Colleges.

Organized in 1923. Membership: Presidents of Negro Land-Grant Colleges in seventeen states; presidents of seven other leading negro institutions are associate members.

Purpose: The promotion of the welfare of member colleges and universities.

Holds annual meetings. Conducts research and other studies on problems of negro higher education. Studies showing the inequitable distribution of certain Federal funds in the Southern states have been made. One such study made in cooperation with the National Negro Publishers' Association was completed recently. A social studies project is now in its fifth year. Several committees are maintained including one on agricultural extension work.

Publications: Annual proceedings, and reports of studies.

President: L. H. Foster
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Secretary: R. B. Atwood
Kentucky State College
Frankfort, Kentucky

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17. Conference on Public Institutions of Higher Learning in the Southern States.

No reply received. However, a meeting has been scheduled during the forthcoming sessions of the Southern Association in Memphis. The theme of the program announced is "Recruitment, Training, and Improvement of College Teachers."

Chairman: E. B. Robert
Louisiana State University
University, Louisiana

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18. Council of Southern Mountain Workers.

Organized 1913, formerly known as "The Conference of Southern Mountain Workers."

Membership--composed of religious, social and educational missionary organizations in the Southern Highlands.

Purpose--to aid in conducting health, recreational, and cooperative educational projects.

Holds annual conferences, regional meetings and an annual Folk Festival (at Berea); promotes recreational work, provides medical and dental care; sponsors projects to teach cooperation.

Publications: A periodical magazine, MOUNTAIN LIFE AND WORK.

President: Raymond Drucker
Berea, Kentucky

Secretary: Glyn A. Morris
Evarts High School
Evarts, Kentucky

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19. Division of Surveys and Field Studies, George Peabody College for Teachers.

Organized, 1930.

Staff: Director, associate directors, secretary, and faculty members of Peabody College.

Purpose: To serve the cause of education, particularly in the South.

The Division conducts comprehensive school surveys; assists school systems in planning long-time programs of curriculum development; participates in conferences of planning groups; assists a few selected experimental centers; makes studies of rural schools to discover ways of improving rural life; and sponsors workshops for teachers and administrators. The annual Curriculum Conference held on the Peabody Campus each summer is sponsored by the Division. In September, 1945, a Regional Materials Service was established in cooperation with the Commission on Southern Regional Studies and Education.

Publications: Field Studies, suveys, miscellaneous bulletins.

Director: John E. Brewton
George Peabody College for Teachers
Nashville 4, Tennessee

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20. Heads of Departments and Deans of Education, State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges of the Southern States.

Organized in 1944 when ODT regulations rendered meetings of the national organization impracticable. Will probably continue to meet as a regional unit of the national organization. Purposes of the organization are to improve the pre-service and in-service programs of education of teachers, principals, supervisors, and superintendents in public schools of the Southern states.

Annual meetings are held in connection with the programs of the Southern Association or with the sectional meeting of the American Association of School Administrators. Studies are conducted through the work of such committees as are found necessary.

Current studies: (a) A study of the curricula for elementary, secondary, and college teachers.
(b) A study of the master's and doctor's degrees for majors in education.

Chairman: B. F. Pittenger
University of Texas
Austin, Texas

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21. Institute for Research in Social Science.

Organized in 1924 at the University of North Carolina.

Staff: Composed of director, assistant director, research professors, research associates, and assistants.

Purposes: (1) To encourage and stimulate research in social science.
(2) To discover and develop research personnel.
(3) To focus upon regional problems and regional research.
(4) To serve as a center for cooperating with other agencies in the field.

Activities: (1) Conducts studies and gathers material in the fields of general regional culture and economy, population, local government, historical backgrounds, socio-economic activities, crime and criminal justice, the negro, folklore and folk backgrounds, social institutions, public welfare, human geography, regional, state, and local planning.
(2) Carries on field studies in the Sub-regional Laboratory (a group of counties projected as an area for social research and planning.)
(3) Conducts studies of the teaching of Social Sciences in Southern colleges and schools.
(4) Cooperates with the Southern Association of Science and Industry in making an inventory of Southern resources.

Publications: Numerous books and pamphlets, usually published by the University of North Carolina Press. Notable books include: SOUTHERN REGIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, by H. W. Odum; HUMAN GEOGRAPHY OF THE SOUTH, by R. P. Vance; and ALL THESE PEOPLE, by R. P. Vance.

List of available publications upon request.

Director: Gordon W. Blackwell
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

22. Institute of Training and Research in the Social Sciences.

Organized in 1941 at Vanderbilt University. Received partial General Education Board support for its first five years of operation, 1941-1946. Entire budget now carried by Vanderbilt University.

Staff: A director and an executive committee composed of the following members: Dean of the Senior College and Graduate School, Chairman of the Social Science Division, Chairman of Department of Sociology, Research Professor of Economics, Lecturer in Political Science, Director of the Institute, Professor of Sociology, of George Peabody College for Teachers.

All members of the Social Science faculty who at any time are engaged in a project receiving institute support are considered members of the staff of the Institute at that time. Thus, the entire Social Science faculty are potential members.

Purposes: The Institute is designed to promote cooperative training in the social sciences at the Senior College--Graduate School level. To facilitate this, senior and graduate internships are made available to well qualified students. The senior interns are on part-time assignment in Nashville business establishments or public agencies. Graduate interns spend three quarters in graduate work in residence and one quarter full time internship with a business or government agency.

On the research side, the Institute aims at the development of research in the social sciences with a broad regional outlook encouraging not only individual research on the part of staff members, but also cooperative projects involving staff members and other institutions.

Activities: Conducts a faculty colloquium on Southern topics with fortnightly meetings, the membership being drawn from cooperating institutions of the University center; arranges for the preparation and publication of a series of Institute papers on problems of the contemporary South; carries on an internship training program with grants-in-aid; sponsors specific research projects with grants-in-aid. The Institute promotes research by granting relief from teaching to staff members, by providing grants to assist research and by underwriting special and cooperative research projects.

Publications: In addition to materials which are published in scholarly journals or research which results in books published commercially, the Institute underwrites the publication of materials in the form of books and papers. To date four books have been published under the Institute auspices and nine papers; as follows:

The books are: MISSISSIPPI FARMERS, by Herbert W. Weaver; THE TENNESSEE VALLEY AUTHORITY, by Joseph Ransmeier; THE TENNESSEE YEOMAN, 1840-1860, by Blanche Henry Clark; PLANNING FOR THE SOUTH: AN INQUIRY INTO THE ECONOMICS OF REGIONALISM, by John V. Van Sickle.

The papers are: No. 1 "Shadow and Substance in the TVA Power Controversy" by Joseph S. Ransmeier
No. 2 "Public Works, Economic Stabilization, and the South" by John V. Van Sickle
No. 3 "Freight Rates--The Interregional Tariff Issue" by Henry B. Kline
No. 4 "Unemployment Compensation and the Post War Period" by E. J. Eberling
No. 5 "Freight Rates and the South" Statements by Alvin W. Vogtle and Henry B. Kline
No. 6 "Cotton in Peace and War" by John F. Maloney
No. 7 "The Impact of the War on Population Redistribution in the South" by Rudolph Heberle
No. 8 "Southern States and Local Finance Trends and the War" by James W. Martin
No. 9 "The Tennessee Valley--A Recreation Domain" by H. Clarence Nixon.

Director: W. H. Stead
Vanderbilt University
Nashville 4, Tennessee

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23. Interstate School Building Service.

Organized 1928. A non-profit agency.

Membership composed of the directors of school buildings services of sixteen Southern states' departments of education.

Purpose: To improve community schools in the South.

Activities: Furnishes, without cost, through state departments of education, plans for school buildings and special floor layouts for community canneries, lunchrooms, libraries, primary rooms, etc.; publishes and distributes bulletins on the improvement and beautification of school plants; conducts studies on school plant problems; cooperates with the National Council on Schoolhouse Construction; and the Committee on School Plant Research of the American Council on Education.

Publications: PLAYGROUNDS; LANDSCAPING; THE SCHOOL JANITOR; SCHOOL HOUSE-KEEPING; COMMUNITY SCHOOL PLANS.

President: W. L. Smith
George Peabody College for Teachers
Nashville, Tennessee

24. Julius Rosenwald Fund.

Founded in 1917. Administered by an independent board of directors and staff consisting of a president, a director of rural education, a director of fellowships, a director of Negro health, various associates and consultants, a comptroller and a secretary.

Purpose: To improve living conditions through the promotion of education, research experimentation and demonstration.

Activities:
(1) Aids county-unit health programs.
(2) Cooperates with southern states in promotion of education and improvement of rural schools.
(3) Makes grants for experimental courses, and for studies in Negro education.
(4) Grants fellowship for both white and negro students and scholars.
(5) Makes grants to medical education and research.
(6) Makes grants to teacher education programs.
(7) Aid to library programs.
(8) Promotes interests in the arts.
(9) Assisted in the conservation of more than 5000 schoolhouses in the South.
(10) Assisted in the development of functional programs of education at Jackson College, Mississippi, Ft. Valley State College, Georgia, West Georgia and Tuskee Institute.

Publications: Annual Reports--A series of readers for rural schools; pamphlets and other occasional materials.

President: Edwin R. Embree
4901 Ellis Avenue
Chicago 15, Illinois

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25. Mid-South Rural Education Conference.

Membership: One representative appointed by the president of the N.E.A. Rural Education Department from Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Tennessee.

Purpose: To consider current rural education problems in the Southern states.

Activities: Holds an annual conference; makes recommendations on problems on rural education.

Publications: Mimeographed conference reports.

Secretary: Howard A. Dawson
National Education Association
1201 16th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

***

26. Regional Conference, American Education Fellowship.

An informal organization meeting in annual session arranged by the Regional Vice President of the A.E.F. Meetings were suspended during the war but one was held in St. Petersburg, Florida in 1945.

Regional Vice President: W. Carson Ryan
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

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27. and 28. Regional Conferences, Department of Classroom Teachers, National Education Association.

Members are classroom teachers who belong to N.E.A. Annual regional conferences have been resumed in the various regions. These conferences train local and state leaders, provide for exchange of ideas, and professional growth.

Southeastern Regional Director: Mrs. Jessie P. Fugett
Swigert Avenue
Lexington, Kentucky

South Central Regional Director: Marie A. Ernst
Soldan High School
2903 Russell Blvd.
St. Louis 4, Missouri

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29 and 30. Regional Offices, Soil Conservation Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Established under Public Law #46, 74th Congress, April 27, 1935. Succeeded and took over functions of the Soil Erosion Service which has been established by Executive Order in September, 1933.

Purposes:
1. To maintain a coordinated technical approach to problems of soil and water conservation and land use.
2. To assist conservation districts in developing and carrying out their local programs of soil and water conservation and land use.

3. To conduct research in soil and water conservation and land use.
4. To inform the public of the need for and advantages to be derived from soil and water conservation and land use.
5. To further the education of rural and urban people in soil and water conservation and land use. (Conservation education is carried on in cooperation with state agricultural extension services and other educational agencies and institutions.)

Activities: Demonstration projects were early established. Later, these were placed on a maintenance basis as soil conservation districts were created by farmers in the various states. The Soil Conservation Service has assisted the local soil conservation districts since their establishment. All of the Southeastern states have adopted legislation governing the establishment of soil conservation districts. Two states, Alabama and South Carolina, are completely covered by soil conservation districts. As of April 15, 1946, there were 293 soil conservation districts covering 197,789,000 acres in the Southeastern states of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. Assistance has been rendered to 139,492 farmers who own and operate 23,707,234 acres of land.

Research is carried on in cooperation with the State Experiment Stations and other agencies and at the Southern Piedmont Conservation Experiment Station at Watkinsville, Georgia.

Eleven of the original twenty-one land utilization projects carried out on badly eroded and depleted lands are still managed by the Soil Conservation Service. Others have been placed under the management of state or local governmental agencies through long term leases.

A Division of Information, maintained at the regional office cooperates with public institutions and interested educational groups. A conference on conservation education was held in Spartanburg, in August.

Regional Conservator: T. S. Buie
Regional Conservator
Southeastern Region
Spartanburg, South Carolina

A Southeastern Regional Office of the Soil Conservation Office is maintained at Fort Worth, Texas.

Regional Conservator: H. L. Merrell
Regional Conservator
Southwestern Region
Ft. Worth, Texas

31. Resource Use Education Committee, South Central Region.

Informal program started at 1943 Gatlinburg Conference. Organized in 1944.

Membership composed of three persons from each of the four states, Arkansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and Texas appointed by the unit school officer. Membership requirement a balance between educational and resources agencies staff members.

The Committee sponsors annual Regional Resources Translation conferences at institutions of higher education. In 1946, conferences are being held at North Texas State Teacher's College and at Arkansas A. & M. College.

The Committees assist in the development of resource in education programs in the four states of the South Central Region.

Publications: (1) Proceedings of the 1945 Conference.
(2) Surprises in the Arkansas Valley.

Chairman: Roy W. Roberts
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Arkansas

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32. Southeastern Library Association.

Organized in 1920. Membership composed of members of the State Library Associations of Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. Biennial meetings are held in even-numbered years.

Purpose: To promote library service in the Southeastern states in cooperation with the American Library Association.

Publication: Proceedings of biennial conferences.

President: Miss Ola M. Wyeth
Savannah Public Library
Savannah, Georgia

Secretary-Treasurer: Alfred Rawlinson
Danville, Kentucky

***

33. Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

Organized in 1985. The purpose of the Association as stated in its Constitution is "to establish helpful relations between the secondary schools and the

institutions of higher education within the territory of the association, and to consider all subjects that tend to the promotion of their interests." Annual meetings are held normally in December.

Official Publication: The Southern Association Quarterly.

President: W. R. Smithey
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Secretary Treasurer: A. J. Geiger
St. Petersburg, Florida

34. Southern Association of Colleges for Women.

Organized in 1921.

Purpose: To study any and all matters relating to the colleges for women in the South and to provide an organization through which it might work to the programs in the various colleges desiring membership.

The Association maintains two permanent commissions as follows: Commission on History and Publicity, Commission on Curriculum Revision.

Since most members of the Association are also members of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, effort is made to study only the distinctive problems of southern colleges for women.

Annual meetings are held.

Publications: Minutes of the Annual Meetings.

President: Josiah Crudup
Brenau College
Gainesville, Georgia

Secretary-Treasurer: J. M. Godard
Queen's College
Charlotte, North Carolina

***

35. Southern Association of College Registrars.

An informal organization. Usually holds an annual meeting during the sessions of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Meetings have been resumed since the war. A committee has been appointed to prepare a statement of policy and to lay down a basis for a permanent organization.

Chairman: Lloyd W. Chapin
Georgia School of Technology
Atlanta, Georgia

36. Southern Association of Junior Colleges.

Membership--Member Junior Colleges of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

Purpose: To maintain a link among Junior Colleges of the South.

Activities: An annual meeting during the sessions of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools is held.

President: J. J. Delaney
Schreiner Institute
Kerrville, Texas

Vice-President: J. B. Young
Jones Junior College
Ellisville, Mississippi

Secretary-Treasurer: John Gray
Lamar College
Beaumont, Texas

***

37. Southern Association of Private Schools.

Annual meetings to be resumed at Memphis during the forthcoming sessions of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Program will deal with problems of the private schools in the South.

Chairman: Col. William R. Brewster
Georgia Military Academy
College Park, Georgia

***

38. Southern Association of State Secretaries.

An informal group composed of secretaries of state education associations of the Southern States. Several meetings were held in the years preceding the war, the last in 1940. Now inactive. Formerly the group arranged for the publication of articles on Southern regional problems in their respective state education journals. Certain members of the group were active in the establishment of the Southern States Work Conference on School Administrative Problems and in the more recently established Rural Editorial service for state education journals.

Chairman: W. P. King
Kentucky Education Association
1419-1421 Heyburn Building
Louisville, Kentucky

39. Southern Association of Student Governments.

Organized about 15 years ago in the interest of student government in high schools of the Southern states. Holds annual meetings. The 1945-46 convention met in Little Rock and the 1946-47 meeting was held at St. Petersburg, Florida in November. Occasional news notes appear in the journal, School Activities.

Sponsor: T. Q. Srygley
Little Rock High School
Little Rock, Arkansas

***

40. Southern Association of Student Presidents.

Organized by fifteen presidents of college student associations in a meeting October 18 and 19 in Knoxville. Major topics discussed include:

(1) State legislative appropriations for Southern universities, and
(2) Ceiling on veteran's income for G.I. students.

Annual meetings are planned, the 1947 conference will be held at Georgia Institute of Technology in Atlanta.

Chairman: R. C. Smith, Jr.
University of Tennessee
Knoxville, Tennessee

***

41. Southern Business Education Association.

The Association was founded in 1922 by a small group of business teachers in some of the Southern states. It was reorganized in 1932, and its name was changed to its present one. During the first ten years, it was composed almost entirely of representatives of private business schools. Since 1932, its membership has been composed largely of public school teachers and colleges and universities of the non-profit type.

It has four divisions: a college and university division, a public high school division, a junior college division, and a private school division.

The Association embraces twelve Southern states as follows: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia. Eleven of the twelve are embraced by the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. West Virginia was admitted to the Association at the request of teachers in that state.

The Association has published a magazine, Modern Business Education, since 1934 with the same editor in charge from its beginning to the present, A. J. Lawrence, University of Kentucky, Lexington. The Association also published

three yearbooks, 1939, 1940, and 1941. The yearbook was merged with the magazine and discontinued in 1942. The magazine is published four times a year, November, January, March, and May. It has a circulation at present of 1,000, embracing all of the states in the United States and a number of foreign countries.

The purpose of the Association is to represent business education in all matters pertaining to the field among the state departments of education and other school administrators. Its purpose, also, is to serve business teachers by providing a publication for the expression of opinion among the teachers and for the dissemination of the information of interest to business teachers. It has aided state departments in preparing courses of study, in setting up certification standards, and in a variety of other ways.

The Association has been affiliated with the National Council for Business Education since the founding of that organization. It has worked in cooperation with the Business Education Service of the United States Office of Education.

The Association holds an annual convention during the Thanksgiving holidays. The 1945 and 1946 conventions were held in Lexington, Kentucky and in Columbia, South Carolina, respectively. Other cities where conventions have been held are Jacksonville, Florida; Richmond, Virginia; Greensboro, North Carolina; New Orleans, Louisiana; Nashville, Knoxville, and Chattanooga, Tennessee; and Birmingham, Alabama.

President: Harold B. Gilbreth
Winthrop College
Rock Hill, South Carolina

Secretary: Miss Clarina Cornwell
Winthrop College
Rock Hill, South Carolina

***

42. Southern Conference for Human Welfare.

Organized in 1938 in response to the publication of the report of the President's Committee on Economic Conditions in the South. Its purpose is stated as seeking to unite for common action all Americans of good will, both white and colored, who are concerned with improving social, economic, and cultural standards in the South.

The Conference publishes occasional materials bearing on the problems of the South. Its monthly publication, The Southern Patriot, devoted the January, 1946 issue to "Education for Democracy."

President: Clark Foreman
Black Mountain College
North Carolina

Executive Secretary: James A. Dombrowski
212½ Union Street
Nashville, 3, Tennessee

43. Southern Conference on Teacher Education.

The conference grew out of an effort on the part of the directors of teacher training and certification of the Southern States to promote a fair degree of reciprocity in certification. As a result of this joint work, it seemed desirable for these prople to set up an organization that would enable them to work together upon common problems in the region. The conference has studied and worked with a view to improving both pre-service and in-service education of teachers in the region.

It is the purpose of the conference to stimulate study relative to educational problems and to plan in terms of goals and objectives that will promote the improvement of teacher education and certification programs.

Definite criteria were developed in regard to reciprocity in certification and most of the states modified their certification regulations in such a manner as to enable teachers in transferring from one state to another to receive certification with less difficulty.

Publication: A UNIFIED PROGRAM OF TEACHER EDUCATION AND CERTIFICATION IN THE SOUTHERN STATES.

President: J. B. White
State Department of Education
Columbia, South Carolina

Secretary: W. Morrison McCall
State Department of Education
Montgomery, Alabama

***

44. Southern Cooperative Group.

Organized 1938.

Membership composed of Southern agricultural experiment stations which agree to cooperate in the master project sponsored by the group. Membership is flexible and includes staffs of those stations which undertake sub-projects.

Purposes: (1) To determine the effects of environmental factors on the composition of vegetables.
(2) To compare the data obtained with existing data on the composition of vegetables.
(3) To correlate the findings on the composition of vegetables with the nutritive status of the people living in the areas studied.

Activities: New projects are initiated from time to time.

Publications: (1) A series of "Progress Notes."
(2) Southern Cooperative Series Bulletin--upon completion of projects.

Chairman: W. J. Peterson
North Carolina Agricultural Experiment Station
Raleigh, North Carolina
Vice Chairman: Mary Speirs
Georgia Agricultural Experiment Station
Experiment, Georgia
Secretary: Ruth Reder
Oklahoma Agricultural Experiment Station
Stillwater, Olkahoma

***

45. Southern Council on International Relations.

Organized 1938.

Purpose: To promote public interest in and disseminate information about the purposes and machinery of international cooperation to preserve peace and to facilitate international trade and cultural relations.

Activities: Hold annual conferences to formulate policy and plan programs of action. Cooperates with church and civic groups in planning programs, holding institutes, etc. Advisory assistance to college groups in conduct of forums and institutes on international affairs.

Publication: The South and World Affairs, a monthly magazine has been published since 1940.

President: Guy E. Snavely
744 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C.
Vice President: R. S. Hecht
Mississippi Shipping Co., Inc.
New Orleans 9, Louisiana
Executive Director: Keener C. Frazer
Box 597
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

***

46. Southern Association of the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation.

Organized in 1927 as a district association of the national organization which is a department of the National Education Association,

Aims are as follows: (a) To awaken and promote a wide and intelligent interest in these fields of endeavor.
(b) To acquire and disseminate accurate and professional information.
(c) To aid in the development and promotion of adequate programs.
(d) To coordinate professional interest of the fields of endeavor involved.

The activities of the Association have necessarily been held to a minimum during the war.

The official publication is the Southern District News Letter.

President: Oliver K. Cornwell
University of North Carolina
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

Secretary-Treasurer: (Acting) C. W. Hackensmith
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

***

47. Southern Division, Music Educators National Conference, National Education Association.

A division conference of the Department of Music Education of the N.E.A. Annual meetings are held.

Division President: Max S. Noah
Georgia State College for Women
Milledgeville, Georgia

***

48. Southern Economic Association.

This Association has recently held its sixteenth annual meeting in Birmingham, Alabama. Its objectives are the stimulation of interest in economic questions through discussion, research, and publication with special emphasis upon questions relating to the development of the South.

The official publication is the Southern Economic Journal, published jointly by the Association and the University of North Carolina.

President: Joseph J. Spengler
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

Secretary-Treasurer: James E. Ward
Box 271, Clemson College
Clemson, South Carolina

49. Southern Educational Film Production Service.

Organized in 1945.

Membership open to public tax-supported agencies and institutions in nine Southern states interested in film production. States served are: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia.

Purpose: To provide technical assistance and service in the production of educational films.

Activities: A production unit has been established through the cooperative arrangement with the University of Georgia.

Chairman, Board of Directors: William J. McGlothlin
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Director: Nicholas C. Reed
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia

***

50. Southern Education Foundation, Inc.

Organized in 1937.

Purpose: To improve educational conditions in the South.

Activities: Assists in the maintenance of teacher supervisors by paying part of their salaries, cooperates with public and private school officials, gives particular consideration to educational needs of negroes.

Publication: Annual report.

President: Arthur D. Wright
736 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

***

51. Southern Governors' Conference.

Informal meetings of the chief executives of the Southern states are held several times a year to discuss problems and issues of interstate or regional nature. Meetings are held in leading cities on call of the Chairman. Educational problems have been included on the agenda of the Conference at various times.

Chairman: Hon. Robert S. Kerr
Governor's Mansion
Oklahoma City, Oklahoma

52. Southern Historical Association.

Organized in 1934. Present membership about 900. Annual meetings are held. The twelfth annual convention was held in Birmingham during the first week in November.

The major purpose of the Association is concerned with the promotion of interest and research in Southern history, the collection and preservation of the South's historical records, and the encouragement of activity on the part of State and local historical societies in the South. As a secondary objective the Association also serves, through annual meetings and otherwise, to foster the teaching and study of all branches of history in the South.

The official publication is the quarterly, Journal of Southern History.

President: Thomas D. Clark
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Secretary-Treasurer: James W. Patton
North Carolina State College
Raleigh, North Carolina

***

53. Southern Medical Association.

No reply received. A regional organization of the medical profession. Medical education and problems of health education are obvious concerns of this group. Over five hundred doctors attended the fortieth annual convention which met November 4 to 7 in Miami.

President: Dr. E. L. Henderson
Louisville, Kentucky

Secretary: Dr. C. P. Loranz
1020 Empire Building
Birmingham, Alabama

***

54. Southern Regional Committee on Farm Family Living of the Southern Regional Conference of Administrators, Supervisors, and Teacher Trainers in Agriculture and Home Economics.

Committee of fifteen members appointed by the Conference. Its purpose is to stimulate cooperation of workers in agriculture, home economics, and other agencies to further develop a satisfying home life on the farm through individual home, farm, and community development.

The Committee has stimulated joint programs, special courses, workshops, experimental projects and other activities designed to improve farm family living.

A report of progress and achievement is made each year at the meeting of the Southern Regional Committee of Administrators, Supervisors, and Teacher Trainers in Vocational Agriculture and Home Economics. This Committee report is included in the written report of the Conference.

Chairman: Roy W. Roberts
University of Arkansas
Fayetteville, Arkansas

***

55. Southern Regional Committee, Social Science Research Council.

A committee appointed by the Social Science Research Council.

Purpose: To assist in the planning of research in the social sciences.

Activities: Assists in planning for research in the social sciences and in developing research personnel in eleven southern states.

Chairman: Raymond D. Thomas
Oklahoma A. & M. College
Stillwater, Oklahoma

***

56. Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Organized in 1944. The Commission on Interracial Cooperation merged with the Council at that time.

Purpose: To provide leadership for the efforts of conscientious and liberal Southerners to give democracy a chance in the South. To work for the improvement of economic, civic, political, and educational conditions for the good of all people.

Activities: Research and surveys to find the facts and to determine areas of constructive action. Educational publications, radio programs, press, exhibits, conferences, and personal contacts. Cooperation with other agencies which have liberal and humanitarian aims. Consulting service to private and public agencies. Formulation of constructive plans and proposals for "The South That Could Be."

Publications: Monthly magazine New South. Timely pamphlets and leaflets on Southern problems.

President: Paul D. Williams
Richmond, Virginia
Executive Director: Guy B. Johnson
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

57. Southern Regional Training Program in Public Administration.

Established in 1944 through joint efforts of the Universities of Alabama, Tennessee, and Georgia. In 1945 the University of Kentucky took the place of the University of Georgia in the cooperative program. Other colleges and universities cooperate through applications of students. The Tennessee Valley Authority and other governmental agencies provide internships for the program. Funds are provided by a grant from the General Education Board.

Purpose: To encourage the training of executive leaders and skilled administrators for the public service.

Activities: The chief activity of the program is the provision of an internship training experience for carefully selected Regional Fellows. The program covers a period of 12 months. Three months are spent in the TVA (or other government agency) and one quarter each in the three sponsoring universities.

During the first two years of its existence the program provided training for twenty Regional Fellows. More than half of those who have completed their training now occupy positions in either State or Federal agencies in the South.

Chairman, Executive Committee: Roscoe C. Martin
Southern Regional Training Program
University of Alabama
University, Alabama

***

58. Southern Regional Unit, College and University Department, Catholic Education Association.

Organized as a unit of the national association about ten years ago in order to make possible regional meetings to discuss particular problems of Southern institutions.

Membership is composed of 27 colleges in 8 Southern states.

Purposes: (1) To secure unity and solidarity in the colleges of the region.
(2) To furnish leadership for the colleges.
(3) To study general and specific problems of member colleges.

Annual meetings are held during the sessions of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Problems discussed at the last meeting included: guidance and education of veterans; careers for women in the colleges; the Harvard Report and Catholic education; internationalism in Southern Catholic Colleges; and recruitment of staff members in Catholic colleges.

Chairman: Rev. A. W. Crandel, S. J.
Loyola University
New Orleans, Louisiana
Secretary: Sister Mary Clement
Incarnate Word College
San Antonio, Texas

59. Southern Rural Life Council.

Organized in 1943. The Council is a non-profit service agency sponsored by Peabody College, Scarritt College, Vanderbilt University, and Fisk University, and has a membership of approximately seventy-five.

Purpose: To improve the quality of rural life in the South.

Activities: Cooperates with state, county, and local agencies and institutions in sponsoring institutes, workshops, and conferences for groups interested in the improvement of rural life; assists in the development of community programs; studies ways of securing effective community action; serves as a clearance agency for ideas and materials bearing on rural life; keeps records of community programs and agencies operating for the improvement of rural life; maintains a bureau; promotes the organization of state and local councils; grants scholarships to potential rural leaders; holds annual conference. The Council is now engaged in working experimentally in Dickson County, Tennessee, with a local council.

Publications: "The School and the Changing Pattern of Country Life"; "Agencies Concerned with the Quality of Rural Life in the South" a directory. A book entitled THE RURAL SOUTH is in preparation.

Director: John E. Brewton
George Peabody College for Teachers
Nashville 4, Tennessee

***

60. Southern Sociological Society.

Organized in 1935. General purposes are similar to those of the American Sociological Society, but on a regional basis. Membership has reached a total of two hundred and sixty. The area served by the Society includes the following states: Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia. Annual meetings are held.

The Society compiles each year a report of the research in progress by its members.

The Commission on the Teaching of Sociology, elsewhere referred to in this report, is sponsored by the Society.

The official publication of the Society is the journal, Social Forces.

President: Charles S. Johnson
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Secretary-Treasurer: Coyle E. Moore
Florida State College for Women
Tallahassee, Florida

61. Southern States Work Conference on School Administrative Problems.

Organized in 1940 to provide a cooperative plan for state departments of education and state education associations of the Southern Region to study educational problems of mutual interest.

The major objectives are:

(a) To provide a continuing opportunity for educational leaders of the Southern Region to study problems of region-wide significance relating to the organization and administration of education in the region.
(b) To develop improved means of assuring group and inter-state cooperation in facing and solving important current educational problems.
(c) To prepare bulletins and handbooks giving the tentative conclusions of the work-conference as to educational policies and procedures which are found to be most acceptable and which are recommended for use throughout the region.
(d) To cooperate with the participating states in developing programs or adjusting their own programs to implement recommendations of the Work-conference.
(e) To cooperate with other organizations in carrying out studies and preparing practical programs for improving the educational status of the region.

The annual work-conferences have grown steadily in membership despite the disadvantages imposed by the war. Two major projects considered in the 1946 work-conference were as follows: (1) Study of elementary education in each state in the region and in the Southern Region; (2) Continuation of the cooperative study of vocational problems in each state in the region and in the Southern Region.

A number of publications have materialized from the programs of the work-conference. At this time, the following are still in print:

(1) RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING (No. 2, 1943, 25 cents.)
(2) STATE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF EDUCATION (No. 1, 1942, 25 cents.)
(3) PROBLEMS OF TEACHER PERSONNEL (No. 3, 1942, 25 cents.)
(4) SCHOOL TRANSPORTATION (No. 2, 1941, 25 cents.)
(5) SCHOOL STANDARDS (No. 4, 1941, 25 cents.)
(6) ADMINISTRATION OF STATE CURRICULUM PROGRAMS (No. 5, 1941, 25 cents.)
(7) BUILDING A BETTER SOUTHERN REGION THROUGH EDUCATION.

Executive Secretary: Edgar L. Morphet
State Department of Education
Tallahassee, Florida

***

62. Southern University Conference.

Organized 1935.

Membership composed of 46 colleges and universities in the South and Maryland. Membership is limited to colleges of liberal arts and to universities having schools or colleges of arts and sciences as part of their organization.

Purpose: To consider matters pertaining to the upper division of college work, to graduate work, and to all common interests of member institutions.

Activities: The work of the Conference is indicated by the following list of standing committees:

(1) Graduate instruction
(2) Cooperation in higher education
(3) Faculty pensions and retirement
(4) Quality and evaluation of instruction
(5) Adult education
(6) Veterans' education
(7) Collegiate preparation

An annual meeting is held usually shortly after the meeting of the Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools.

Publications: Proceedings of all annual meetings since 1935.

President: Alexander Guerry
The University of the South
Sewanee, Tennessee

Vice President: R. R. Paty
University of Alabama
University, Alabama

Secretary: Charles E. Diehl
Southwestern College
Memphis, Tennessee

***

63. Southwestern Library Association.

A regional branch of the American Library Association.

Purpose: To further the general extension and improvement of library service throughout the southwest.

Activities:
(1) Cooperates with the Southeastern Library Association,
(2) Develops library standards for high schools and colleges in the area,
(3) Participates in a cooperative study of problems of the entire area,
(4) Holds conferences and meetings.

Publications: Papers and Proceedings.

Secretary: Emma Lee
Rosenberg Library
Galveston, Texas

64. Tennessee Valley Agricultural Correlating Committee.

Organized: 1934.

Members: Thomas P. Cooper, representing the Land Grant Colleges of the Tennessee Valley area;
J. C. Mc Amis, representing the TVA;
James G. Maddox, representing the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Purpose: To coordinate those phases of the research, extension, land-use planning, and educational activities of these agencies which are related to a unified, regional agricultural program.

Activities: The Correlating Committee as such does not ordinarily engage in activities or projects, although special undertakings involving joint activities among the participating agencies may be carried on by or through the Committee. The correlating functions of the Committee are exercised chiefly, however, by facilitating the establishment of cooperative projects and the carrying on of cooperative activities among the participating agencies. The committee accomplishes these functions largely through the medium of the Valley-States Conference, Standing Committees of that Conference, and Contact Officers in each of the cooperating land-grant colleges. The activities of these groups are carried on through channels and day-to-day operations of the office of the Executive Secretary of the Correlating Committee.

The following standing committees are maintained: Organization, Research, Extension and Resident Teaching, Resource Utilization, and Cooperatives.

Semiannual meetings known as Valley States Conferences are held. The 25th Valley States Conference was held at the Piedmont Hotel, Atlanta, Georgia on April 3, 1946.

Publications: Digests of Proceedings of conferences,
A Study of the Work of the Land Grant Colleges in the Tennessee Valley Area in Cooperation with the Tennessee Valley Authority.

Chairman: Thomas P. Cooper
College of Agriculture
University of Kentucky
Lexington, Kentucky

Executive Secretary: Claud F. Clayton
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

65. Tennessee Valley Library Council.

Organized 1940. An informal conference group of librarians of the seven states of the Tennessee Valley area.

Purposes: (1) To coordinate the various library interests within each state;
(2) To provide opportunity for library planning among the states of the area.

Activities: Studies regional social and economic problems toward which emphasis of libraries should be directed; plans ways to relate the work of libraries more effectively to the development of resources in the Tennessee Valley states; holds conferences.

Publications: Mimeographed Proceedings of conferences.

Chairman: Hellen M. Harris
Lawson McGhee Library
Knoxville, Tennessee

***

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Am Miss Com

October 7, 1947

Dr. Fred L. Brownlee
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Brownlee:

About a year ago we began sending you each month a hundred copies of New South.

Now that printing costs have got so high, we are trying to find ways of cutting down our bill, though we wish anxiously to have the paper continue to reach people who find it useful.

Do you think it might be possible for the AMA, or the Board, to cover the cost of these copies, say with a block subscription at half-price, which would be fifty dollars a year? I am aware of the years of generosity of the AMA toward us and toward the Commission, and am therefore the more hesitant to at all in this vein. And if you do find them still useful (to you and doubtless to us), and some subscription arrangement would be awkward, we will gladly send the hundred along as before. And will continue to appreciate the aid to our good name provided by your circulation of them.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ee

February 21, 1951

Mr. Ralph A. Rose
American Friends Service Committee
~~20 South 12th Street~~
Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania

Dear Ralph:

This is what went out to each of the Council's state officers with a copy of Employment on Merit. Extra copies went to Chairmen.

Southern church papers would show an extra flicker of interest on something on this subject that reached them from Atlanta. The ones I would send to number 35. I await your thumbnail sketch and enough more copies, to wit 35, for us to make the mailing to church papers.

Additionally, I am sending the pamphlet to a number of the Catholic Bishops in the South with a letter from me as enclosed.

I made bold to use your name in a letter the other day to Mr. Sam Katz of the American Jewish Committee's staff at Philadelphia. I am offering myself as a sometime speaker before their local meetings. I thought if he called you for dope as to who this George Mitchell was, you would be willing to say what you knew.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er
Encls.

PAUL D. WILLIAMS, RICHMOND
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HAROLD C. FLEMING
DIRECTOR OF INFORMATION

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
ROOM 432, 63 AUBURN AVENUE, N.E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

A Council to attain, through research and action, the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South.

February 21, 1951

This is a remarkably good pamphlet done by the American Friends Service Committee.

If you have friends to whom you wish it sent, I am sure the AFSC will be glad to follow through directly, in which case write Mr. Ralph A. Rose, American Friends Service Committee, 20 South Twelfth Street, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

March 30, 1951

Mr. Galen R. Weaver
American Missionary Association
Congregational Christian Churches
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Dear Mr. Weaver:

I cannot believe that the Birmingham bombing was done by the Reds.

Atlanta was the city in which the church women did quite a lot on housing. The story has appeared in the bulletin of the National Council of Church Women within the last year. We haven't a copy here, but presume it could be had from the National Council of Church Women, 156 Fifth Avenue, New York City. And the Christian Century is supposed to have carried a write-up on it also.

As to the church women, back in 1946 the Atlanta Council of Church Women got interested in the whole question of housing and pretty soon established a Housing Committee. During this time (and I believe still), the chairman of the Atlanta Council of Church Women was Mrs. W. B. Suddeth, who is a member of one of the leading Baptist churches of Atlanta. One of the early moves was to arrange tours of the more squalid housing areas. People from the two principal Atlanta newspapers were invited along, and for weeks the Atlanta papers carried prominently pictures of bad housing conditions. A good many of the pictures showed the visiting teams of church women standing in front of the homes. A little later a Congressional subcommittee on housing, including among others Congressman Rains of Alabama and John Sparkman (I believe before he went to the Senate), came to Atlanta, and the Council of Church Women laid a great many figures before them. They worked diligently on behalf of public housing in general. A Coordinating Committee on Housing was established, composed of quite a number

of women's organizations, many of them not church-connected, and in this way the movement was broadened. The women got various members of the City Council to attend their housing meetings. One Councilman in particular showed great interest in the housing needs of the city and, largely through his efforts, a city ordinance was passed in 1947 setting up minimum standards for housing and getting power to require remodelling of sub-standard units. By one device or another, the implementation of this act was delayed until 1949, but in that year a staff of inspectors was engaged and the ordinance began to be applied. Through February 28, 1951, 2,277 buildings had been substantially remodelled as a consequence of the ordinance. This covered 5,230 family units. 10,237 buildings have been inspected, and health inspection has been arranged for 33,414 units. Some houses have been ordered demolished.

At one stage in the long controversy, certain real estate agents in the city made the accusation that the Atlanta Council of Church Women was "communist-tinted." But tinted or not, they were kept busy.

Mrs. Suddeth and her friends would be the first to disclaim that they got all this done, but they were certainly persistent and effective.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

RACE RELATIONS DEPARTMENT
AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
BOARD OF HOME MISSIONS, CONGREGATIONAL CHRISTIAN CHURCHES
287 FOURTH AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, NEW YORK

HERMAN H. LONG, DIRECTOR

GALEN R. WEAVER
RELIGION AND RACE

March 21, 1951

RECEIVED
MAR 23 1951
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

You will be interested in a reply to the letter which I sent to our white Congregational Church in Birmingham. Mr. Henry M. Edmonds wrote under date of March 15 and I received it only yesterday. I think Mr. Edmonds is giving part time to the church and that he is a teacher at the college there. I wonder how reliable his interpretation of the particular bombing case might be? We will be eager to hear Mrs. Tilly's version as soon as it is ready to share with us.

I note in your last copy of "New South", February 1951, an item about the church women of one large city who took leadership in getting the slum areas publicized and in organizing a coordinating council of women's organizations to deal with housing problems. I would like very much to have the city identified and to know something in detail of exactly what was done. I am speaking before the Church Council on Social Work in May on this very problem of church action in getting better housing and this case history would be exceedingly helpful.

DT >

With appreciation for your cooperation and the excellent work that you do, I am

Very cordially yours,

Galen Weaver

Galen R. Weaver

GRW:a

The program of Religion and Race, including the work of George Thomas of Los Angeles, is jointly supported by the American Missionary Association Division and the Council for Social Action.

COPY

Henry M. Edmonds

1819 North 8th Avenue

Birmingham 3, Alabama

Mr. Galen R. Weaver
287 Fourth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Mr. Weaver:

I am very apologetic for not having attended long since to your letter of weeks back about the disgraceful bombings in Birmingham. I have a number of excuses for not having written but no reasons.

After so long, however, I have interviewed the Police Commissioner, talked with one of the detectives who investigated the case and examined the file.

Without going into details it looks like an exceedingly clever case of communist manipulation.

The police department here by the way would be glad for you or anybody else to come and look at the records.

Sincerely,

/s/ Henry M. Edmonds

March 15, 1951

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION

Division of Race Relations

The American Missionary Association is a Christian Missionary Society organized in 1846, "to spread the Gospel of Christ wherever it has opportunity." From the beginning it was actively opposed to slavery which then existed and to those prejudices of race and caste which still exist.

Its membership is composed both of life members at large and of the official delegates to the General Council of the Congregational Christian Churches.

For nearly a century it has worked with Southern Highlanders, Negroes, American Indians, Orientals, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and Mormons. Some of its early schools have become independent colleges; some have become state-supported schools; some have developed into centers of experimental community education.

In January 1942, the Association established a Division of Race Relations. The staff of this division is based at Nashville and composed of a small group of trained workers, Negro and White. Its aim is to work towards the fulfilment of Christian aims by Christian means in the whole area of race relations, but especially in the removal of those barriers of caste and class which yet obstruct full participation of Negro citizens in our American democracy and of Negro Christians in our Christian church fellowship.

To these ends the Division offers the services of its staff in several forms of work.

1. Common Ground Workers: Staff members available to communities which desire skilled assistance in organizing themselves for constructive solution of local interracial problems, such as those

arising in connection with housing, restrictive covenants, labor, and employment practices, transportation, welfare, recreation, and community planning. These workers may also take initiative in stimulating activity of existing organizations where urgent need is apparent.

2. Counsel by correspondence on how to develop action programs, institutes, or start courses on race relations, where to turn for speakers, materials, or book lists and the like.

3. An annual national institute of race relations, located in 1944 and 1945 at Fisk University, and assistance in setting up state and local interracial institutes.

4. A loan exhibit. The Races of Mankind, prepared by the Cranbrook Institute of Science, and obtainable as a loan at nominal cost. Preparation of smaller exhibits of pictures, pamphlets and books on interracial themes on request.

5. Preparation of materials on request for national and state-wide organizations and periodicals, and preparation of certain materials on race relations which will be issued by this office and listed for purchase at nominal cost when available.

6. Special staff workers as follows: one to work especially with youth groups desiring aid in organizing interracial activities; one to work especially with ministers and ministerial organizations; one to work especially with church organizations emphasizing the Congregational-Christian Churches and related bodies.

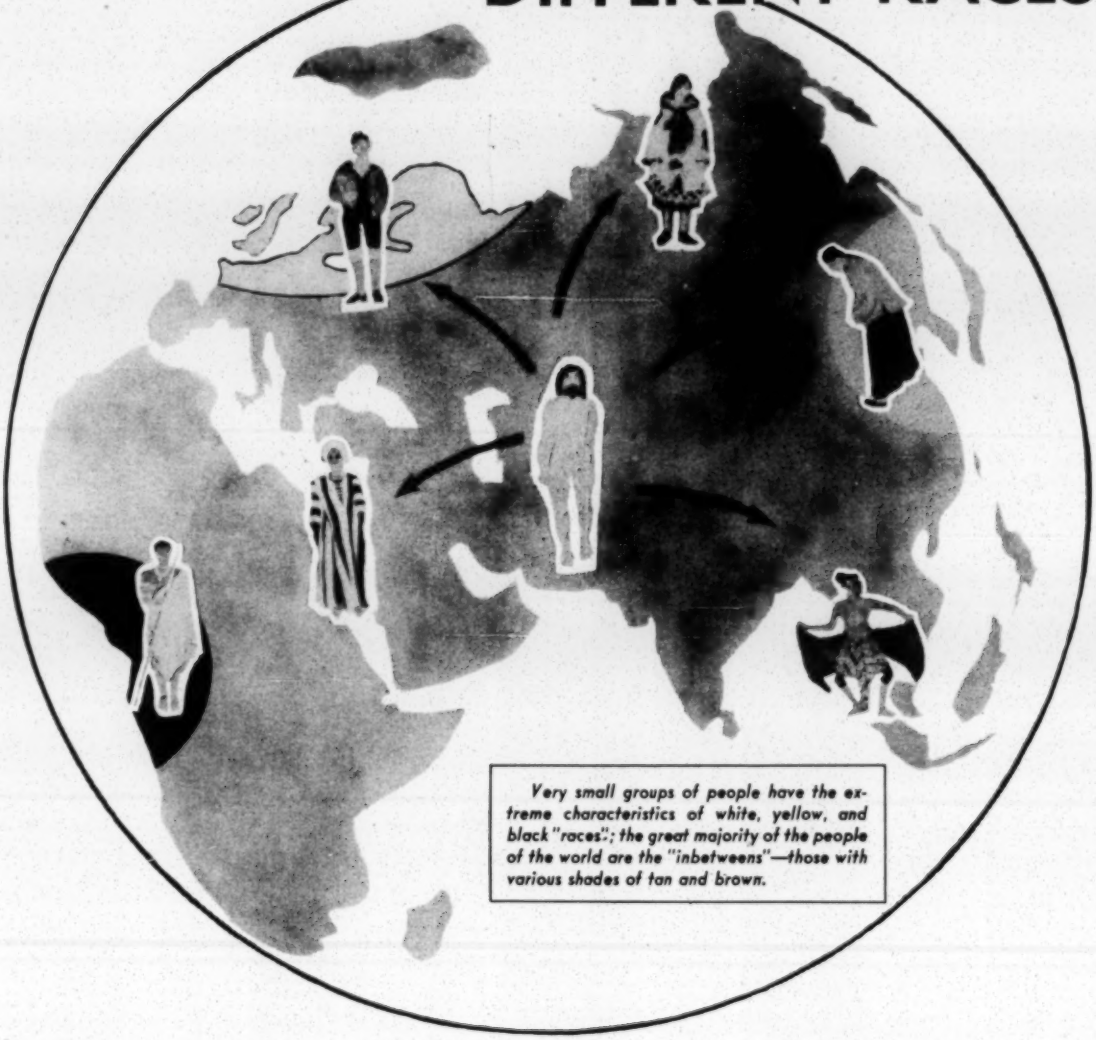
Communications should be addressed to CHARLES S. JOHNSON, Director, Division of Race Relations, American Missionary Association, Fisk University, Nashville 8, Tennessee.

THE RACES OF MAN

EARLY MAN LACKING MEANS OF WIDE TRAVEL AND COMMUNICATION DEVELOPED INTO VARIED TYPES WHICH WE CALL RACES. PEOPLE THEN NEEDED TO KEEP PEACE WITH FEW NEIGHBORS. TO-DAY ALL MEN ARE NEIGHBORS AND WITH ALL MEN IN TIME WE CAN AND WE MUST LIVE IN PEACE.

Race Relations Division, American Missionary Association
287 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y.

WHY ARE THERE DIFFERENT RACES?



Very small groups of people have the extreme characteristics of white, yellow, and black "races"; the great majority of the people of the world are the "inbetweens"—those with various shades of tan and brown.

Man's greatest adventure was his spread from somewhere in Asia to all corners of the world.

Originally man was neither light nor dark. As he advanced into the areas of hot sunlight and long summers to the South, those with darker skins were better able to survive. The short wide nose developed as the best means of inhaling the moist warm air, and body hair disappeared.

As he advanced into the north, those with lighter skins were better able to absorb the sunlight in the short months of summer and so store up a quantity of Vitamin D against the long dark winter to come. Here, too, the long thin nose was better adapted to inhale and warm the cold air, and a large amount of body hair was some protection against the cold. In some places in Asia, a fold of skin developed over the inner corner of the eyes to produce what we call the slant eye. The geographical differences between men are however of small magnitude when one considers the fundamental likeness.

The population of the world was small in the days of early man and differences, once begun, tended to persist through isolation and inbreeding. Each so-called Race became functionally adapted to living in the area in which it found itself. There was no question of superiority or inferiority, for the white man would have suffered in the hot tropical sun as much as the Negro would have suffered in the cold North.

With the growth of civilization, man has been enabled, through the use of proper clothing and scientifically prepared food and vitamins, to move into all areas of the world, no matter what his color. The so-called racial differences are superficial, and man is essentially the same and has the same potentialities wherever you find him, be he light, dark, tall, short, fat or thin, long headed or round headed.

THE JEWS ARE NOT A RACE

Chief Rabbi W. A. Matthew, of the Royal Order of Ethiopian Jews, at the Harlem Synagogue. His followers are not converts but are from families in the West Indies and Africa whose Hebrew faith stems from the Falashas of Ethiopia—direct descendants from the House of David and of Solomon.

a Jewish Negro

Jews are people of any race who practice the religion of Judaism. They are found among all races and sub-races, and among people of every conceivable physical type and occupation. Certain physical characteristics which are called "Jewish," such as the curved nose, are found among millions of non-Jewish peoples of Eastern Europe and Western Asia which is the area from which many Jews originally came. Even Jewish culture is a composite of customs from the many areas in which they have lived. Indeed, persecution of a Jewish "race" is a comparatively new thing. Previously the Jews were persecuted for their religion. Now that we have religious freedom, there is invented a mythical "racial" basis for the persecutions.

Chinese Jews

a Jew of India

THE FOODS WE EAT ARE A GIFT FROM ALL PEOPLES

The crab-apple and the hazelnut are the only important foods contributed to our table by the ancient Europeans. Everything else we eat we have borrowed from someone else. If the contribution of the American Indian alone were removed we should have no kidney beans, lima beans, chocolate, corn, peanuts, pineapple, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, pumpkins, squash, avocado, tomatoes, tobacco or turkeys.

CULTURE IS NOT INBORN

culture Chinese

Race deals with matters that are inherited, but such things as are called culture (speech, clothing, habits, music, etc.) depend on the surroundings in which the child lives. The little girl drinking the ice cream soda is of the yellow race but her culture is American.

culture American

The Races of Mankind Posters

Reproduced on the preceding pages are five of the set of fifteen posters which give visual presentation to significant facts about race and culture; they answer some of the questions most often asked about race. The following titles of the posters suggest their content:

1. The Races of Man
2. What Is Race?
3. Why Are There Different Races?
4. Nationalities Are Not Races
5. The Jews Are Not A Race
6. Who Are The Aryans
7. Composition of The American Negro
8. All Races Produce Great Art
9. All Races Enrich Architecture
10. The Foods We Eat Are A Gift From All Peoples
11. Inventions Have Come From All Races
12. It's Not In The Blood
13. No Race Is Ape-like
14. Culture Is Not Inborn
15. Negroes Are An Integral Part Of Our Culture

Size: Each of the 15 posters is 18 by 20 inches in size. They were designed for use in an average size classroom, clubroom, or small auditorium and are usually shown to best advantage as a temporary or permanent display on the walls.

Groups: Adults, students from upper elementary levels through college, workers, church groups and members of special interest groups, all have been enthusiastic about these posters and have evidenced by discussions that they gained much useful information.

Price: The posters cost $5.00 per set. This includes postage to places within the United States.

Materials: Bibliographies, pamphlets, and booklets about race relations are available for use in connection with the posters.

Orders for posters should be addressed to:

Mrs. Edmonia W. Grant,
Director of Education
Race Relations Division
American Missionary Association
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

Checks and money orders should be made payable to:

Charles S. Johnson, Director
Race Relations Division
American Missionary Association
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, New York

American Missionary Association

For correspondence with Mr. Fred Brownlee on SBC appropriation, see Foundation Requests.

From: Mrs. Edmonia W. Grant
Director of Education
Race Relations Division
American Missionary Association
287 Fourth Avenue
New York, New York

For Immediate Release

Note to Editor: Glossy prints available on request. The enclosed leaflet shows 5 dull prints

SCIENCE OF RACE CURRICULUM ESSENTIAL

Where are the fascist myths about race exploded? Where do Americans learn the science of race and culture? Educators who strive to help the United States become the arsenal of democratic ideals essential to winning the peace, consider the teaching of the science of race and culture a fundamental task. As a visual aid "The Races of Mankind" posters were developed by the Race Relations Division of the American Missionary Association. These fifteen posters give scientific evidence of human unity, compare the three major divisions of mankind--white, black, and yellow--and answer some of the questions most often asked about race.

The titles of these 18 by 20 inch posters, designed for use in an average size classroom, or small auditorium, suggest their content: "What Is Race?" Why Are There Different Races?" "Nationalities Are Not Races," "Who Are the Aryans?" "The Jews Are Not a Race," "Inventions Have Come from All Races," "The Composition of the American Negro," "No Race Is Ape-Like," "The Negro Is an Integral Part of Our Culture," "Culture Is Not Inborn," and "The Foods We Eat Are a Gift from All Peoples."

"Why Are There Different Races?" is a drawing which shows man going from central Eurasia to all parts of the world. "As he advanced into the areas of hot sunlight and long summers to the South, those with darker skins were better able to survive. ...As he advanced into the North, those with lighter skins were better able to absorb the sunlight in the short months of summer and so store up a quantity of Vitamin D against the long, dark winter to come. ...The geographical differences between man are, however, of small magnitude when one considers fundamental likenesses."

"No Race Is Ape-Like" shows a black, a white, and a yellow man in the primitive stage. "Some people compare the human being with the ape but the human being is a very different animal. The ape wears a permanent fur coat; no human is gifted in quite that way. The northwest European, the Australian native and the Ainu people of northern Japan have more hair on their bodies than any other human beings. The ape has thin lips and not much nose. In human beings thick lips are characteristic of peoples of West Africa; thin lips are characteristic of peoples in northwest Europe; the rest of humanity has lips of varying degrees of thickness.

All peoples have the same number of bones in their bodies (206), the same internal organs, the same blood, the same skin, except larger or smaller amounts of two chemicals, and the same brain. The average brain size differs. The largest brain was that of an idiot; Raphael, Dante and Bach had small brains. Brain size is no measure of intelligence."

Poster sets of "The Races of Mankind" may be ordered from Mrs. Edmonia W. Grant, Director of Education, Race Relations Division, American Missionary Association, 287 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, New York, for $5.00 per set. This price includes mailing costs within the United States. Included with each set is an annotated bibliography, "American Minority People during World War II."

The Board of Home Missions
of the Congregational and Christian Churches

287 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

AMERICAN MISSIONARY ASSOCIATION DIVISION
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MRS. EDMONIA W. GRANT
Director of Education
Race Relations Division

To Directors of Agencies in Race Relations:

Simple, dramatic factual material can be especially valuable in a program to improve human relations. To this end we are developing materials such as those enclosed and described:

(1) The "Races of Man" posters which give visual presentation to significant facts about race and culture.

(2) "What Do You Know about Race?" a question and answer test. You are free to print this test in your publication and to mimeograph it for use in your groups.

(3) "American Minority People during World War II," an annotated bibliography of basic readings for Americans concerned about race relations. Group leaders interested in current problems use the sources listed to be brought up to date. You may want to review this bibliography in your publication; you may want to provide copies for your leadership.

(4) Christmas greeting cards with the dramatic message of interracial brotherhood.

If, after you examine these materials, you think that they can be useful to members of your groups, we should be glad to serve you. Prices are listed on those materials which are for sale.

May we look forward to hearing from you?

Very truly yours,

Edmonia W. Grant as

(Mrs.) Edmonia W. Grant
Director of Education
Race Relations Division
American Missionary Association

EWG:AS
enc.

WHAT DO YOU KNOW ABOUT RACE?

A True-or-False Test

by
Edmonia W. Grant
Director of Education
Race Relations Division
American Missionary Association
287 Fourth Avenue
New York 10, N. Y.

T	F	
		1. The Germans are an Aryan race.
		2. The Jews are a Semitic race.
		3. The Germans are not a pure white race.
		4. Skin color is the most important physical charactertistic.
		5. The white, black and yellow people are as different from one another as dogs are from cats.
		6. Man's physical appearance is affected by his environment.
		7. The Jews are not a race.
		8. All Jews have curved noses, which distinguish them from other peopl
		9. All the Danish people are typical or average Caucasians.
		10. American Negroes look to Europe, Africa and America for their ancest
		11. If we add all the characteristically black, white and yellow togeth we have only some of the people of the world.
		12. The blood of Negro and white people is the same.
		13. All children of parents who are from different racial groups are inferior to both parents.
		14. All the foods we eat are a gift from ancient Europeans.
		15. American inventions provide us with only some of our basic comfort

Total Score_____

Directions: Put a check in the box in the T column if the statement is True, or in the F column if the statement is False.

After you finish taking the test your leader will give you the correct answer to each statement. Count the number of answers you had correct and place that number in the space after "Total Score." How does your score compare with that of your group. Is your score average, above average, or below average?

WHAT DO YOU KNOW ABOUT RACE?

By

Edmonia White Grant, Director of Education
Race Relations Division
American Missionary Association

1. The Germans are an Aryan race. True - False. False, because there is no Aryan race. The term Aryan applies to language spoken by a pre-historic people who spread over parts of Asia, including India and the Iranian Plateau. An Aryan is anyone who speaks an Aryan language, as Sanscrit, Armenian, Slavic, English, German, Yiddish, Latin, or Greek.

2. The Jews are a Semitic race. True - False. False, because Semitic applies to language. The Arabic and Hebrew languages are Semitic. Today, few Jews speak Hebrew as few Roman Catholics speak Latin. An Arab who speaks an Arabic language is as "Semitic" as a Jew who speaks Hebrew.

3. The Germans are not a pure white race. True - False. True, because there is no pure race of people. Biologically we produce pure races of animals by controlled breeding, by mating brothers and sisters, parents and children, and other close relatives. People do not mate in this way; that is why there is no pure race of people. In man there is only one race--the human race. There has not been enough incest in human relations to produce pure races of people. The German nation is composed of people of several physical types in about the same percentage as the French. So many waves of migrations have taken place in Europe that the people of any European country may have all kinds of ancestors: Cro-Magnons, Slavs, Mongols, Africans, Celts, Saxons and Teutons.

4. Skin color is the most important physical characteristic. True - False. False, because everyone (except albinos) has some of the two color chemicals, carotene (which gives a yellow tinge) and melanin

(which gives a brown shade); the only difference is in the amount of carotene and melanin present in your skin.

5. The white, black and yellow people are as different from one another as dogs are from cats. True - False. False, because human anatomy which is the same all over the world proves the unity of the human species. Fertile children have been born from the mating of even the most extremely varied physical types of men and women. If mankind were a series of mutually infertile species, this unity would be disproved. In spite of close association cats and dogs do not mate, they are mutually infertile. But differentiated human types cross and re-cross.

6. Man's physical appearance is affected by his environment. True - False. True because man spread from somewhere in central Eurasia to all parts of the world. As he went toward the equator those with dark skins tended to survive because they could resist the strong rays of the sun and thus adjust to the long, hot summers. Dark pigment acts as a filter against the actinic rays of the sun. Of course, the strong rays of the sun made men darker too. Those who went northward tended to survive when they had lighter skin because they were better able to absorb the sunlight in the short summer months and to store up Vitamin D for the winter.

7. The Jews are not a race. True - False. True, because Jews are any people of any nationality or "racial" group who practice the religion of Judaism. There are Chinese Jews, Ethiopian Jews, Jews of India, American Negroes of Jewish faith, Polish Jews, Russian Jews, Italian Jews and many others.

8. All Jews have curved noses which distinguish them from other people. True - False. False, because the curved nose sometimes associated with Jewish people is found among millions of non-Jewish peoples in Eastern Europe and Western Asia. This is also true of other physical characteristics

called "Jewish." Jews and non-Jews share alike the physical characteristics of the people in the land of their origin.

9. All the Danish people are typical or average Caucasians. True - False. False, because no nation of people conforms to the average set up for a racial group. The average Caucasian is an abstraction, a statistical concept useful to anthropologists engaged in measurement; as is the average Negroid or Mongoloid person. Thousands of people who consider themselves Caucasian must be measured in trying to find one who has the physical characteristics of an average Caucasian. The same is true for Negroid and Mongoloid people.

10. American Negroes look to Europe, Africa, and America for their ancestry. True - False. True, because American Negroes are a mixture of African, European and American white, and American Indian. Since the American Indian is classified as a Mongoloid, the American Negro is a representative of the three major physical types--Negroid, Mongoloid, and Caucasoid or black, yellow, and white. Many other people not classified as Negroes are combinations of these same three groups, as many people in Latin America. American Negroes look to various countries in Europe, to the American Indian, and to Africa for their ancestry. Very rarely does one find an American Negro who has only African ancestry. And most American Negroes are at least four generations removed from Africa, so greatly removed that there is no more attachment to Africa than there is to Europe. The combination of people which the American Negro represents gives added evidence of the unity of the human species.

11. If we add all the characteristically black, white and yellow people together we have only some of the people of the world. True - False. True, because the people who are known by the three classifications are the minority of the people of the world. The great majority are the "in between,"

these of various colors of tan and brown as well as other physical characteristics.

12. The blood of Negro and white people is the same. True - False. True, because all blood is classified according to type A, B, AB, and O. These four types are found among all peoples, Negro as well as white. A white American soldier who needs a blood transfusion may find a donor whose blood matches his among any people--Chinese, Negro, Indian, or any other. A white soldier who receives the blood of a Chinese or a Negro does not change in physical appearance because his physical characteristics were determined by genes, tiny cells inherited from both parents. Nor is there any way to tell the racial group of the donor from an examination of his blood. There is no Japanese blood, no German blood, no Negro blood, no English blood, no white blood.

13. All children of parents who are from different racial groups are inferior to both parents. True - False. False, because in Hawaii where there is no racial separatism, marriages between people of the most diverse "racial" groups take place in the churches, and the children of mixed marriages are not discriminated against but develop and hold positions according to their ability. In other places where hybrids or half-castes are subjected social discrimination, they appear to be inferior. White people who are discriminated against also appear to be inferior. But some white and some half individuals brought up as outcasts rise to positions of eminence. There is no biological evidence of the inferiority of the half-breeds. "Every civilized group of which we have record has been a hybrid group, a fact which poses effectually of the theory that hybrid peoples are inferior to pure-bred ones." Ralph Linton, "The Study of Man," New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1. p. 34.

14. All the foods we eat are a gift from ancient Europeans. True - False. False, because the crab-apple and the hazelnut are the only important

foods contributed to our table by the ancient Europeans. Everything else we eat we have borrowed from some other people. If the contribution of the American Indian alone were removed we should have no kidney beans, lima beans, chocolate, corn, peanuts, pineapple, sweet potatoes, Irish potatoes, pumpkins, squash, avocado, tomatoes, tobacco or turkeys.

15. American inventions provide us with only some of our basic comforts. True - False. True, because modern inventions are built upon inventions of the past, inventions from all peoples. Here are some of them: Egyptians: copper, bronze, wheat, the plow, alphabet, ink, paper, glass, playing cards, checkers, chess; Babylonians: codified law, coined money, the arch; Hittites: horses as draft animals, iron; Assyrians: cotton, banks, postal system; Chaldeans: astronomy, the zodiac, the week, degrees of the circle; Arabs: camels, the use of milk, calculus, algebra, Arabic numerals, zero, coffee; Chinese: tea, porcelain, gunpowder, silk, rice, parasols, spectacles, mariner's compass, asbestos, kites, paper money, and the fingerprint system of identification.

Civilization, as we know it, has come from many sources; we add our contributions to this continuous, world-wide process.

If you want to know what some scientists say, you may read the following:

"The Races of Mankind," by Ruth Benedict and Gene Weltfish, Public Affairs Committee, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y. 10 cents.

"Man's Most Dangerous Myth: The Fallacy of Race," by M. F. Ashley Montagu, New York: Columbia University Press, 1945.

"The Science of Man in the World Crisis," edited by Ralph Linton, New York: Columbia University Press, 1945.

"The Mind of Primitive Man," by Franz Boas, New York: Macmillan Company, 1911.

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August 31, 1954

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Associate Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Hamilton:

Thank you very much for the recent copy of your memorandum to members of the Conference on School Desegregation which was held at the National Social Welfare Assembly on May 18th. We appreciate very much the fact that you will send to us a copy of Answers for Action--Schools in the South. I look forward to reading this information and will bring it to the attention of the members of this Association.

It was good to have the opportunity to meet you during the May 18th meeting, and I look forward to seeing you on future occasions.

With all good wishes,

Sincerely yours,

Grace E. Marr

GEM:wj

Grace E. Marr
Assistant Executive Secretary
Intergroup Relations

January 31, 1955

Miss Grace E. Marr
Assistant Executive Secretary
American Nurses' Association, Inc.
2 Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Miss Marr:

Dr. Mitchell has referred your letter of January 13th to me for reply. The plans of the American Nurses' Association to initiate "an intergroup relations project in approximately six different geographical areas of the United States" seems to us an excellent idea -- very sound in concept. We believe that it is only through involvement of the people most concerned in a given area of community activity that progress towards integration will come in various community services. The selection of project sites would seem to be the first opportunity to encourage such involvement.

We believe that there would be gains in raising yourquestion about appropriate states and cities with the president of the Nurses' Association in each of the Southern states. I believe that the judgment of Mrs. Laura Fitzsimmons (Pres. Georgia Association of Nursing, Veterans Administration Hospital, Augusta) should be sought as to whether the project would serve as an opportunity for enlarging the insights both of members of the profession and of the community at large in regard to the efforts of the American Nurses' Association to extend democratic practices. We hope that, by all means, one or two communities in the Southern region will be included among the project sights. Perhaps the choice of one might be the particular interests of the state association to impove its own practices. The other might be a state or a community already geared for an integrated approach to the objectives of the program.

Your basis for judgment is much better than ours on the specific places under either category.

It occurs to me that you will find many supporting community efforts in Tennessee.

We will hope to be kept in touch with developments in regard to this proposal. And will be happy to cooperate in such ways as ams possible at later stages.

With my cordial good wishes,

(Mrs.) Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant Director

GTH/rnf

Telephone: ORegon 9-2040

gr'lt for reply
her sig.

Cable Address: Amnurses, New York

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January 13, 1955

JAN 17 1955

Dr. George Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The American Nurses' Association plans to initiate an intergroup relations project in approximately six different geographical areas of the United States. We would like to undertake the project only in those cities and/or states where the climate of opinion regarding race relations is conducive to the success of the project. As helpful as the newspaper, magazine and pamphlet articles following the May 17, 1954 decision of the Supreme Court in relation to public schools are, they do not quite meet our present need in deciding upon project sites. To meet the need of nurses who might be apprehensive about having the project started, especially in the South, we have need for statements from authoritative sources indicating:

1. whether or not it is sound to conduct a project, as described below, at this time, and

2. what states and cities, especially in the South, are appropriate for a project such as this.

We would like to request whatever advise or suggestion you may be able to make in relation to these questions. The final plans for the project will be completed as soon as qualified personnel have been appointed to conduct it. The tentative plan is as follows:

1. To undertake the project in from 6 to 10 racially heterogeneous communities where the nurses have expressed their willingness to cooperate.

2. To have the project conducted by a roving team including a project director, a research person, and a public relations person. This team to be assisted by an assistant project director, a committee of nurses and secretarial help in each community.

3. Plans for the implementation of the project in a given community to be modified in accord with the suggestions of an advisory committee composed of local social science and intergroup relations experts.

4. Headquarters for the roving team to be ANA headquarters at the above address; for the assistant project director and secretarial staff, space in the office of the district or state nurses association.

5. Steps in carrying out the project:

   a. An audit of the current status of integration of minority group members into schools of nursing; of minority group nurses into nursing service units in hospitals, public health agencies, et cetera; and of minority group nurses into the activities of the professional organizations. The audit to be conducted, in approximately 3 months, by the roving team in cooperation with the nursing and advisory committees. The roving team to remain in the community until

   b. A plan is developed by which to progress toward complete integration in nursing in the community under study.

   c. Execution of the plan by the assistant project director and the nurses on the committee with assistance from the roving team and local intergroup relations experts periodically and as needed.

   d. Regional conferences to be conducted simultaneously to orient nurses, employers of nurses, and--insofar as advisable--the community to the methods used and results achieved in order that they can apply the best methods in their own communities.

   e. Progress and final reports to be prepared. The project to be continued for 3 years in those communities where it is favorably received and to be discontinued in less than 3 years in any community where discontinuance is advisable.

In the event this brief summary of the project plans is inadequate as a basis for your reaction to the questions we have asked, please let us know and we will supply more complete information.

We would like to thank you, in advance, for whatever assistance you may be able to give in relation to these questions.

Sincerely yours,

Grace E. Marr

GEM:wj

Grace E. Marr
Assistant Executive Secretary
Intergroup Relations

Telephone: ORegon 9-2040

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9:5 m

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February 4, 1955

Mrs. Grace T. Hamilton
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Hamilton

Thank you very much for your helpful letter of January 31st. The information which you have supplied is of the nature which we need at this stage in planning for the Intergroup Relations Project.

Please convey my warm regards to Dr. Mitchell.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Grace E. Marr

GEM:wj

Grace E. Marr
Assistant Executive Secretary
Intergroup Relations

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THE FUNCTIONS OF THE PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION

Robert K. Merton

THE professional association[1] is an organization of practitioners who judge one another as professionally competent and who have banded together to perform social functions which they cannot perform in their separate capacity as individuals. It is typically a voluntary association. The degree to which it is voluntary may, however, differ greatly from case to case. It may range from the extreme in which the option to join is small since the penalties of not belonging are great, as in the case of county medical societies, to the other extreme, in which the option is large since the penalties for not belonging are negligible, as in the case of the more than seventy-five national engineering societies.

Professional associations differ also in their structure. They may be closely controlled from a central office or may allow considerable autonomy to local branches of the association. I do not, however, intend to explore these variations of structure, important as they are, for it is not its structure which most significantly characterizes the professional society, but its functions.

The professional association *is* as the professional association *does:* its manifest and latent social functions, not the structure designed to put these functions into effect, are its social excuse for being. That is why we can largely neglect, in this short examination, the organizational structure of the association in order to center upon its functions.

Organizational Aims and Functions

Just as function must be distinguished from structure, so must function be distinguished from the stated objectives of the organization. Professional associations tend to be alike in putting into their statements of purpose a strong affirmation that they are designed, in the first instance, to work through their specialized competences for the welfare of the community in general and of their respective clienteles in particular. The American Medical Association announces as one of its principal aims the steady improvement of health care (1); the American Bar Association, the promotion of the administration of justice (2); the American Nurses' Association, the improvement of nursing care for all the people. And so, similarly, through the roster of the hundreds of professional associations, great and small, in this country.

What the association professes as its aims may coincide with what it actually does—but again, it may not. The statements of public purpose do provide guide lines for gauging the measures to be taken by the association. This is true for declarations designed not only to reach the general (that is, the professionally uninstructed) public but also, as everyone connected with such associations knows, to reach the membership of the organization itself. The declarations of high purpose are not merely window dressing, although they are in perpetual danger of becoming so. This is particularly the case when the profession confronts a crisis in which the interests of its members seemingly or actually conflict with the interests of the public.

Nevertheless, it would be too facile and often mistaken to assume that such statements of public purpose merely render lip service to social values. Even when they are being neglected in practice, they afford a potentiality of control over actions contemplated by the association and serve to bring these actions into line with the announced purpose.

Occasional or sometimes sustained departures of a professional association from its declared public purposes can result from the *multiple and not always easily reconcilable functions* of the association. For example, the association is committed to look out for the economic and social welfare of practitioners in the profession, for if the membership organization does not do so, who will? Again, it is typically dedicated also to the objective of raising the standards of professional education, for if the organized body of informed professionals does not take on this task, who else can? Yet sometimes objectives such as these, principled as they are, may collide, or may seem to collide, with the interests of the public. A profession with reason to suppose that its members are not receiving an income commensurate with their worth may press for a rise which many in the public will judge excessive. (This sort of thing helps form the image of the profes-

[1]A forthcoming study of *The Professions in American Society* by William J. Goode, Mary Jean Huntington and myself will treat the subject of the professional association in greater detail. I wish to acknowledge a generous grant-in-aid of this study by the Russell Sage Foundation.

sions as a "conspiracy against the public," so energetically propagated by Bernard Shaw.) Or the association, on behalf of its apparently unimpeachable purpose of improving the competence of practitioners, may call for a great increase in public funds for advancing professional education. This capitalization of brain power may raise the cost of the (more effective) professional service. This, too, may not sit well with laymen who feel themselves twice penalized: once, by taxation and again, by higher fees for professional care. They can tell when the fiscal shoe pinches but they cannot so easily distinguish excellent professional care from good, and good from mediocre or inferior care.

Beyond these potential sources of conflict, there is the further possibility that a professional association may, for a time, come to be in the hands of those who conscientiously put the interests of the profession above all other interests, if only because they identify themselves so strongly with their profession that they can see the rest of the world only through the biased perspectives afforded by their professional spectacles.

It may be considered tactless to admit this possibility of a conflict of interest between a profession and the public, but it is unwise to deny it. Much as we should like it to be, we must not suppose that "all things work together for good." The social world is not inevitably a natural harmony of interests. At least in the short run, it is not the case that what is good for the profession of medicine or of law or of nursing is necessarily best for the community, and conversely. Only if these potential and actual conflicts are recognized and admitted, rather than put aside as an unpleasant embarrassment and systematically denied, can they be mitigated and worked out. The "irreconcilable" can be reconciled only if the sources of conflict are anticipated, continually appraised, and dealt with through that manner of equitable adjustment which man has proved, in his long history, he can occasionally achieve.

Every professional association faces the difficult task of trying to reach and to maintain a delicate balance between fulfilling its functions for the community and protecting its professional constituency from exploitation by the community. The not too distant days in which the nurse was rewarded for her dedication to high purpose by a dismally low income remind us that the balance can be lost at the expense of the professional group, just as numerous other instances remind us that it can be lost at the expense of the clientele.

This may be enough to suggest what I mean by saying that the public objectives affirmed by a professional association need not coincide with their actual functions. Now, if structure provides only the machinery for the performance of functions and if stated objectives provide only a guide to the selection of functions, what, then, are the basic functions which the professional association actually performs? Or, to substitute momentarily for the many-meaninged word "function," what do professional associations actually *do*, and what are some of the ramified consequences of what they do?

Dr. Robert Merton is professor of sociology at Columbia University, and consultant sociologist for the American Nurses' Association. He is a Fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, and former president of the American Sociological Society. Co-editor of the recently published book, The Student-Physician, he is engaged in sociological studies of medical education conducted by the Columbia University Bureau of Applied Social Research, of which he is associate director.

Types of Social Functions

The professional association does so many things that, if we are to understand them, we must find a way of sorting them out into their several kinds. For this purpose, we can draw upon a way of thinking about the social functions of an organization which sociologists have found helpful. This involves designating the human units for which these activities are functional: individuals, subgroups, the organization, and the larger society(3). Some functions of the professional association primarily affect individual members of the profession (and indirectly their clientele); others have consequences primarily for the profession as a whole and for the association as its corporate expression; and still others primarily affect the larger social system in which individuals and organizations find themselves. This notation of kinds of multiple functions has the further merit of sensitizing us to the possibility that some activities of a professional association which are functional for one or more of these units can be dysfunctional for others—that is, can interfere with their adaptations—a possibility to which I have already referred.

Functions for Individual Practitioners

Perhaps the most pervasive and far-reaching function of the professional association for the individual practitioner consists in giving him social and moral support to help him perform his roles as a professional. The organization helps see to it that professional people need not cope with their professional problems alone. This supportive function does not require the organization to cater to their weaknesses; rather, it can serve to reinforce their strengths.

Particularly in the salaried professions, as distinct from the prevalently free-lance, fee-paid professions, the lone professional cannot effectively safeguard his social and economic welfare. There may be a considerable gap between the prevaling schedule of salaries and the schedule which, in all equity, should obtain(4). For generations, this has been notoriously true of the salaries of college professors. Whether through collective bargaining, which is still infrequent among professional associations, or through the less direct pressures of appeal to the public opinion, which is the characteristic though immediately less effective mode, the association works to reduce the extent of this gap between what is and what should be in the sphere of salaries.

The protective functions of the association for the individual practitioner are not limited to the narrowly economic matter of salaries. Others operate indirectly to improve his conditions of work. They are designed to enable him to do his pro-

fessional job more effectively, to the further benefit of his clients. (The clientele, typically, shows no awareness of the benefits they derive from the work of the professional association.)

In the professions, as in all other forms of activity, sustained motivation is necessary for superior performance of roles. These motives to do well must be harnessed to the institutionalized system of rewards. This is one of the functions of associations, particularly of salaried professionals, which press for the provision of opportunities for advancement in accord with the growth of professional experience and competence of the practitioner.

The association works also to help prepare the practitioner for the more effective discharge of his professional roles. It acts on the philosophy that professional education is a lifelong process; establishes institutes to advance the education of the practitioner; protects both him and the public by working toward legally enforced standards of professional competence; and helps motivate practitioners to develop their skills and to extend their knowledge.

These and related functions can be summed up by observing that, in the professions, each practitioner *is* his brother's keeper. Each is expected to live up to or to exceed the acceptable standards of practice, and to see to it that others also do so. This means that the profession develops social and moral ties among its members who enter into a community of purpose. This cannot be accomplished under a system of *laissez-faire,* which can be freely translated, in this context, as a hands-off policy with each for himself and, in the ensuing disorder, let public indignation take the hindmost. It can be accomplished through an association of professional people which, through its solidarity of purpose, expresses a commitment to professional ideals and, through its solidarity of organization, polices both professionals and nonprofessionals to insure that conditions for living up to these ideals are provided.

This review, it may have been noted, has uniformly dealt with functions of the professional association for members of the profession rather than for members of the association only. This was not a lapse. It was meant to emphasize the important point that members of the profession who are not members of the association typically receive an unearned increment of social, moral, and economic gain from the work of their professional colleagues in the association. In the not inappropriate idiom, those who remain outside the organization are the "free-loaders": they do not pay their way, either in dues or in kind. True, the free-loaders in a profession often do not see themselves as such. They do not realize that they are nonpaying and nonparticipating beneficiaries of the sustained work done by those who make up the associations representing their profession. Yet they are in much the same condition as citizens who would avoid paying taxes and taking part in public service while benefiting from the taxes and activities of the rest who contribute to the commonwealth. It is a task confronting every professional association to convert the free-loader into the member, preferably an actively participating member, not only that he may do his share of the work which the organized profession needs to have done but also in order that his voice may be heard when the organization formulates its policies.

Functions for the Profession

We can now drop the first tier of functions—those for the individual practitioner—and proceed to the second, composed of functions for the profession as a whole. As I have suggested, although the same organizational activities tend to have both types of functions, some of these can be seen to operate primarily for individual practitioners and others primarily for the profession as a collectivity.

The foremost obligation of the association is to set rigorous standards for the profession and to help enforce them: standards for the quality of personnel to be recruited into the profession; standards for the training and education of the recruits; standards for professional practice; and standards for research designed to enlarge the knowledge on which the work of the profession rests. The association must be in the vanguard. The standards it sets must be more exacting than those with which the lay public might be content. After all, only the informed professionals can know the potentialities and not merely the current realities of professional practice. They are the custodians of the professional traditions of the past; through their constituted organizations, they must also try to anticipate the future and continually raise their sights.

To say that the professional association must be unendingly engaged in pressing for higher standards of personnel, education, research, and practice is to say that it is committed to dissatisfaction with the state of affairs in the profession as it is. At least in its charter of purposes, the professional association repudiates that final smugness which assumes that everything possible has already been attained. It is thereby committed to keeping members of the profession from resting easily on their oars, even if they should feel so inclined. They must be brought to see that today is tomorrow's history, that the motto of the Passavant Hospital holds for all the professions: "more than yesterday, less than tomorrow."

In this particular sense, the professional association is a kind of organizational gadfly, stinging the profession into new and more demanding formulations of purpose. It must therefore be prepared to become a target for hostile criticism by those members of the profession who find themselves or feel themselves disadvantaged by the continuing forward thrust toward raising the standards of the profession.

This is only another instance of the "non-contemporaneity of the contemporaneous," of the co-existence of generations. At any time in the history of a profession, its members are variously trained and variously competent, since they have entered the field at different times. The less highly trained, naturally enough, look with some displeasure, if not despair, at the rising standards of qualifications for professional practice. To cope with this familiar problem, organizations have invented the device of the "grandfather clause," which exempts current members from having to meet the newly instituted and more rigorous standards of the profession. Even so, there typically remains a residue of resistance and hostility toward the policy of heightening standards.

This is inherent in the process of growth of a profession and those who staff the professional association should know it. They should know that the life of officers in a forward-moving professional association is not a tranquil one. They should realize that an excess of tranquility may only register the growth of complacency in the profession and the decline of responsible criticism among its constituted representatives. They should sense that the quiet organizational life may only mean that the profession

is not living up to the commitments which it, in effect, made when it accepted the monopoly of rights and immunities conferred on it by society. If the obligation to raise standards for the profession makes life difficult at times, it is only the price which the truly *professional* association must be prepared to pay.

Since the dynamic of every profession is provided by the growth of its specialized knowledge, the professional association has the further function of advancing research in its field, either directly through research agencies of the association or, more often, indirectly through help to other individuals and groups in the profession. It can provide a clearing house of professional knowledge; it can help make the research career a feasible and honorable one in the profession; it can work toward the expansion of opportunities for research. In this respect, the professional association has elements of the learned society just as in some of its protective functions for individual practitioners, it has elements, regulated by a professional ethic, of the trade union(5).

The function of facilitating research does not stand alone. If the results of research are not disseminated among the profession, they are inert, powerless to move the profession forward. The association therefore establishes professional journals devoted to the reporting and spreading of new knowledge as well as ancillary house-organ journals devoted to information on the changing role of the profession in society.

By working to raise the standards of personnel, education, practice, and research, the association best serves a latent function for the profession, a function not directly contemplated in these activities which have worth in their own right. To raise these standards tends to improve the social standing of the profession. It lays the groundwork for a deserved rise in social esteem. The rise of a profession in the eyes of the community is *not* merely the result of what is often described as "public relations," of persuading the public that the profession should be more highly regarded. As publicists know, the development of a "public relations" program is no adequate substitute for the reality to be reported.

The flow of authentic information to the public about what is actually taking place in the profession has as its principled role the narrowing or closing of the gap between these actual advances and the public understanding of what these mean for the quality of professional service. If the face which the profession presents to the public is more attractive than the reality, the temporary rise in social esteem will only be the prelude to a great fall. It is the task of the association to improve the effectiveness of the profession; the task of its department of public relations to see to it that the degree of improvement becomes widely known. The art of meiosis—that is, of sustained understatement—is the art appropriate to the public relations arm of a truly professional association.

Functions for the Society

The functions of the professional association for individual practitioners and for the profession are, in the main, conspicuous ones, readily identifiable by those who would look and see. But one of the association's principal functions for the society of which it is a part is far from evident; it has often gone wholly unnoticed. This is its function, as one of the great intermediate associations, to help prevent the atomization of society into a sandheap of individuals, each intent on pursuing his own private interests. Such an atomized condition is a step toward totalitarianism, which consolidates power over these socially disconnected individuals into a single center. As one thoughtful observer of this process has described it for a case in which totalitarianism came to prevail:

> The destruction of the independent labor unions in Nazi Germany was followed by the prohibition of independent economic organizations of every kind. It was not the fact of labor that was central; it was the social fact of *union*. All autonomous organizations were destroyed and made illegal: professions, service clubs, voluntary mutual aid groups, fraternal associations, even philatelist and musical societies. Such organizations were regarded, and correctly, by the totalitarian government as potential sources of future resistance, if only because in them people were brought together for purposes, however innocent, that did not reflect those of the central government. As organizations they interposed themselves between the people as a society and the people as the masses. (6)

In a word, the professional association helps furnish the social bonds through which society coheres. It provides unity in action, social cohesion even without contiguity. The association mediates between the practitioner and profession, on the one hand, and, on the other, their social environment, of which the most important parts are allied occupations and professions, the universities, the local community, and the government.

The association relates each profession to allied professions. These relations may be faulty—they often are—but they are less faulty than they would be were it not for the numerous organizational liaisons which typically develop. It should also be admitted, even though it be regarded as another tactless observation, that the association also seeks to validate the scope, not infrequently the expanding scope, of the jurisdiction of the profession and to safeguard it against the rival claims of neighboring professions and technical occupations.

This pressure toward expansion derives in part from advancement of professional knowledge. It often produces strains and stresses on the relationships between neighboring professions. This problem only underscores the importance of instituting and maintaining effective liaison between professions, for only if this is firmly established can the relationship bear the stresses which initially conflicting claims to jurisdiction impose upon it. Even so, it is wise to expect residual conflicts of interest between professions which remain unresolved. This is part of the costs of a pluralist society in which decisions about the appropriate division of professional work are not imposed from above. Without strong professional associations, the problem would probably be multiplied and intensified.

The many-sided relations of the profession to the government are also mediated through the professional association. To do more than mention this fact would be to enter upon a long and complex account. It is perhaps enough to refer to the continuing role of the association in formulating policies for legislative enactment and in monitoring proposed legislation which bears upon the work and goals of the profession.

In its relation with the varied groups which compose the social environment of the profession, the association must develop a sufficient consensus to be able to speak authentically and authoritatively on behalf of the profession. Were a profession such as nursing to be heard through some 400,000 separate voices, with each professional nurse proclaiming her own views and sentiments, only cacophony could result. The association seeks to create a concert of purpose instead.

This presents the professional association with the great problem of

achieving a flexible consensus of values and policies. It must not only appear to speak for the profession; it must stand on firm ground in doing so. Yet it must provide for dissent, even though it cannot allow dissent to result in noise. To accomplish this result—i.e., an adaptable consensus with full opportunity for responsible dissent—requires formidable feats of organization which cannot, of course, be adequately examined in this short paper. A few general observations may nevertheless be in order.

I begin with the tried, trite, and true proposition that the association must provide two-way avenues for communication: ideas, problems, prospects, experience, and objectives must come to the association from members of the profession, and these, having been examined by democratically elected representatives of the profession, must then go back to the constituency for review. Only the organization of local constituent groups can provide the forum in which issues can be threshed out before action on them is taken nationally.

The professional association, like other large-scale organizations committed to democratic procedure, is confronted with the enduring temptation to transform the avenues of communication into one-way streets, with information and decisions moving only from the top of the organization. Unless the structure provides for reciprocal communication, the association works through control from above, whatever its pretensions to the contrary.

A price must be paid for the two-way street; at times, an unconscionably heavy price. For to wait upon the informed comment, and not merely the reluctant assent, of a far-flung and varied constituency often slows up the rate of advancing the work of the profession. But though this is at times a heavy drag on progress, it is more often, I suspect, only a seeming one. For until the great majority of the profession are themselves persuaded of the merits of proposed changes, any changes which are instituted are apt to be nominal rather than genuine. Only the men and women doing the work of the profession can translate proposals for improvement into reality.

To be able to speak for the profession, the association must be representative of as many of the profession as possible. This means that the association must strive for what the sociologist describes as "completeness."(7) By completeness is meant that all those eligible for membership actually are members. Of course, no professional association has achieved completeness and associations differ greatly in the extent to which they have approached it. After its first half-century, for example, the American Medical Association could count among its members only 9 percent of the 100,000 physicians then in practice; today, more than a century after its founding, somewhat more than two-thirds of physicians are enrolled.

Associations of about the same size may differ substantially in the degree to which they approximate completeness and, consequently, in the extent of the authority and influence they can exercise. That is why professional associations are in principle committed to the effort to enlarge their membership to include as large a proportion as possible of those eligible for membership. As spokesman for the profession, the association must strive to move ever closer to completeness, knowing that this will remain an asymptotic goal —one which is approached but never fully reached. In this way, the association can better serve the multiple functions which are both its obligation and its reward.

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September 12, 1958

Miss Grace Marr, Assistant Executive Secretary
Intergroup Relations
American Nurses' Association, Inc.
2 Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Grace:

How good it was to hear from you. We much appreciated the record of progress in intergroup relations made by the American Nurses' Association. I know that your careful work has contributed significantly to that progress.

I am placing you on our complementary mailing list and you will receive New South monthly. Also, from time to time we will send you any special reports we get out.

I look forward to seeing you at the NAIRO Annual Conference in Pittsburg.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

PRESIDENT
MATHILDA SCHEUER, R.N.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
JUDITH G. WHITAKER, R.N.

AMERICAN NURSES' ASSOCIATION, INC.
2 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

September 10, 1958

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta 2, Georgia

Dear Fred:

It seems like a long time since I have had opportunity to talk with you or to hear from you about intergroup relations developments in the Southern states. I look forward to seeing you during the NAIRO conference which is approaching.

I wonder if it would be possible to have the name of this association added to your mailing list in order that we can remain better informed about intergroup relations developments in the Southern states.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Hi!

Grace

Grace Marr
Assistant Executive Secretary
Intergroup Relations

GM/rp

Telephone: ORegon 9-2040
Cable Address: Amnurses, New York

September 30, 1958

Miss Grace Marr, Assistant Executive
Secretary, Intergroup Relations
American Nurses' Association, Inc.
2 Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Grace:

Thank you for letting me know that the Nurses' Association is on our mailing list for New South. We will send you special reports from time to time.

In haste, but with warm regards,

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

PRESIDENT
MATHILDA SCHEUER, R.N.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
JUDITH G. WHITAKER, R.N.

AMERICAN NURSES' ASSOCIATION, INC.
2 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

September 24, 1958

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director,
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Just a note to say thank you for placing the name of this association on your mailing list to receive special reports which the Southern Regional Council publishes from time to time. We are already included on the Council's complimentary mailing list for the monthly publication,"New South," and we are most grateful for the fact that we do receive this publication.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Grace

Grace Marr
Assistant Executive Secretary
Intergroup Relations

GM/rp

Telephone: ORegon 9-2040
Cable Address: Amnurses, New York

November 3, 1958

Miss Grace Marr
Assistant Executive Secretary
Intergroup Relations
American Nurses' Association, Inc.
2 Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Grace:

Thanks for your note of October 28 requesting a copy of Harry Ashmore's "The Untold Story Behind Little Rock." I am sending it along. I am also enclosing a reprint from the Washington Post and Times-Herald by Irving Brant which I think you will find of interest.

I was shocked at the formality of the "Dear Mr. Routh" in your letter. Wha' happened?

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR/mf
Enclosures

PRESIDENT
MATHILDA SCHEUER, R.N.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
JUDITH G. WHITAKER, R.N.

AMERICAN NURSES' ASSOCIATION, INC.
2 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

October 28, 1958

Dr. Frederick B. Routh
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Routh:

Just a note to request one copy of the "Untold Story Behind Little Rock" by Harry S. Ashmore, reprinted from Harper's Magazine, June 1958.

Many thanks, and with my warm personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Grace Marr

Grace Marr
Assistant Executive Secretary
Intergroup Relations

GM/rp

Telephone: ORegon 9-2040
Cable Address: Amnurses, New York

January 13, 1959

Miss Grace Marr
Assistant Executive Secretary
Intergroup Relations
American Nurses' Association, Inc.
2 Park Avenue
New York 16, New York

Dear Grace:

Thanks for your good letter of January 8. I am enclosing as you requested a list of the state organizations which cooperate with SRC; yes, you have permission to list them in the appendix of the program manual.

By the by, we would appreciate a copy of the manual when it is completed. I am sure the state staff would, too.

The ANA will sadly miss your steady hand and ready mind. I hope you are staying in the intergroup relations field. There is real need for your skills and special abilities.

Drop me a note and let me have your home address; don't want to lose contact.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
Enclosure

PRESIDENT
MATHILDA SCHEUER, R.N.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
JUDITH G. WHITAKER, R.N.

AMERICAN NURSES' ASSOCIATION, INC.
2 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

Airmail - Special Delivery

January 8, 1959

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Just a note to let you know that we are in process of completing a program manual to guide our constituents in their further action to improve intergroup relations in nursing. We recommend to our constituent units that they consult with representatives of public and private intergroup relations organizations in planning their Intergroup Relations Programs.

We would like to include address lists of the local affiliates, including the headquarters office, of the Southern Regional Council, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the National Urban League and the National Conference of Christians and Jews in the appendix of the program manual.

May we have your permission to include an address list of the affiliates of the Southern Regional Council? If so, may we also have an address list of these affiliates by return mail, if possible, please?

The date on which I will leave the staff of the American Nurses' Association is January 30th. I am leaving on a very happy note with real pleasure with the progress which this association is making in its efforts to effect sound intergroup relations in nursing and in nursing practice.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Grace

Grace Marr
Assistant Executive Secretary
Intergroup Relations

GM/rp

Telephone: ORegon 9-2040
Cable Address: Amnurses, New York

PRESIDENT
MATHILDA SCHEUER, R.N.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
JUDITH G. WHITAKER, R.N.

AMERICAN NURSES' ASSOCIATION, INC.
2 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

January 26, 1959

Mr. Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Avenye, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Fred:

Our warm thanks for your letter of January 13th and the list of state organizations which cooperate with SRC which you enclosed. We will include it in the index of our program manual.

We look forward to sending a copy of the manual to you when it is completed. The manual is going to be sold to our state and district constituents and the price for it has not yet been determined. We would like to make copies of the manual available to members of your state staff but will be able to do so only at the cost which we are charging our constituents.

I appreciate your kind words about my leaving ANA staff and I am happy, however, that it is possible for me to leave because the association has established a sound, effective program. I do plan to stay in intergroup relations since this and international relations are my primary non-personal interests. I will spend considerably more time working with a citizens' committee in our neighborhood to improve conditions there, and I plan to write in the areas of intergroup relations and human relations generally. I hope that these will prove to be successful ventures but at least I will try them.

My home address is Mrs. Grace Nugent, 31 Madison Street, Apartment 8, Brooklyn 16, New York.

With warm personal regards,

Sincerely yours,

Grace

Grace Marr
Assistant Executive Secretary
Intergroup Relations

GM/rp

Telephone: ORegon 9-2040
Cable Address: Amnurses, New York

guide lines

AMERICAN NURSES' ASSOCIATION
2 PARK AVENUE, NEW YORK 16, N. Y.

A planning guide for state and district nurses' associations and bulletin editors.

Vol. X, No. 2 February 1959

IN THIS ISSUE

This issue of Guide Lines reports progress being made by SNA's and DNA's in the field of Intergroup Relations, and contains suggestions for planning program promotion to help remove the barriers of discrimination wherever they apply to professional nurses. More detailed guidance will soon be available in the form of an Intergroup Relations Program Manual to be published later this year.

SNA's MAKE PROGRESS IN I. R. PROGRAMS

The recently published Summary Report on the Status of Intergroup Relations Programs in State and Territorial Nurses Associations indicates considerable progress in this area. Compiled by the ANA Research and Statistics Unit, the summary contains information obtained through questionnaires supplied by 36 SNA's. The report shows that: the majority of these SNA's included in their bylaws the function "to develop and promote actively a program for intergroup relations"; twelve of the respondents have appointed special committees on intergroup relations, and of these, seven are currently active; other SNA's are dealing with IR problems through their boards of directors and through their professional counseling and placement service; surveys have been made by some states; and special programs, convention speeches and workshops on intergroup relations are other tools used by SNA's.

Specific action taken during the past year involved a number of areas. Fourteen SNA's reported action in the area of economic security. In eight states, minimum employment practices now contain nondiscrimination clauses and in one SNA, a platform was adopted calling for the elimination of discrimination

(Continued on page 3)

INTERGROUP RELATIONS PROGRAM REQUIRES CAREFUL PLANNING

How can SNA's and DNA's promote effective intergroup relations programs? Techniques vary in different parts of the country, but in any state or district careful planning is necessary if maximum results are to be obtained. A number of steps may be taken in promoting an active program:

- Organize Adequately: Include the function, "to actively promote the intergroup relations program" in SNA or DNA bylaws. Appoint a special committee on intergroup relations composed of nurses representing the racial or ethnic groups in the state or district, and provide for participation in program promotion by all SNA or DNA program and section committees.

- Seek Guidance and Assistance: The ANA staff can assist SNA's and DNA's in obtaining clear understanding of the intergroup relations problem in nursing and methods which can be used in program promotion. Staff from public and private intergroup relations organizations can help analyze the problem as it exists in specific states and cities and provide information about methods found most successful in the area. Some of the agencies specifically prepared to assist SNA's and DNA's include: The Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, the National Conference of Christians and Jews, the National Urban League, and the Southern Regional Council. State and city commissions against discrimination, human relations centers in universities, social welfare agencies and church groups are also sources of information, guidance and assistance.

- Effect Fair Membership Practices: Hold meetings where all SNA and DNA members will be accommodated and served alike. Adopt policies and practices of nondiscrimination in PC&PS and professional registries. Encourage nondiscrimination in the election of officers, appointment of committees, selection of program participants, selection of SNA and

(Continued on page 2)

IR Program (Cont'd from p. 1)

DNA representatives in community affairs and representation in the SNA and DNA publications. These practices help develop an environment which will encourage members to bring their questions and problems to the SNA or DNA for objective discussion and action.

- Assess Intergroup Problems in Nursing: Make use of the "Index to Assist SNA's and DNA's in Assessing Intergroup Relations in Nursing." This questionnaire can be used in determining whether or not discrimination exists in your state or district. (Copies of the index may be obtained free of charge from ANA headquarters.) Make a study of the descriptive analysis of discrimination in nurse employment which will be distributed to SNA's and DNA's this spring. You may also want to conduct local surveys of schools of nursing and agencies that employ nurses and familiarize yourself with the problems known to your registrars and PC&PS counselors.

- Keep Members Informed: Nurses need to know the facts about intergroup relations problems and how they affect nursing. For example, what is the effect of discrimination on their own education, practice, economic security and welfare? What civil rights laws exist in your state? What are other organizations doing in the field of intergroup relations, and what progress is being made by your own SNA and DNA? Keep members informed through speakers at meetings, SNA and DNA bulletins, and through local newspaper publicity.

- Conduct Programs and Workshops on Intergroup Relations: SNA workshops are valuable in preparing DNA leaders in program promotion and in informing, guiding and assisting DNA members. Involve ANA or SNA staff, local intergroup relations consultants and associations which have integrated successfully. Integrate intergroup relations concepts and principles in all appropriate SNA and DNA programs. Hold DNA workshops for DNA members representing all sections.

Encourage members to attend university workshops on human relations, and community programs on intergroup relations. Special programs might also be planned for such occasions as Brotherhood Week and Human Rights Day.

ECONOMIC SECURITY PROGRAM PROMOTES RACIAL EQUALITY

The Washington State Nurses Association has made tangible progress in promoting racial equality in the economic security program. In ten of the twelve contracts negotiated or re-negotiated during the first six months of 1958, clauses were included stating that there should be no discrimination in the hospital's employment conditions with regard to race, creed or color. The ten contracts covered twenty-two hospitals and represent two-thirds of the contracts in existence in Washington.

IR Program (Cont'd)

- Obtain Support of Groups Allied to Nursing: It is important to let allied health groups know what you are doing about intergroup relations. State and local units of other nursing organizations, schools of nursing, state boards of nursing, departments of nursing service in the field of industry and public health, state hospital associations, medical organizations, and civic groups concerned with recruitment of nurse students or with health care -- all need to be informed about your progress in this field. You might plan conferences on this subject, distribute program material to leaders of the groups and invite them to send representatives to participate in programs on intergroup relations.

- Participate in the Mary Mahoney Awards Competition: Be prepared, about five months prior to each ANA biennial convention, for the Mary Mahoney Award to the person or group of persons who made the most significant contribution to the improvement of intergroup relations in nursing in their state. SNA and DNA members should be encouraged to suggest nominees. DNA's should submit the name of their nominee to the SNA which in turn evaluates SNA nominees and submits one nomination for the award to the ANA.

- Evaluate Your Progress: From time to time, you will need to evaluate your program and to take stock of the progress you are making. SNA's can use the annual ANA report form as a measuring device and compare each year's report with SNA reports in former years.

ANALYSIS TO BE COMPLETED ON DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES

The descriptive analysis of discriminatory employment practices in nursing, now being compiled by the ANA Research and Statistics Unit, is scheduled to be completed by the end of February. The analysis is based on information obtained from public and private intergroup relations organizations, nurses professional registries and professional counseling and placement service offices. It will be forwarded to SNA's and DNA's for their use in program planning. The analysis will not include names of institutions or persons involved, and the data is to be restricted to internal use throughout the ANA in its work to improve intergroup relations.

SNA's Make Progress (Cont'd from p. 1)

in all aspects of nurse employment.

Some states reported efforts to open new opportunities for Negro nurses through SNA professional counseling and placement services, and there is evidence that increasing numbers of minority group nurses are using the registries.

In the field of legislation, one state indicated that it had actively supported bills directed toward protecting civil rights.

A number of SNA's reported the election of officers and the appointment of committee members belonging to minority groups. Nurses from racial and ethnic minority groups are serving on various committees of twenty-two SNA's.

Fourteen states used members of minority groups as speakers or resource persons during the past year. And various SNA's indicated that they consulted with or utilized the services of other groups specializing in human relations.

Copies of the summary report for 1958 have been sent to all state executive secretaries and additional copies are available to DNA's. Since the report contains concrete program information, many SNA's and DNA's will want to make it available to their program and section committees as a guide to action.

ROCKEFELLER GRANT AWARDED TO FOUNDATION PROJECT

The American Nurses' Foundation has received a grant of $9,500 from the Rockefeller Foundation supporting for, a third year, the International Nursing Project which began in November 1956.

The project consists of interviews with selected foreign nurses working in this country under the ANA exchange program. Its object is to secure information on the personal and professional needs and expectations of these nurses and how they are met. Mrs. Jeanne Broadhurst, ANA research associate is conducting the research.

In addition to interviews, field visits are made to the communities and hospitals or agencies, and during the past two years approximately 200 nurses from abroad have been visited in the field.

Two reports have been presented to the Committee on Nursing in International Affairs of the ANA and a final report of the project will be prepared during the current year.

New PC&PS Location

Moving day for the national office of the ANA Professional Counseling and Placement Service is expected to be during the last week in February. Plans are being made to move the ANA PC&PS office from 37 South Wabash Avenue, Chicago, to the new ANA headquarters office at 10 Columbus Circle, New York. The new telephone number will be JUdson 2-7230.

Foundation Committee Appointed

Appointed to the Technical Committee of the American Nurses' Foundation at the December meeting of the board of directors were: Isabel Harris, Minneapolis, Minn., chairman; Margaret Arnstein, Washington, D.C.; Katherine J. Hoffman, Seattle, Wash.; Everett G. Hughes, Chicago, Ill.; John F. Marchand, M.D., New York, N.Y., and Ira De A. Reid, Haverford, Pa. Committee members were appointed to serve for a period of two years. The Technical Committee reviews applications for research funds and recommends areas of needed research.

Report On Disaster Nursing Valuable to SNA's

The Report of the Work Conference on Disaster Nursing held in 1956, contains much information SNA's will find valuable in developing their program of planning and training for national defense. This extensive report contains all the speeches, discussions and ideas presented at the Work Conference, and many of them can be implemented locally. Copies of the report are available at cost from ANA headquarters. The price is $5.

Eleanor Loija to Head INSA

Mrs. Eleanor Loija, R. N., has accepted the position of assistant executive secretary, INSA section, and will join headquarters staff February 16.

Mrs. Loija was formerly an instructor at Boston University School of Nursing, and has held numerous other positions including: psychiatric nursing consultant, Department of Mental Health, Louisville, Ky.; director of nursing service and education, Medfield State Hospital, Harding, Mass.; and night supervisor, Choate Memorial Hospital, Woburn, Mass.

Mrs. Loija attended the Northeast Baptist Training School for Nursing at Roxbury, Mass., was a student at the University of Hawaii, and received her B. S. and M. S. degrees from Boston University School of Nursing.

Recent Articles on I.R.

American Journal of Nursing articles which deal with intergroup relations program promotion include: "General Duty Nurses and the Intergroup Relations Program," May 1958; and "Intergroup Relations and Professional Registries," February 1959.

March AJN to Feature Life of Mary M. Roberts

The March issue of the American Journal of Nursing will feature a story and photographs from the life of nursing leader Mary M. Roberts, who died January 11 at the Columbia Presbyterian Medical Center in New York.

Miss Roberts, a pioneer in the field of nursing for half a century, had received many national honors. She was editor of the AJN from 1921 to 1949, and has been editor emeritus since. Miss Roberts was the author of two books on nursing -- "American Nursing, History and Interpretation," published in 1954, and "The Army Nurse Corps, Yesterday and Today," only recently completed.

March is Red Cross Month

Next month is traditionally Red Cross Month throughout the nation, and this year marks the 50th anniversary of Red Cross Nursing Service. Through its extensive educational activities, the American Red Cross has made a substantial contribution toward raising health standards in our country, and is supported by the ANA in its campaign for members and funds.

National Health Forum

The 1959 National Health Forum, sponsored by member agencies of the National Health Council, will be held March 17 - 19 at the Palmer House, Chicago, Ill. The Forum will consider means of combating an estimated one billion dollar loss, through ill-health of the nation's workers. Leaders in the fields of industry, labor, medicine and public health will attend, and the program should be of special interest to nurses working in occupational health.

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Return to Chief

CLARA RABINOWITZ

1 WEST 85th STREET, NEW YORK 24, N. Y.
LYceum 5-4776

RECEIVED JAN 30 1958

1/28/58.

My dear Mr. Herring:

Perhaps you have already received an "official" invitation (and acceptance of your willingness) to participate on March 6, with the panel of speakers for the Desegregation Committee of the American Ortho-psychiatric Asso.

I asked Dr Lauper, because of the shortness of the time, to send you a copy of the invitation which

had been sent to the other - Dr. Benj. Fine, Prof. Melvin Tumin, Mr. Louis Redding, and chairman, Dr. Stewart Cook.

I want to tell you how glad we are that you will come. I could not get Dr Oscar Cohen to-day as he's away until to-morrow when I will get to work on the money for your travel up here.

Meanwhile, we'd like you to plan 15-20 minutes of talking on what your experiences are in re Desegregation process & what from your view, could be the kind of help which might be needed from professional people as make up our membership: MDs, psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, anthropologists etc. I'll be in touch with you further & hope to see you during 2/13-14.

Sincerely, Clara Rahmow

THE AMERICAN ORTHOPSYCHIATRIC ASSOCIATION, Inc.
1790 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.
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BROOKLYN, N. Y.

MARION F. LANGER, PH.D.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

January 30, 1958

Mr. Harold Flemming
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Dr. Flemming,

I was delighted to learn from Miss Rabinowitz, the chairman of the Committee on Desegregation that you are going to be able to take part in the symposium on "The Process of Desegregation" to be held during our 35th Annual Meeting here in New York in March.

The specific time of the meeting is Thursday evening at 8:30 P.M., March 6th at the Hotel Commodore.

The title of the meeting as now set up is as follows: "The Progress of Desegregation: The Process from the Point of View of Law, Education, Social Science and Mental Health." The chairman of the meeting is Stuart W. Cook, New York University; other speakers are: Benjamin Fine, of the New York Times; Melvin Tumin of Princeton University. The lawyer who has been invited but from whom we have not yet had definite acceptance is Lewis L. Redding of Wilmington, Delaware.

We do appreciate your readiness to participate in this session and look forward to your contribution to the 1958 annual meeting.

Cordially yours,

Clifford J. Sager

Clifford J. Sager, M.D.
Chairman, Program Committee

CJS:fh

Return to Ref

CLARA RABINOWITZ

1 WEST 85th STREET, NEW YORK 24, N. Y.
LYceum 5-4776

Rec'd 2/5/58 with folder

2-3/58

Dear Mrs Fleming:

This is to let you know that Dr Stewart Cook, chr. of our meeting & at least, Dr. Melvin Tumin of Princeton are getting together, here, on Thursday, Feb. 13. at 4.30, to discuss details of the meeting. We w'd. wish very much to have you here, too. Since you will be here 2/14, is there any chance of your coming for our preliminary meeting?

Let me know –

Sincerely,

Clara Palmony

original to Mr. Bernard to file. arthur

VIA AIR MAIL February 4, 1958

Miss Clara Rabinowitz
1 West 85th Street
New York 24, New York

Dear Miss Rabinowitz:

Thank you for your letter and the invitation from Dr. Sager, which arrived shortly afterward.

I have reserved March 6 on my calendar and will be prepared to discuss briefly the topics which you suggest. Meanwhile, I will look forward to the possibility of a conversation with you on February 13 or 14.

Enclosed is the brief biographical summary you requested.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosure - 1 (Biographical Data Sheet)

Arthur folder

February 6, 1958

Miss Clara Rabinowitz
1 West 85th Street
New York 24, New York

Dear Miss Rabinowitz:

I will be available for the get-together at 4:30 P. M., February 13th. I assume it will take place in your office and will look forward to seeing you then.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Program & Attendance

VIA AIR MAIL

February 20, 1958

Mr. Bruce W. Marcus
Schless and Company
14 West 55th Street
New York 19, New York

Dear Mr. Marcus:

This will acknowledge your letter of February 6 concerning the annual meeting of the American Orthopsychiatric Association. Mk for see

I expect to arrive in New York on Wednesday, March 5, and will probably leave on Friday evening, March 7. Aside from the Ortho panel Thursday evening and another meeting Friday morning, I have as yet made no other commitments. If you will let me know when you would like me to be available, I will be glad to cooperate.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

SCHLESS AND COMPANY
14 WEST 55th STREET, NEW YORK 19, N. Y. • CIRCLE 6-9780

February 6, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Educational Council
63 Auburn Avenue, W.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

As public relations consultants for the American Orthopsychiatric Association, we are in the process of arranging radio and television interviews in conjunction with the annual meeting on March 6-8.

We will deeply appreciate your advising us as to your willingness and ability to appear. If you are able to appear on any of the several programs being arranged, will you please signify the times and dates during the week of the meeting that you will be available.

Since these programs must be arranged far in advance, I would further appreciate hearing from you as soon as possible.

Sincerely yours,

Bruce W. Marcus

Bruce W. Marcus

BWM:bw

VIA AIR MAIL

February 27, 1958

Miss Clara Rabinowitz
1 West 85th Street
New York 24, New York

Dear Clara:

Thanks for your welcome note and the news that the financial problem has been solved.

I'm looking forward to seeing you again next week.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/smf

CLARA RABINOWITZ

1 WEST 85th STREET, NEW YORK 24, N. Y.
LYceum 5-4776

~~AR 3 3208~~

2-20-58

My dear Harold:

Good news for the committee! Dr Langer was able to get authorization for spending $100- of Ortho "presidential fund" for your fare to NYC for the meeting on 3/6.

I hope all is now in order about your coming up. We certainly appreciated your meeting with us last week.

Sincerely,
Clara

All folder

THE AMERICAN ORTHOPSYCHIATRIC ASSOCIATION

1790 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.

TO PARTICIPANTS IN THE ANNUAL MEETING:

The information on the enclosed card is required for inclusion in the Final Program.

We will appreciate it if you will complete it and return it to us in the enclosed envelope.

35th ANNUAL MEETING - HOTELS COMMODORE AND ROOSEVELT - NEW YORK CITY - March 6, 7, 8, 1958

CLARA RABINOWITZ

1 WEST 85th STREET, NEW YORK 24, N. Y.
LYceum 5-4776

3/14/58.

My dear Harold:

This is to thank you, and your agency for making it possible, for participating in the general meeting on Desegregation of the American Orthopsychiatric Association.

You were very helpful.

If there is anything I can personally do, in my own field of competence,

to forward your work, I would be happy to have you ask.

Meanwhile, thanks again.

Sincerely,

Clara.

THE AMERICAN ORTHOPSYCHIATRIC ASSOCIATION, Inc.
1790 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.
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BROOKLYN, N. Y.

MARION F. LANGER, PH.D.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

March 27, 1958

To Participants in the 35th Annual Meeting Program:

I do wish that it were possible to write an individual letter to you as a participant in the 1958 annual meeting program. It is unfortunate because of limitations of staff and time that it is not possible to dictate more than 400 letters that would be involved.

Both of us, however, would like very much to convey to you our deep appreciation for the unique value of your presentation to the 1958 annual meeting. There has been almost uniform enthusiasm expressed about the high level of content presented by authors of papers, panel participants, workshop people, chairmen, and discussants. I do wish that we could convey to you some of the individual comments that were made on your particular part in the program.

Many thanks, again, for your contribution to the 1958 annual meeting success and your fine cooperation with the Association in facilitating the work of the program.

Cordially yours,

Reginald S. Lourie

Reginald S. Lourie, M.D.
President

Clifford J. Sager

Clifford J. Sager, M.D.
Chairman, Program Committee

RSL/CJS/fh

April 16, 1958

Dr. Marion F. Langer
Executive Secretary
The American Orthopsychiatric Association
1790 Broadway
New York 19, New York

Dear Dr. Langer:

This is belated thanks for your kind letter of March 31 and for the check to cover my travel expenses to and from the Association's annual meeting. It was a priviledge for me to take part in the meeting, and I greatly enjoyed the brief association with you and the other fine people who were involved.

I am sorry to say that I spoke from the roughest kind of notes and therefore have no manuscript to submit to the Journal.

Please give my best regards to Clara Rabinowitz, Stuart Cook, and your other colleagues.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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BROOKLYN, N. Y.

MARION F. LANGER, PH.D.
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

March 31, 1958

Mr. Harold Curtis Fleming
63 auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming,

We are enclosing for you a check to cover your travel expenses to and from the Association's annual meeting.

I do want to tell you how much we appreciate your contribution to the sessions. There was considerable interest in the material you presented and we all felt that there was very real stimulation to the audience in your comments.

I do not recall whether you had a paper. Material presented at the Association annual meeting is normally sent on by the presenters to the Editor of our Journal for consideration by the Editorial Board for publication. May I therefore suggest that you send your material to Dr. George E. Gardner, Editor, The American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 295 Longwood Avenue, Boston 15, Mass.

Again, I do want to say thank you for your helpfulness.

Sincerely yours,

Marion F Langer

the
American Parents Committee Bulletin
for those taking an active interest in federal legislation affecting
The Welfare of The Nation's Children

Chairman
GEORGE J. HECHT
Publisher, Parents' Magazine

Temporary Office: c/o Parents' Magazine
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.
Permanent office to be in Washington, D.C.

Bulletin No. 1
September 1947

* * * * * * * * AMERICAN CHILDREN NEED YOUR HELP * * * * * * * *

The shocking neglect of millions of American boys and girls has for too long been a matter of both official record and public indifference. Here are a few facts from official congressional reports as to the state of our Nation's children:

EDUCATION: Tens of thousands of schools are either closed or underteachered because school districts do not have the money to keep schools open and to pay teachers. Two million American children of school age do not attend any school.

CHILD HEALTH: Far too many children are suffering from illnesses which medical science knows how to prevent, and millions of children grow up with physical and mental handicaps without the benefits of the medical care they need: 75% of American children need dental care; 5,000,000 have defects in vision; 1,000,000 have hearing defects; 500,000 are affected by rheumatic fever and rheumatic heart disease, etc., etc., etc.

CHILD NUTRITION: The large number of young men, rejected by Selective Service during World War II, whose physical deficiencies are directly traceable to poor nutrition in childhood, emphasize the fact that the nutrition of American children has been inadequate. The Surgeon General of the United States has testified that 70% of the boys who had poor nutrition 10 to 12 years ago were rejected by Selective Service.

* *

These are shameful facts of which no American mother or father can be proud. These are not merely a dull conglomeration of statistics. These are boys and girls who are being deprived of their American birthright to a good education and a fair opportunity to realize the full promise of better and richer democratic life.

A PLAN OF ACTION

The American Parents Committee - after consultation with leading members of Congress and many child welfare experts and educators - has marked out the following as immediate steps which the American people can take to correct these intolerable conditions. The American Parents Committee is calling upon mothers and fathers and others concerned with the welfare of children to work for the immediate enactment of federal legislation -

1. To provide federal grants to the States to assist them in eliminating inequalities in educational opportunities.

2. To provide federal grants to the States to assist them in giving school health examinations and in correcting the physical and mental defects found among school children.

3. To provide increased federal grants for the expansion of the school lunch program which is one of our best weapons in the war against malnutrition.

This is a practical program of action! In fact, Congressmen are now making up their minds on these three important measures affecting millions of American children. When Congress reconvenes in January these three measures will come up for consideration. If Congressmen feel that the American public is indifferent about these problems the bills will be shelved as they have been in the past years. However, if they get a flood of letters supporting these bills from tens of thousands of mothers and fathers, Parent-Teacher Associations, child welfare agencies and others, the bills will be passed.

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION BILL
(Senate bill 472 and House bill 2953)

This bill authorizes annual federal grants of $300,000,000 to the States to assist them in reducing inequalities in educational opportunities. States having proportionately more children and less financial ability to educate them would receive proportionately larger grants. State and local control of educational policies and administration is strictly guaranteed. Thus, this bill recognizes that while the primary obligation to educate our children rests on the States and local communities, the Federal Government must assume some responsibility of seeing that every American child has an opportunity for an education whether the community in which he lives can afford it or not. As a congressional committee put it: "Citizens of the States are also citizens of the Nation."

This bill had already been approved by the Senate committee which studied it and is now on the calendar of the Senate for consideration. The House subcommittee which held extensive hearings on the bill has also approved it. Both committees reported that federal aid for education is the only practical method of eradicating the numerous educational slums which are a disgrace to our Nation.

NATIONAL SCHOOL HEALTH SERVICES BILL
(Senate bill 1290 and House bill 1980)

This bill authorizes annual federal grants of $10,000,000 to the States in order to assist them in the important work of giving school health examinations and help in correcting the physical and mental defects found among school children. Each State would determine for itself how it wants to and can provide school health services. While all States now carry on some health work among school children - on the whole this work is hopelessly inadequate. The passage of this bill would give needed financial aid for carrying on this very important work. As a Nation we can no longer tolerate conditions under which so many American children come to adult life with physical and mental defects which can be prevented or corrected at any early age.

Significantly, this is the only child health bill which received a hearing in the House of Representatives this year. The long list of health experts who testified for the bill is a measure of its soundness. Not a single witness appeared against it. The Chief of the United States Children's Bureau testified that under this bill much could be done to discover and correct defects and conditions which interfere with the normal growth and development and educational progress of school children. A Senate hearing has been promised.

NATIONAL SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM

Of the 26,000,000 school children between the ages of 5-17, nearly 8,000,000 are now participating in the school lunch program. This is undoubtedly our Nation's most important program for the prevention of malnutrition among school children. Yet, we must report to you that this program is now in serious jeopardy. Here are the facts.

During the previous school year, the Federal Government appropriated $81,000,000 for this program. When this came up for consideration this year, it looked for a while that Congress might eliminate the program entirely or reduce the appropriation so that more than half the States could no longer carry on. Because of the great public support of the program, however, Congress finally approved a reduced appropriation of $65,000,000. It should be carefully noted, however, that the joint Senate-House Committee in charge of this appropriation issued the following warning to the States regarding future funds for this purpose:

> "The conferees on the part of both the House and Senate have agreed to direct attention to the fact that in the consideration of funds for the school-lunch program they have emphasized that it is essentially a local program and that the States have not done their full share in complying with the spirit of the matching provisions contained in the National School Lunch Act. * * * The conferees on the part of both Houses desire to make it abundantly clear, therefore, that . . . they are now placing the respective States on notice with respect to their obligations under this program and that failure of the State legislatures to act in the premises will have no effect in determining the future requirements of this program."

In plain words this means that unless strong public support of the National School Lunch Program is made very evident to Senators and Congressmen during the next few months, federal appropriations for this purpose may be reduced much further. With federal aid, schools have been able to supply school lunches at low cost. However, if the Federal Government does not continue to make substantial appropriations for this program, it will no longer be possible in many States to continue to provide free lunches to children unable to pay and we may expect a considerable increase in the price charged to others.

PLEASE TAKE THESE STEPS NOW!

The American Parents Committee urges you to become an active spokesman for the millions of voteless fellow Americans who are too young to speak for themselves. Will you make a major effort to get hundreds of letters going in to the two Senators from your State and your own Congressman? Will you ask the other members of the organizations to which you belong to write? Be sure you also write. Please take these steps now:

1. Read this Bulletin to your friends and members of the organizations to which you belong.
2. Ask us for extra copies for posting in school, library, church and other bulletin boards.
3. If possible see your Congressman and Senators while they are back home, or write them expressing your interest in these three matters.
4. Interest your friends, your Parent-Teacher Association, women's clubs, or social organizations in these matters and urge them to write letters to Congress.
5. Send us names of others to whom you wish us to send this Bulletin, without charge of course.

Mail should be addressed to your two Senators at the Senate Office Building, Washington 25, D. C., and to your own Representative at the House Office Building, Washington 25, D. C.

Nat'l Child Labor Comm 1 - American Parents Committee
or Mrs Buchard, of the State Charities Aid Assn.

FENNELLY, LOWENSTEIN, ENGELHARD & PITCHER

25 BROAD STREET, NEW YORK 4

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CABLE ADDRESS "ENGLAK"
TELEPHONE
HANOVER 2-1000

October 16, 1947

Mr. George J. Hecht,
The American Parents Committee, Inc.,
52 Vanderbilt Avenue,
New York 17, N Y.

Dear Mr. Hecht:

Replying to your request as to whether contributions made to The American Parents Committee, Inc. would be deductible as charitable contributions on income tax returns, we are pleased to render our opinion as follows:

The United States Internal Revenue Code provides in Section 23, Subdivisions (o) and (q) that there may be deducted from gross income for the purpose of determining net income for income tax purposes, contributions made to "a corporation, trust or community chest, fund or foundation .... organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary or educational purposes or for the prevention of cruelty to children .... no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legislation" (underscoring supplied), and that such deductions will be permitted to the extent of 15% of gross income in the case of an individual, and 5% of net income in the case of a corporation.

1. Contributions from Individuals: You have advised us that you expect that a large portion of the activities of The American Parents Committee, Inc. will consist of the local work of its chapters and affiliates throughout the United States which will have nothing to do with legislation. If the Bureau of Internal Revenue should decide, as we know you hope and expect that it will (but on this there may be some doubt), that the activities of The American Parents Committee, Inc. relating to legislation are not a "substantial part" of its activities, we are of the opinion that the Bureau should and will rule that contributions made by individuals to The American Parents Committee, Inc. are deductible as charitable contributions on income tax returns to the extent that the statute allows.

Many organizations which are active in trying to influence legislation nevertheless have rulings from the Bureau of Internal Revenue that contributions to their support are deductible on income tax returns. Among such organizations are The National Child Labor Committee, actively engaged in the strengthening of child labor laws, and State Charities Aid Association, which is engaged in working for health and welfare legislation in New York State. These organizations also have other activities and the Bureau of Internal Revenue has apparently decided that their legislative activities are not a "substantial" part of their activities. You have told us that you hope and expect that The American Parents Committee, Inc. will receive a similar ruling inasmuch as that Committee is trying to organize a large number of local chapters and affiliates which in their local communities throughout the United States will do a great deal of child welfare work which has nothing to do with legislation.

4/4 Formats are N.Y. write for last Annual Report

You have, as you know, caused to be organized, solely for charitable and educational purposes, another organization, named "The American Parents Committee Education Fund, Inc." which is an entirely separate corporation but which now has the same Board of Directors as The American Parents Committee Inc. You have advised us that contributions to The American Parents Committee Education Fund, Inc. will be used exclusively for charitable and educational work, disseminating information concerning the needs of children and undertaking research regarding the needs of children and that no part of the funds of such corporation will be used in, nor will any of its activities be concerned with, carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legislation. On the basis of the foregoing, we are of the opinion that contributions made to this latter corporation by individuals will undoubtedly be deductible as charitable contributions on income tax returns to the extent the law permits.

2. Contributions from Charitable Foundations: Charitable foundations "organized and operated exclusively for religious, charitable, scientific, literary or educational purposes or for the prevention of cruelty to children or animals, no part of the net earnings of which inures to the benefit of any private shareholder or individual and no substantial part of the activities of which is carrying on propaganda or otherwise attempting to influence legislation" are by Subdivision (6) of Section 101 of the Internal Revenue Code exempted from income tax. Any such charitable foundation should not, in our opinion, be concerned with the deductibility of any contributions it may make to The American Parents Committee, Inc., provided that such contributions, together with any other activities of such charitable foundation concerned directly or indirectly with attemptingto influence legislation, do not together constitute a substantial part of the grants and/or activities of such charitable foundation.

3. Contributions from Business Firms which Make Products Used By or For Children: Regardless of the deductibility, under Section 23, Subdivisions (o) and (q) of the Internal Revenue Code, of contributions made to The American Parents Committee, Inc., it is possible that certain business firms which would be benefited, directly or indirectly, by the work of The American Parents Committee, Inc. may be permitted to deduct the contributions made by them to The American Parents Committee, Inc. as ordinary and necessary business expenses. Such business expense deductions are not subject to the percent of income limitations which apply to charitable contributions. Such deductions are likely to be allowed to business firms making products used by or for children, but final determination regarding the deductibility of such contributions will, in any event, be based upon the nature of the contributor's business and the activities of The American Parents Committee, Inc.

Faithfully yours,

Fennelly, Lowenstein, Engelhard & Pitcher

By: Van Lamp

LW:DH

Confer w. Mrs Kelly.

the American Parents Committee

Incorporated as a membership, non-profit, public-service association

Working for Better Conditions for Children – Locally and Nationally

Chairman
GEORGE J. HECHT
Publisher, Parents' Magazine

Temporary Office: c/o Parents' Magazine
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.
Permanent office to be in Washington, D. C.

November 3, 1947

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I am very much impressed with your pamphlets, "Wanted: An Educated South" and "Wanted: A Healthy South", which I have just seen. I am anxious to get some prominent Southerner to represent the South on the American Parents Committee.

The South has the most to gain from the activities of the American Parents Committee. As, of course you know, children of the South suffer because of unequal distribution of educational child health and child welfare services. Some Southern states have twice as many children per thousand population as certain northern states. The people in some of the rich northern states have five times as much income per child as some of the people in the southern states. If some southern states spent all their normal revenue for education alone, they could not support their schools as well as the average northern school.

I should be awfully happy if you could see your way clear to accept membership on the Executive Committee of the American Parents Committee. We will meet about every two months in New York City. If it should be impossible for you to come to the meetings, perhaps either you or Mr. Paul Williams would be one of the Vice Presidents of the American Parents Committee and perhaps you could nominate some New Yorker who has an interest in the welfare of the South, and who has a wide acquaintance in the South to represent the interests of the South on the Board of Directors. We would keep you advised by bulletin what is done by the American Parents Committee.

We should like to work closely with the Southern Regional Council. I am enclosing herewith a list of our officers and the Executive Committee, and some data about the activities and objectives of the American Parents Committee.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE J. HECHT
Chairman

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the American Parents Committee

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Publisher, Parents' Magazine

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November 18, 1947

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NOV 20 1947
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am delighted to learn that you have agreed to become associated with the American Parents Committee. I am happy to advise you that you were unanimously elected to the American Parents Committee's Board of Directors (actually we call it the Executive Committee because it sounds funny to have a Board of Directors of a committee).

I am enclosing herewith a list of the officers and the members of the Executive Committee of the American Parents Committee, and also a copy of the minutes of the last meeting and the budget which we adopted.

I am also enclosing some recent literature about the work which I think will interest you. If you have any suggestions concerning them, please let me know.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE J. HECHT
Chairman

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enc.

P.S. If you come to New York please advise me in advance as I would like to talk with you.

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December 1, 1947

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Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am so happy to have you as a member of the Executive Committee of the American Parents Committee.

I want you to know that I have read through your booklets on an educated South and a healthy South and your other booklet explaining the activities and history of the Southern Regional Council and think you have done an excellent job.

I am very happy to have the American Parents Committee cooperating with your organization.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE J. HECHT
Chairman

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1 - A - Amer. Parents Committee

the American Parents' Committee

Incorporated as a membership, non-profit, public-service association

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Washington 3, D. C.
Telephone: Franklin 3310

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Telephone: Murray Hill 5-4400

May 26, 1948

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

In one of your pamphlets that I saw sometime ago and which I must have mislaid, I believe I remember the statement that the southern states contained one-third of the nation's children and had only one-sixth of the taxable wealth. Is my memory correct?

I need this information right away for an article I am writing on Federal Aid to Education.

Best regards.

Sincerely yours,

George J. Hecht
Chairman

GJH:F

Chairman

GEORGE J. HECHT — President of Parents' Institute, Inc. (Publishers of Parents' Magazine and School Management). Founder and Secretary for 20 years of the Welfare Council of New York City; Former Secretary of Greater New York Fund; Vice-Pres., Social Legislation Information Service; Executive Committee, National Social Welfare Assembly

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AND THE CHAIRMAN, FIRST VICE-CHAIRMAN, AND SECRETARY

1-A - Misc. -
American Parade
Committee

September 4, '48

Dear Mr. Hecht,

Here is a letter for Mr. McCuistian.

More power to you.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell

September 4, '48

Mr. Fred McCuistian
The General Education Board
49 East 49th Street
New York City

Dear Mr. McCuistian,

I am glad to lend my modest support to the request of the American Parents Committee for aid in their campaign to get local action throughout the country on behalf of contruction of new elementary schools.

The problem is doubly acute in the South. We have the same upward surge of children needing classrooms as the rest of the country; in addition, as you well understand, we have the great backlog of new buildings needed to bring facilities for Negro children abreast of those for white children. I do not see how local and State governments in the South can possibly meet this need. And yet meeting it, soon, is the best way to get the situation in which the demand for human rights will have been met.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

the American Parents Committee

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August 20, 1948

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AUG 23 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

There are two ways that you can be of great help to the APC.

(1) The APC intends to have introduced into the 81st Congress the Public School Survey and Construction Bill. I am enclosing herewith two copies of the first draft of the Bill and will welcome any changes and suggestions you or any members of your organization care to make in the Bill. I shall appreciate it very much if I may have your changes early in September. I have no doubt quite a number of changes will be made in the draft of the Bill before its introduction.

You, of course, are aware of the desperate need for more schools because of the sharp increase in the birth rate during and since the war. The situation is particularly bad in the Southern States in which there are 1/3 of the nation's children and only 1/9 of the nation's wealth.

I am enclosing a reprint of an article which will appear in the September issues of PARENTS' MAGAZINE and SCHOOL MANAGEMENT, explaining the need for the Bill and I am also enclosing a memorandum on the main reasons for the Bill.

(2) The second request I am taking the liberty of making to you, is to ask you to write a letter to the General Education Board supporting our application for a grant, to assist us in conducting an educational campaign on the need for new

Chairman

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AND THE CHAIRMAN, FIRST VICE-CHAIRMAN, AND SECRETARY

Dr. George S. Mitchell August 20,1948

schoolhouse construction to house the increased number of children who in the next decade will be swamping the schools.

I have already seen Mr. Fred McCuistion of the General Education Board on this subject and he seems interested in our plans. I am going to ask for $15,000 (a year for two years) to pay the salaries of a full-time worker on this job, plus a secretary, and expenses for traveling, printing and mailing costs. We hope to stimulate local parents' organizations as well as local and state teachers' organizations to work vigorously for new school construction and we expect to personally contact members of Congress and leading national organizations and interest them in federal aid for schoolhouse construction.

I would appreciate it ever so much if you would write a letter to Mr. McCuistion supporting our application for a grant. Unless you would prefer to write him direct, I would like to have you send me the letter so I can attach it to the APC's application for the grant.

Assuring you of my appreciation of your help in these matters and with best regards to you,

Sincerely yours,

George J. Hecht
Chairman

GJH:SMF
enc.

1-A - Misc.
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the American Parents' Committee

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May 20, 1948

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MAY 24 1948
Southern Regional Council

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue N. W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have looked through with interest the April issue of the NEW SOUTH, on the subject of "Housing in the South". I am wondering whether you have gotten out or whether you would get out an issue entitled "Children in the South". This might contain very little new material, but you could take the information that you had previously gathered to study on education and health and add to it material you could get on juvenile delinquency, children in broken homes, etc., etc. Perhaps we could be of some help to you in getting material for such a report.

If you decide to publish it, we would like to have quite a large number of copies of that particular issues.

With kindest regards, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE J. HECHT
Chairman

GJH:j

Chairman

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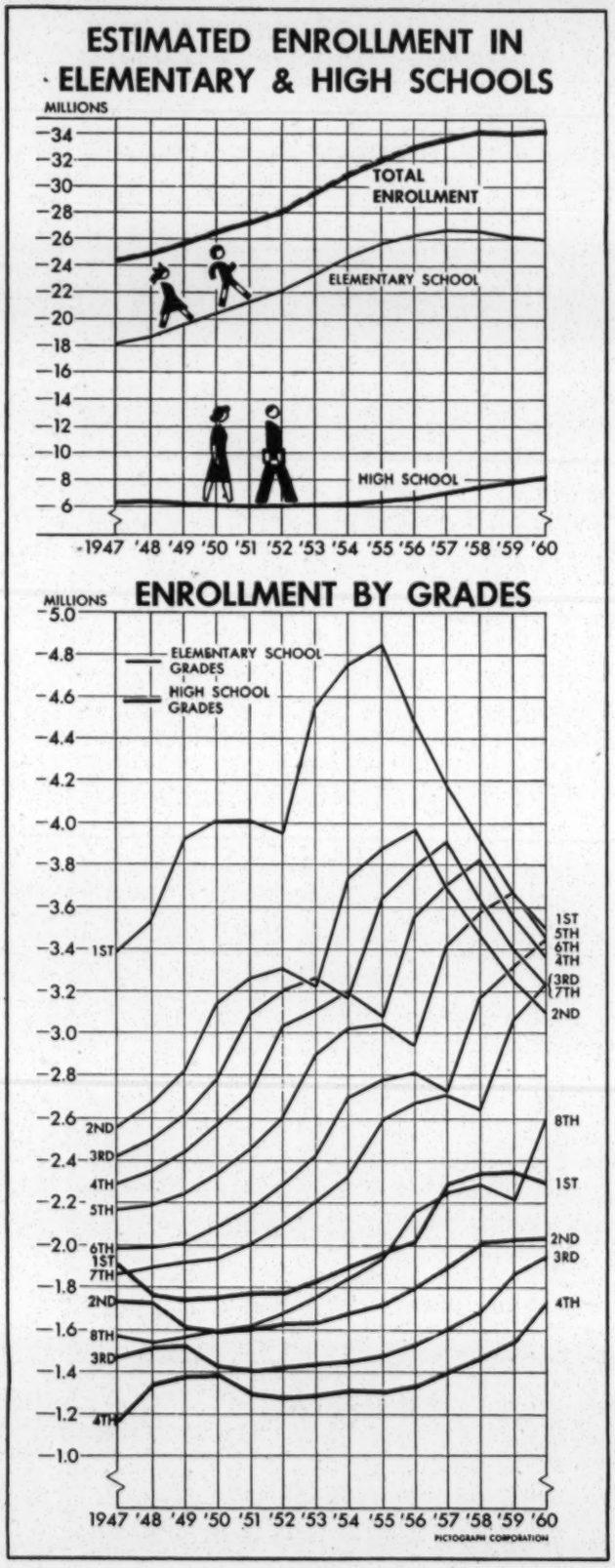
AND THE CHAIRMAN, FIRST VICE-CHAIRMAN, AND SECRETARY

OUR DESPERATE NEED FOR MORE SCHOOLS
— and what can be done about it



The U. S. Census Bureau, using a special grant from the American Parents Committee, has prepared a new, vitally important table on future school enrollments, which should stimulate every parent, every PTA and every school administration to action.

By GEORGE J. HECHT
Publisher, Parents' Magazine and Chairman, The American Parents Committee

BAD AS CONDITIONS are now in many public schools —particularly in poorer communities and in states with the least taxable wealth—the school crisis throughout the United States is likely to get much, much worse!

Four million children of school age are not attending school at all. Many children are going to school only six months of the year, instead of the normal ten months. In some communities no public schooling is provided beyond the eighth grade. A large percentage of textbooks are in a filthy condition and are out-of-date. In many communities schools are already terrifically overcrowded. In other communities the buildings are unsafe . . . some schools are merely one-room, ugly wooden shacks.

During and since the war, more than 350,000 of our 850,000 teachers have left teaching, in addition to the normal turnover. There is a particularly alarming loss in men teachers. More than 110,000 "emergency" teachers are now employed who do not have the proper qualifications. 75,000 teaching positions remain unfilled. Fewer young people are going into teaching as a profession, largely because of the low pay offered.

Many people do not realize that the school situation is not likely to get better but actually is likely to get much, much worse during the next ten years. Never was the future so dark for American school children as it is today. In five years we are apt to look back upon 1948 as an educational utopia—unless a tremendous effort is made all over the country to meet the crisis.

This prediction is based on the fact that during and since the war a million to a million and a half more children were born each year than were born on the average before the war. These extra "war babies" are growing up, and will increasingly flood the schools. This fall the "war babies" born in 1942 will be entering the first grade. Next year these "war babies" will be promoted and will swamp the second grade classes and the large numbers of children born in 1943 will flood the first grade classrooms, and so on. Which means that for at least the next decade, school enrollments will speedily grow larger and larger.

Before the war the annual birth rate varied from 2,200,000 to 2,500,000. During and since the war it rose to 3,500,000 and even to 3,900,000 last year.

Communities all over America are faced not only with the necessity of maintaining existing schools and repairing and modernizing school buildings that were neglected during the war years, but also with the frightfully expensive task of building more schools to accommodate the extra millions of children born during and since the war. And all this at a time when, due to the increased cost of living, teachers' salaries must be increased and all other costs are going up.

ARTICLE REPRINTED FROM PARENTS' MAGAZINE
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While we knew, in a general way, that the increased birth rate during and since the war would materially increase the need for schools, till now there has been no accurate forecast as to the size of the demand for school enrollments by grades during the coming years. The U. S. Census Bureau's forecast of population has been given in five-year age groups; i.e., under 5, 5 to 9, 10 to 14, and so forth; and neither the Census Bureau nor the U. S. Office of Education nor the National Education Association had these figures translated into future school enrollments, year by year and grade by grade.

The U. S. Census Bureau had no regular funds available to do this job, in spite of its importance. And so, the American Parents Committee paid the Census Bureau to prepare such a table which is reproduced herewith. It should be studied with great care by school superintendents, school board members, as well as by parents who are concerned about the education of their children and of the nation's children. Note how the enrollments in the various grades increase as the "war babies" grow up.

If you will study the percentages of change since 1947, in the lower third of the table, you will note, for example, that in 1951, only three years hence, the school enrollments will be up over 1947, 20% in the first grade, 27% in the second grade, 28% in the third grade, 18% in the fourth grade, and so on. Fifth grade enrollment in 1951 will not be affected by war births to any degree. In (*Continued below*)

CENSUS BUREAU'S FORECAST OF FUTURE SCHOOL ENROLLMENT BY GRADES

YEAR	Elementary School Grades 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	Total Elementary School	High School Grades 1	2	3	4	Total High School	GRAND TOTAL
1947....	3,394,000	2,565,000	2,421,000	2,298,000	2,174,000	1,980,000	1,864,000	1,573,000	18,269,000	1,908,000	1,737,000	1,465,000	1,167,000	6,277,000	24,546,000
1948....	3,541,000	2,676,000	2,505,000	2,355,000	2,181,000	1,996,000	1,892,000	1,540,000	18,686,000	1,766,000	1,728,000	1,507,000	1,320,000	6,321,000	25,007,000
1949....	3,926,000	2,829,000	2,625,000	2,447,000	2,248,000	2,015,000	1,917,000	1,572,000	19,579,000	1,730,000	1,609,000	1,510,000	1,370,000	6,219,000	25,798,000
1950....	4,048,000	3,154,000	2,780,000	2,570,000	2,343,000	2,088,000	1,939,000	1,599,000	20,521,000	1,746,000	1,580,000	1,411,000	1,377,000	6,114,000	26,635,000
1951....	4,082,000	3,263,000	3,090,000	2,712,000	2,456,000	2,173,000	2,004,000	1,614,000	21,394,000	1,761,000	1,591,000	1,385,000	1,283,000	6,020,000	27,414,000
1952....	3,956,000	3,315,000	3,209,000	3,030,000	2,604,000	2,288,000	2,096,000	1,674,000	22,172,000	1,767,000	1,612,000	1,402,000	1,264,000	6,045,000	28,217,000
1953....	4,558,000	3,229,000	3,260,000	3,146,000	2,909,000	2,426,000	2,206,000	1,753,000	23,487,000	1,816,000	1,619,000	1,421,000	1,279,000	6,135,000	29,622,000
1954....	4,754,000	3,741,000	3,174,000	3,194,000	3,022,000	2,712,000	2,338,000	1,846,000	24,781,000	1,883,000	1,665,000	1,429,000	1,297,000	6,274,000	31,055,000
1955....	4,841,000	3,872,000	3,640,000	3,078,000	3,040,000	2,788,000	2,590,000	1,940,000	25,789,000	1,954,000	1,711,000	1,458,000	1,293,000	6,416,000	32,205,000
1956....	4,483,000	3,976,000	3,786,000	3,552,000	2,944,000	2,819,000	2,675,000	2,159,000	26,394,000	2,047,000	1,786,000	1,511,000	1,327,000	6,671,000	33,065,000
1957....	4,184,000	3,704,000	3,900,000	3,706,000	3,408,000	2,738,000	2,714,000	2,240,000	26,594,000	2,268,000	1,880,000	1,583,000	1,379,000	7,110,000	33,704,000
1958....	3,929,000	3,475,000	3,643,000	3,827,000	3,570,000	3,179,000	2,645,000	2,281,000	26,549,000	2,337,000	2,093,000	1,674,000	1,451,000	7,555,000	34,104,000
1959....	3,668,000	3,258,000	3,404,000	3,565,000	3,672,000	3,316,000	3,060,000	2,217,000	26,160,000	2,350,000	2,150,000	1,856,000	1,530,000	7,886,000	34,046,000
1960....	3,506,000	3,103,000	3,233,000	3,374,000	3,465,000	3,456,000	3,233,000	2,599,000	25,969,000	2,279,000	2,190,000	1,932,000	1,721,000	8,122,000	34,091,000
PERCENT CHANGE SINCE PRECEDING YEAR															
1948....	+ 4.3	+ 4.3	+ 3.5	+ 2.5	+ 0.3	+ 0.8	+ 1.5	− 2.1	+ 2.3	− 7.4	− 0.5	+ 2.9	+13.1	+ 0.7	+ 1.9
1949....	+10.9	+ 5.7	+ 4.8	+ 3.9	+ 3.1	+ 1.0	+ 1.3	+ 2.1	+ 4.8	− 2.0	− 6.9	+ 0.2	+ 3.8	− 1.6	+ 3.2
1950....	+ 3.1	+11.5	+ 5.9	+ 5.0	+ 4.2	+ 3.6	+ 1.1	+ 1.7	+ 4.8	+ 0.9	− 1.8	− 6.6	+ 0.5	− 1.7	+ 3.2
1951....	+ 0.8	+ 3.5	+11.2	+ 5.5	+ 4.8	+ 4.1	+ 3.4	+ 0.9	+ 4.3	+ 0.9	+ 0.7	− 1.8	− 6.8	− 1.5	+ 2.9
1952....	− 3.1	+ 1.6	+ 3.9	+11.7	+ 6.0	+ 5.3	+ 4.6	+ 3.7	+ 3.6	+ 0.3	+ 1.3	+ 1.2	− 1.5	+ 0.4	+ 2.9
1953....	+15.2	− 2.6	+ 1.6	+ 3.8	+11.7	+ 6.0	+ 5.2	+ 4.7	+ 5.9	+ 2.8	+ 0.4	+ 1.4	+ 1.2	+ 1.5	+ 5.0
1954....	+ 4.3	+15.9	− 2.6	+ 1.5	+ 3.9	+11.8	+ 6.0	+ 5.3	+ 5.5	+ 3.7	+ 2.8	+ 0.6	+ 1.4	+ 2.3	+ 4.8
1955....	+ 1.8	+ 3.5	+14.7	− 3.6	+ 0.6	+ 2.8	+10.8	+ 5.1	+ 4.1	+ 3.8	+ 2.8	+ 2.0	− 0.3	+ 2.3	+ 3.7
1956....	− 7.4	+ 2.7	+ 4.0	+15.4	− 3.2	+ 1.1	+ 3.3	+11.3	+ 2.3	+ 4.8	+ 4.4	+ 3.6	+ 2.6	+ 4.0	+ 2.7
1957....	− 6.7	− 6.8	+ 3.0	+ 4.3	+15.8	− 2.9	+ 1.5	+ 3.8	+ 0.8	+10.8	+ 5.3	+ 4.8	+ 3.9	+ 6.6	+ 1.9
1958....	− 6.1	− 6.2	− 6.6	+ 3.3	+ 4.8	+16.1	− 2.5	+ 1.8	− 0.2	+ 3.0	+11.3	+ 5.7	+ 5.2	+ 6.3	+ 1.2
1959....	− 6.6	− 6.2	− 6.6	− 6.8	+ 2.9	+ 4.3	+15.7	− 2.8	− 1.5	+ 0.6	+ 2.7	+10.9	+ 5.4	+ 4.4	− 0.2
1960....	− 4.4	− 4.8	− 5.0	− 5.4	− 5.6	+ 4.2	+ 5.7	+17.2	− 0.7	− 3.0	+ 1.9	+ 4.1	+12.5	+ 3.0	+ 0.1
PERCENT CHANGE SINCE 1947															
1948....	+ 4.3	+ 4.3	+ 3.5	+ 2.5	+ 0.3	+ 0.8	+ 1.5	− 2.1	+ 2.3	− 7.4	− 0.5	+ 2.9	+13.1	+ 0.7	+ 1.9
1949....	+15.7	+10.3	+ 8.4	+ 6.5	+ 3.4	+ 1.8	+ 2.8	− 0.1	+ 7.2	− 9.3	− 7.4	+ 3.1	+17.4	− 0.9	+ 5.1
1950....	+19.3	+23.0	+14.8	+11.8	+ 7.8	+ 5.5	+ 4.0	+ 1.7	+12.3	− 8.5	− 9.0	− 3.7	+18.0	− 2.6	+ 8.5
1951....	+20.3	+27.2	+27.6	+18.0	+13.0	+ 9.7	+ 7.5	+ 2.6	+17.1	− 7.7	− 8.4	− 5.5	+ 9.9	− 4.1	+11.7
1952....	+16.6	+29.2	+32.5	+31.9	+19.8	+15.6	+12.4	+ 6.4	+21.4	− 7.4	− 7.2	− 4.3	+ 8.3	− 3.7	+15.0
1953....	+34.3	+25.9	+34.7	+36.9	+33.8	+22.5	+18.3	+11.4	+28.6	− 4.8	− 6.8	− 3.0	+ 9.6	− 2.3	+20.7
1954....	+40.1	+45.8	+31.1	+39.0	+39.0	+37.0	+25.4	+17.4	+35.6	− 1.3	− 4.1	− 2.5	+11.1	—	+26.5
1955....	+42.6	+51.0	+50.4	+33.9	+39.8	+40.8	+38.9	+23.3	+41.2	+ 2.4	− 1.5	− 0.5	+10.8	+ 2.2	+31.2
1956....	+32.1	+55.0	+56.4	+54.6	+35.4	+42.4	+43.5	+37.3	+44.5	+ 7.3	+ 2.8	+ 3.1	+13.7	+ 6.3	+34.7
1957....	+23.3	+44.4	+61.1	+61.3	+56.8	+38.3	+45.6	+42.4	+45.6	+18.9	+ 8.2	+ 8.1	+18.2	+13.3	+37.3
1958....	+15.8	+35.5	+50.5	+66.5	+64.2	+60.6	+41.9	+45.0	+45.3	+22.5	+20.5	+14.3	+24.3	+20.4	+38.9
1959....	+ 8.1	+27.0	+40.6	+55.1	+68.9	+67.5	+64.2	+40.9	+43.2	+23.2	+23.8	+26.7	+31.1	+25.6	+38.7
1960....	+ 3.3	+21.0	+33.5	+46.8	+59.4	+74.5	+73.4	+65.2	+42.1	+19.4	+26.1	+31.9	+47.5	+29.4	+38.9

Individual figures are rounded to nearest thousands. Percentage not shown when less than 0.05.

individual communities, future school enrollments may be higher or lower than the national average, primarily because of family migration. Consider carefully what effect the probable increases in enrollment will have on your community's schools. Do you have enough elementary schools to house this vastly increased number of children who will flood the elementary schools in the next few years?

In three years (1951) it is estimated that total school enrollments will be approximately 2,400,000 more than they are this year. Eight years hence (1956) it is estimated that there will be approximately 8,000,000 more children seeking enrollment in the schools than this year.

On the basis of reports to the National Education Association from 64 school systems in areas over 30,000 in population (Educational Research Service Circular No. 3, 1948), it would appear that present-day school building costs are running around $800 or $900 per pupil for elementary and secondary schools. Assuming an average cost of school construction of $850 per pupil, and applying this figure to the increases in school enrollment given above, this indicates that within three years (1951) $2,040,000,000 will be needed for new school construction and that within eight years (1956), $6,800,000,000 will be needed, not counting the normal needs for the repair and maintenance of existing school buildings. And these additional schools will mean further increases in costs for teachers' salaries and for other school maintenance expenses.

Certainly most local communities haven't the funds to finance the new school construction they will need.

(*Continued on following page*)

U. S. CENSUS BUREAU'S EXPLANATION OF THE ABOVE FORECASTS

By J. C. CAPT
Director, U. S. Bureau of the Census

THE FORECAST of school enrollment in the coming years is based on the estimated population of the United States for July 1, 1947. Inasmuch as this base population was estimated by adding current estimates of natural increase and net foreign migration to the population enumerated on April 1, 1940, it is not subject to any considerable revision.

The number of survivors of the base population on July 1 of each year, 1948 to 1960, was computed by applying to the base population survival factors representing the proportion of the population at a given age expected to be alive one year later. Thus, the population under 24 years of age on July 1, 1947, was reduced by such survival factors to forecast the population 1 to 24 years old on July 1, 1948. The population 1 to 23 years old on the latter date was reduced similarly to obtain forecasts of the population 2 to 24 years old on July 1, 1949. This process was repeated until the forecasts for (*Continued on last page*)

And very few of the states have enough taxable wealth to provide the needed money for their local communities. The Southern states, which have about one-third of the nation's children and yet only one-eighth of the nation's wealth, will be utterly unable to build the schools needed in their states.

Even if your community is wealthy enough to build the schools that are needed and even if your community is in a state wealthy enough to vote state aid to its local communities, you must remember that there are thousands of other communities which are not financially able and which cannot obtain state aid for this purpose.

For these communities, the only solution is a national program of school construction. The Federal Government has, for years, made grants to the states to build roads and has recently passed legislation appropriating hundreds of millions to construct local hospitals and institutions for the mentally ill. Why shouldn't Congress appropriate money for the construction of schools? Without an educated citizenry no country can prosper. Yet, unless much more money is appropriated for education by the Federal Government, as well as by state and local governments, millions of children in this country will have no chance to receive even a minimum of education, and illiteracy will increase shockingly.

For the past 25 years, efforts have been made, largely under the leadership of the National Education Association, to persuade Congress to pass a bill providing for Federal grants to the States for elementary and high-school education. During the past session of Congress, a bi-partisan Federal Aid for Education Bill passed the Senate, but in the House of Representatives it never got out of committee and so could not be voted upon. This bill would have provided $300 million for current operating expenses. It provided, however, that no money could be used for school construction.

The main argument for Federal aid for education is the need to equalize educational opportunities throughout the United States. The least wealthy states of our nation have proportionally the most children to be educated. In some states there are 50 percent more children per 1,000 population than in other states. If some states spent all their tax revenues for education alone, they could not support their schools as well as the average school of the nation is supported.

The people in the wealthiest state have five times as much taxable income per child as the people of the poorest state. Some communities spend sixty times as much on education per child as others do. It is all wrong to deprive children of a decent education just because they happen to be born in one of the poorer states, in which there is not sufficient wealth which can be taxed to maintain decent schools. In order more nearly to equalize the educational facilities throughout the United States, the Federal Government must exercise its power to tax wealth where it is and to assist the poorer states to provide education for the children where they live.

THE FEDERAL AID for Education Bill, if and when it is enacted, will appropriate funds to the states to help them support their local elementary schools and high schools and will apportion the funds accordingly to the number of children, with the needier states receiving the largest amounts. The Bill provides a minimum of support ($5 per child per year) for education in each state.

Helpful as the passage of this bill would be, it would not solve the problem of where the money is to come from to build the new schools which are needed. The American Parents Committee therefore proposes that in the next session of Congress an effort be made to pass two school bills rather than one. Certainly the effort to get Federal grants to the states to assist in the current maintenance of elementary and secondary schools should be continued. But also there should be introduced a companion bill, to be known as the School Construction Bill, which would be similar to the Hospital Construction Act (the Hill-Burton Act) which was passed by the 79th Congress. This School Construction Bill will provide that all funds appropriated by it would be used for new school construction and modernization. The funds would be distributed among the States by the U. S. Office of Education. Such a bill is now being drafted by the American Parents Committee and the Committee will seek to have it introduced on a bi-partisan basis in the 81st Congress, which will convene in January, 1949. It will provide for an appropriation of $200 million for the first year, $250 million for the second year, $300 million for the third year, and thereafter as much as the Congress shall decide is needed. The money is to be divided among the States and Territories in proportion to the number of their children and taking into consideration other factors such as their taxable wealth. Those States and Territories with proportionally the greatest number of children and the least wealth would receive relatively more of the total amount appropriated. The educational agency of each state will distribute the Federal grants as it sees fit, in its sole discretion, to the communities within the state, but the local communities and the States must guarantee to provide the teachers and the maintenance for these new schools.

One of the main reasons that the Federal Aid for Education Bill (which would aid states to maintain and operate schools) has not been enacted is because of the argument that Federal support will lead to Federal control of education, which in turn will lead to abuses. We do not agree with this argument because the Federal Aid for Education Bill specifically prohibits Federal control. Moreover, for years the Federal Government has made grants to universities and colleges and for home economics and vocational education. We have yet to hear of any complaints that the Federal Government attempts to control education in these fields. However the Federal-control-of-education argument cannot be used successfully against the proposed School Construction Bill, inasmuch as it would assist only school construction and not the maintenance and operation of schools.

Until January, 1949, most members

The Federal Aid for Education Bill has Bi-Partisan Support

Said Senator Robert A. Taft: "There are a number of states which simply cannot provide enough funds for adequate education, even though they spend a larger amount of their citizens' incomes than do more prosperous states. I feel that the whole country has an interest in seeing that at least a minimum education is provided for every child born in the United States."

Said President Truman: "I regard the proper education of our youth as a matter of paramount importance to the welfare and security of the United States. Public provision for education has been primarily the concern of the several states, and must remain so. The maintenance of freedom of thought and expression depends in large measure upon keeping our systems of education free from central control. But it is necessary and proper that the Federal Government should furnish financial assistance which will make it possible for the states to provide educational facilities more nearly adequate to meet the pressing needs of our nation.

"The cost of providing adequate systems of schools has long been beyond the financial resources of many of our states. Now a real crisis exists. Rapid increases in school population have resulted in overcrowding. Higher prices have brought sharp increases in construction and operating costs. Expanding employment opportunities in other fields have attracted teachers away from the schools. Many of the teachers who have stayed in the schools because of their interest in their work are underpaid and must have their salaries increased. We cannot expect to hold our present teachers, no matter how strong their devotion, nor to attract the additional teachers we need, unless they are properly compensated.

"Unless the Federal Government comes to the aid of the states in meeting these needs, there is danger of a serious breakdown in our systems of education. We cannot take such a risk."

of Congress will be back in their home districts. That will be an excellent opportunity for school officials, officers of Parent-Teacher Associations and individual parents to see them, or write them, to impress them with the need for both federal aid for the maintenance of elementary and high schools, and for the construction of much-needed new school buildings to house the vastly increased number of children born during and since the recent war.

While every effort should be made to get Congress to pass both these school bills, no stone should be left unturned to get adequate funds for school maintenance and new school construction appropriated by local communities and by each of the States and Territories. Without question the major financial support for school maintenance and new school construction should come from local and state sources.

Any Federal aid that may be obtained is merely supplementary assistance to meet emergency and special conditions.

And so school officials, Parent-Teacher Associations, civic and labor organizations and individual parents should energetically attempt to persuade their local and state legislators to appropriate sufficient money to maintain their schools adequately and to build the new schools that will be needed when the extra "war babies" grow up and go to school.

Our current generation of children will be cheated if we do not provide adequate schools for them. Our industry will suffer because, as the U. S. Chamber of Commerce recently pointed out, the economic status of our people is directly related to their educational status. Our democracy will be threatened because good government depends upon an educated citizenry.

U. S. CENSUS BUREAU'S EXPLANATION OF FORECASTS

(*Continued from second page*)

each year, 1948 to 1960, had been computed. The survival factors used were consistent with the assumptions of medium mortality employed in the preparation of the forecasts in our reports, *Forecasts of the Population of the United States: 1945-1975* (copies of which can be obtained from the U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.). A detailed description of the medium mortality assumptions and a discussion of the considerations that support them is presented on pages 10 to 16 of that report.

Since the forecasts include the survivors of persons born between July 1, 1947, and July 1, 1960, it was necessary to forecast the number of births for each fiscal year (July through June) of this period. The very high birth rates for the past few years have exceeded even the high fertility assumptions used in the printed report just referred to. We have, therefore, so projected the trend of annual births as to link by a smooth curve the actual number of births for the year ending June 30, 1947, with the original forecast of births based on the medium fertility assumptions for the year ending June 30, 1955. In effect, then, the new projections of fertility imply a higher level of fertility in the next few years than did the original medium rates but a more rapid decline up to 1955, after which the original rates and the revised rates agree. A detailed description of trends in fertility, including the medium fertility assumptions referred to above, is presented on pages 16 to 34 of the report.

It has been assumed in preparing the population forecasts that net immigration of children and youths would be negligible for the period with which we are concerned. If there should be a substantial net immigration between 1947 and 1960, the forecasts now given you would be too low, not only by virtue of the immigrants themselves, but also by the addition to the population of their offspring. We feel that it is unlikely that net immigration will be very large, but it is difficult to make an accurate prediction of the amount.

The forecasts of enrollment by grade were computed in three steps. First, the proportion of children at each age attending school was projected on the basis of past trends. All of the projections represent increases in the enrollment rate. The projected enrollment rate for each year of age was then multiplied by the forecast number of children of the same age. The sum of these results represents our forecast of the total number enrolled regardless of age or grade. Finally, the distribution by grade of the total forecast enrollment was computed partly on the basis of the forecasts of population by age, which were used to estimate the size of each entering class between 1947 and 1960, and partly on the basis of recently published statistics of the United States Office of Education showing the proportion of an entering class reaching each successive grade.

Since our basic enrollment figures were for April, we have made all the enrollment projections also refer to April of the given year. There are, of course, seasonal changes in the enrollment by grade; and the figures for April are ordinarily somewhat lower than those for either the preceding or the following October, particularly in the younger ages.

It should be emphasized that the figures we are giving you are rough estimates that should be used to forecast only the broad general trends. The projections assume that past trends will continue in an orderly fashion. Another war, for instance, would have a serious effect upon the trends. The estimates by age are more reliable than those by grade since they are influenced by fewer factors. The age estimates involving children born after 1947, however, are obviously weaker than those for older children. In applying the estimated percentage change in any area smaller than the United States as a whole, one should bear in mind that the future number of children can be affected positively or negatively by internal migration.

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THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, Inc.

52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

Main Reasons For The

PUBLIC SCHOOL SURVEY AND CONSTRUCTION BILL

The emergency need: The public elementary schools of the U. S. are as a whole already overcrowded and many of them are in need of repair and modernization. Furthermore, because of the sharp increase in the birth rate during and since the war, these schools will increasingly be swamped as the "war babies" grow up to be of school age. Here is the U. S. Census Bureau's forecast of increases in elementary school enrollment during the next 10 years:

	Elementary School Enrollment	Cumulative Increases over 1948
1948	18,686,000	
1949	19,579,000	893,000
1950	20,521,000	1,835,000
1951	21,394,000	2,708,000
1952	22,172,000	3,466,000
1953	23,487,000	4,801,000
1954	24,781,000	6,095,000
1955	25,789,000	7,103,000
1956	26,394,000	7,708,000
1957	26,594,000	7,908,000

The estimated cost of the needed new school construction: Elementary school capacity must be increased in the next ten years to provide for about 8,000,000 additional enrollments. Based on an average cost of school construction of $850. per pupil (this figure obtained from the National Education Association) the American Parents Committee estimates that $6,800,000,000. must be spent on new elementary school construction, not counting the normal need for repair and maintenance of existing school buildings.

The National Education Association in 1944 estimated school building plant needs of 1.29 billion dollars a year for a ten year period. The National Resources Planning Board estimated in 1943 a total postwar school capital outlay need of 12.45 billion dollars, while the Twentieth Century Fund Survey of 1947 estimated 9.9 billion dollars for additional educational plant needs.

Why Federal aid for new school construction is urgently needed: Only the richest communities will, unaided, be able to finance, even with commercial borrowings, the new schools that they need. Only a few of the richest States will be able to give adequate State aid to their poorer communities to assist them in constructing new schools. And the poorer communities and States have proportionally the most children to be educated. In the Southern States there are 1/3 of the nation's children and only 1/9 of the nation's wealth. Only with Federal aid for school construction to supplement whatever the States and communities can afford will it be possible to build the schools that will be needed to educate the nation's increased number of children born during and since the war.

This bill would supplement the Bill for Federal Aid for School Maintenance: The Public School Survey and Construction Bill would supplement the Federal Aid For Education Bill which would appropriate $300 million a year for school maintenance. The two bills do not in any way overlap and it is hoped that all organizations and individuals concerned about the proper education of the nation's children will work for the enactment of both bills. Both are needed.

An advantage of The Public School Survey and Construction Bill: One of the main reasons that the Federal Aid For Education Bill has not be enacted during the past 25 years in which efforts were made to have it passed, is because of the argument used against it that Federal support will lead to Federal control of education which, in turn, will lead to abuses. The American Parents Committee does not agree with this argument because the Federal Aid For Education Bill specifically prohibits Federal control and because Federal control has not developed during the many years that the Federal Government has given aid to land-grant colleges, as well as home economics and vocational education. The Federal-control-of-education argument cannot be used successfully against the Public School Survey and Construction Bill, inasmuch as it would assist only school construction and not the maintenance and operation of schools.

The realistic, practical approach of the Bill: The bill establishes an emergency 5-year program to give immediate financial aid to the States. The bill provides:

(1) Federal grants for State-wide surveys of the most pressing elementary public school building needs. This will enable the States to make quick and thorough analyses of their problem and to plan a program for meeting the problem.

(2) As soon as a school district decides that it will construct a new school the bill will provide a loan to enable the school authorities to hire an architect, draw up blueprints and make all necessary advance plans. This will save considerable time.

(3) The school district can then apply for a Federal loan of half the total cost or an outright grant of half the total cost -- or both.

(4) Within each State the State educational agency would have the job of setting up priorities as to the relative needs of the various school districts, giving special consideration to rural communities and areas with relatively small financial resources.

Explaining certain provisions of the Bill: The bill is divided into two main Titles -- Title I providing for Federal grants-in-aid for surveys and construction to be administered by the U. S. Office of Education; Title II providing for loans to be administered by the Federal Works Agency.

The formula for dividing the money among the States is similar to the provision in the Hospital Construction Act and is weighted in favor of the States with the largest number of school children and the smallest financial resources.

The Bill is purposely limited to Elementary Schools because they will be flooded first by the increased number of children. There will be no appreciable increase in High School enrollment for ten years until the "war babies" grow up to High School age. For the next decade the educational crisis will be predominantly in the Elementary School field. This Bill should be passed promptly as an emergency measure to meet conditions resulting directly from the war which caused the sharp increase in the birth rate.

The bill contains the strongest possible language to guarantee State and local control of education and to expressly prohibit any direct or indirect Federal control.

the American Parents' Committee

Incorporated as a membership, non-profit, public-service association

Working for Better Conditions for Children – Locally and Nationally

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THIS IS THE FIRST DRAFT OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SURVEY AND CONSTRUCTION BILL which the American Parents Committee will have introduced in the U.S. Congress. Your comment and suggestions are earnestly invited while it is still in draft form.

"PUBLIC SCHOOL SURVEY AND CONSTRUCTION ACT"

A BILL

To authorize loans and grants to the states to assist in the construction of elementary public schools.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act may be cited as the "Public School Survey and Construction Act".

DECLARATION OF POLICY

Sec. 2. The Congress hereby declares that -

It is the policy of Congress to recognize, preserve, and protect the primary responsibilities and rights of the States, and their political subdivisions, in accordance with their constitutions and laws, in providing and controlling elementary public schools;

The general welfare and security of our country depend, in a large measure, on adequate and proper educational opportunities for all children;

There exists a pressing need, national in scope, for the construction of additional public school buildings for pupils of elementary school age;

Federal financial aid is urgently needed to help provide the States with the means of constructing necessary and adequate public school buildings without which many children will be denied their birthright of a good education.

PURPOSE OF ACT

Sec. 3. The purpose of this act is to assist the several States -

(a) to survey the need for construction of elementary public schools, and to develop programs for construction of such schools as will, in conjunction with existing facilities, afford the necessary facilities commensurate with their educational needs.

(b) to construct elementary public schools in accordance with such programs.

TITLE I - GRANTS FOR SURVEYS, PLANNING, AND CONSTRUCTION

PART A - SURVEYS AND PLANNING

Authorization of Appropriation

Sec. 4. In order to assist the States in carrying out the purposes of section 3(a), there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of $5,000,000, to remain available until expended. The sums appropriated under

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this section shall be used for making payments to States which have submitted, and had approved by the United States Commissioner of Education, (hereinafter referred to as the "Commissioner") State applications for funds for carrying out such purposes.

State Applications

Sec. 5. (a) To be approved, a State application for funds for carrying out the purposes of section 3 (a) must -

(1) designate a single State educational agency as the sole agency for carrying out such purposes;

(2) provide for making a survey in accordance with section 3 (a) containing all information required by the Commissioner, and for developing a program in accordance with section 3(a) and with regulations prescribed by the Commissioner.

(3) provide that the State agency will make such reports, in such form and containing such information, as the Commissioner may from time to time reasonably require, and give the Commissioner, upon demand, access to the records on which such reports are based.

(b) The Commissioner shall approve any application for funds which complies with the provisions of subsection (a).

Allotments to States

Sec. 6. (a) Each state for which a State application under section 5 has been approved shall be entitled to an allotment of such proportion of any appropriation made pursuant to section 4 as its population of persons of ages 5 to 14, inclusive, bears to such population of all the States, and within such allotment it shall be entitled to receive 50 per centum of its expenditures in carrying out the purposes of section 3(a) in accordance with its application: Provided, That no such allotment shall be less than $20,000.

(b) The Commissioner shall from time to time estimate the sum to which each State will be entitled under this section, during such ensuing period as he may determine, and shall thereupon certify to the Secretary of the Treasury the amount so estimated, reduced or increased, as the case may be, by any sum by which the Commissioner finds that his estimate for any prior period was greater or less than the amount to which the State was entitled for such period. The Secretary of the Treasury shall thereupon, prior to audit or settlement by the General Accounting Office, pay to the State, at the time or times fixed by the Commissioner, the amount so certified.

(c) Any funds paid to a State under this section and not expended for the purposes for which paid shall be repaid to the Treasury of the United States.

PART B - CONSTRUCTION OF PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Authorization of Appropriations

Sec. 7. In order to assist the States in carrying out the purposes of section 3(b) there is hereby authorized to be appropriated for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1949, and for each of the four succeeding fiscal years, the sum of $250,000,000 for the construction of elementary public schools: Provided, That any amount of the sum authorized to be appropriated for a fiscal year which is not appropriated for such year, or which is not allotted in such year by reason of the failure of any State or States to have plans approved under this part, and any amount allotted to a State but remaining unobligated at the end of the period for which it is available to such State, is authorized to be appropriated for the next fiscal year in addition to the sum otherwise authorized under this section. The sums appropriated pursuant to this section shall be used for making payments to States which have submitted, and had approved by the Commissioner, State plans for carrying out the purposes of section 3(b).

State Plans

Sec. 8(a) A State plan for carrying out the purposes of section 3(b) must -

(1) designate a single State educational agency as the sole agency for the administration of the plan, or designate such agency as the sole agency for supervising the administration of the plan;

(2) contain satisfactory evidence that the State agency so designated will have authority to carry out such plan in conformity with this part;

(3) set forth an elementary public school construction program which is based on a State-wide survey of need; set forth the general manner in which the State will determine the priority of projects based on the relative need of different areas lacking adequate elementary public school facilities, giving special consideration to rural communities and areas with relatively small financial resources; and which meets the other requirements of this Act;

(4) provide that in a State where separate educational plant facilities are required by law for separate races, an equitable apportionment of the funds shall be made available under authority of this title for the benefit of such races: Provided, That the term "equitable apportionment" shall mean a plan of apportionment which results in the expenditure of funds for elementary public schools of no less than a sum which is in the ratio in which the population of such races in the State bears to the total population of such State;

(5) provide for affording to every applicant for a construction project an opportunity for hearing before the State agency;

(6) provide that the State agency will make such reports in such form and containing such information as the Commissioner may from time to time reasonably require, and give the Commissioner, upon demand, access to the records upon which such information is based.

(b) The Commissioner shall approve any State plan and any modifications thereof which comply with the provisions of subsection (a). The eligibility of a State to receive grants under this title shall not be conditioned upon its applying for, or qualifying for, loans under title II of this Act.

Allotments to States

Sec. 9 (a). Each State for which a State plan has been approved prior to or during a fiscal year shall be entitled for such year to an allotment of a sum bearing the same ratio to the sums authorized to be appropriated pursuant to section 7 for such year as the product of (a) the population of persons of ages 5 to 14, inclusive, of such state and (b) the square of its allotment percentage (as defined in subsection (b)) bears to the sum of the corresponding products for all of the States.

(b) The allotment percentage of any State shall be 100 per centum less than that percentage which bears the same ratio to 50 per centum as the per capita income of such State bears to the per capita income of the United States (excluding Alaska), except that (1) the allotment percentage shall in no case be more than 75 per centum or less than 33 1/3 per centum, and (2) the allotment percentage for Alaska and Hawaii shall be 50 per centum each, and the allotment percentage for Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands shall be 75 per centum;

(c) The allotment percentages shall be promulgated by the Commissioner between July 1 and August 31 of each odd-numbered year, on the basis of the average of the per capita incomes of the States and of the continental United States for the three most recent consecutive years for which satisfactory data are available from the Department of Commerce. Such promulgation shall be conclusive for each of the two fiscal years in the period beginning July 1 next succeeding such promulgation: Provided, That the Commissioner shall promulgate such percentages as soon as possible after the enactment of this title, which promulgation shall be conclusive for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1949.

(d) The amount of the allotment to a State shall be available, in accordance with the provisions of this title, for payment of 50 per centum of the cost of approved projects within such State.

(e) The Commissioner shall calculate the allotments to be made available under this title and notify the Secretary of the Treasury of the amounts thereof. Sums allotted to a state for a fiscal year and remaining unobligated at the end of such year shall remain available to such State for such purpose for the next fiscal year (and for such year only), in addition to the sums allotted for such State for such next fiscal year.

Approval of Projects and Payments for Construction

Sec. 10(a). For each project for construction pursuant to a State plan approved under this title, there shall be submitted to the Commissioner through the State agency an application by the State or a political subdivision thereof. Such application shall set forth -

(1) that the application is in conformity with the State plan and contains an assurance that the applicant will conform with the applicable requirements of the State plan;

(2) that it has been approved and recommended by the State agency and is entitled to priority over other projects, in accordance with the provisions of section 8(a), (3);

(3) that the rates of pay for laborers and mechanics engaged in the construction of the project will be not less than the prevailing local wage rates for similar work as determined in accordance with Public Law 403 of the Seventy-fourth Congress, approved August 30, 1935, as amended.

The Commissioner shall approve any application which complies with this subsection. No application shall be disapproved until the Commissioner has afforded the State agency an opportunity for a hearing.

(b) Upon approving an application, the Commissioner shall certify to the Secretary of the Treasury an amount equal to 50 per centum of the estimated cost of construction of the project; and upon such certification the Secretary of the Treasury shall pay the amounts so certified to the respective States.

(c) Amendment of any approved application shall be subject to approval in the same manner as an original application. Certification under subsection (b) may be amended, either upon approval of an amendment of the application or upon the revision of the estimated cost of a project. An amended certification may direct that any additional payment be made from the applicable allotment for the fiscal year in which such amended certification is made.

(d) The funds paid under this section for the construction of an approved project shall be used solely for carrying out such project as so approved.

TITLE II - LOANS FOR ADVANCE PLANNING AND CONSTRUCTION

PART A - ADVANCE PLANNING

Loans or Advances

Sec. 101. In order to assist the states in carrying out the purposes of section 3(b) the Federal Works Administrator is hereby authorized to make loans or advances to public agencies to aid in the financing of the cost of architectural and engineering surveys, plans, working drawings, specifications, procedures, and other action preliminary to the construction of elementary public schools: Provided, That the making of any loan or advance under this title shall not in any way commit the Congress to appropriate funds to undertake the construction of any public works so planned.

Sec. 102. For the purpose of making loans or advances under section 101 of this Act, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Federal Works Agency for each of the five fiscal years during the period beginning July 1,1948, and ending June 30, 1953, a sum not to exceed $40,000,000. Sums so appropriated shall remain available until expended.

Sec. 103. Funds appropriated for the making of loans or advances hereunder shall be allotted by the Federal Works Administrator among the several states in the following proportion: 75 per centum in the proportion which the population of persons of ages 5 to 14, inclusive, of each State bears to such population of all the States, and 25 per centum according to the need, as determined by said Administrator, for additional funds in the several States to carry out the purposes of this Title.

Sec. 104. No loan or advance shall be made hereunder for any project unless such project shall have been approved by the designated state educational agency.

Sec. 105. Advances under this Title to any public agency shall be repaid by such agency if and when the construction of the project so planned is undertaken. Any sums so repaid shall be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

PART B - CONSTRUCTION

Sec. 106. In order to assist the states in carrying out the purposes of section 3(b) there is hereby authorized to be appropriated to the Federal Works Agency for each of the five fiscal years during the period beginning July 1, 1948, and ending June 30, 1953, a sum not to exceed $250,000,000. Sums so appropriated shall remain available until expended.

Sec. 107. The Federal Works Administrator is authorized, subject to the provisions of section 108, to make loans to any State or other public agency having jurisdiction over elementary public schools to aid in the financing of the cost of construction of such schools. Such loans shall be subject, however, to the following limitations:

(a) No loan shall be made for any project unless such project shall have been approved by the appropriate state educational agency and by the Commissioner of Education, and unless such project is included in a comprehensive program developed pursuant to section 8(a) (3) of this Act.

(b) No loan shall be made for any project in an amount exceeding 50 per centum of the estimated reasonable cost thereof, as determined by the Federal Works Administrator.

(c) Every such loan shall bear interest at the rate of 2 per centum per annum, payable semiannually.

(d) The bonds or other obligations evidencing any such loan (1) must be duly authorized and issued pursuant to State and local law, and (2) may, as to the security thereof and the payment of principal thereof and interest thereon, be subordinated (to the extent deemed feasible and desirable by the Federal Works Administrator for facilitating the financing of such projects) to other bonds or obligations of the obligor issued to finance such project or that may then be outstanding.

Sec. 108. In making loans for projects pursuant to the provisions of section 107, the Federal Works Administrator shall adhere to the order or sequence of priority for projects established by the Commissioner of Education and shall take such measures as, in his judgment, will assure that the engineering plans and specifications, the details of construction, and the completed project conform to the project as approved by the Commissioner of Education.

Sec. 109. The Federal Works Administrator is hereby authorized (a) to hold, administer, exchange, refund, or set at public or private sale any bonds or other obligations evidencing loans made under this title; and (b) to collect, or provide for the collection of, interest on and principal of such bonds or other obligations. All moneys received as proceeds from such sales, and all moneys so collected, shall be covered into the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

TITLE III - GENERAL PROVISIONS

Sec. 201. Except as otherwise specifically provided, nothing in this Act shall be construed as conferring on any department, agency or officer of the United States the right to exercise any supervision or control over any school, or any State educational institution or agency, with respect to which any funds have been or may be expended pursuant to this Act, nor shall any term or condition of any agreement under this Act relating to, or any grant or loan under this Act to or on behalf of, any such school or agency, prescribe or affect its administration, personnel, curriculum, instruction, methods of instruction, or materials for instruction.

Sec. 202. The Commissioner of Education is authorized to promulgate regulations in conformity with the provisions of this Act as may be necessary to effectuate the provisions of title I.

Sec. 203. The Federal Works Administrator is authorized to promulgate regulations in conformity with the provisions of this Act as may be necessary to effectuate the provisions of title II.

Sec. 204. There is authorized to be appropriated to the Federal Security Agency for each of the five fiscal years during the period beginning July 1, 1948, and ending June 30, 1953, such sum as may be necessary to enable it to carry out its functions under this Act.

Sec. 205. There is authorized to be appropriated to the Federal Works Agency for each of the five fiscal years during the period beginning July 1, 1948, and ending June 30, 1953, such sum as may be necessary to enable it to carry out its functions under this Act.

Sec. 206. If any provision of this Act, or the application thereof to any State, person, or circumstance, is held invalid, the remainder of this Act, and the application of such provision to other States, persons, or circumstances shall not be affected thereby.

Sec. 207. The population of the several States of persons of ages 5 to 14, inclusive, shall be determined on the basis of the latest figures certified by the Department of Commerce.

1 Sec. 208. As used in this Act -

2 (a) the term "State" includes Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, the
3 Virgin Islands, and the District of Columbia;

4 (b) the term "construction" includes construction of new buildings,
5 expansion, remodeling, and alteration of existing buildings, and initial
6 equipment of any such buildings; including architects' fees, and the cost of
7 the acquisition of land, but excluding the cost of off-site improvements.

the American Parents Committee

Incorporated as a membership, non-profit, public-service association

Working for Better Conditions for Children - Locally and Nationally

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REPORT OF THE APC'S LEGISLATIVE ACTIVITIES ON BEHALF OF CHILDREN DURING THE 80th CONGRESS AND PLANS FOR THE 81st CONGRESS

APC CONDUCTS FIRST LOBBY FOR CHILDREN

During the 80th Congress, for the first time in history, the interests of children in the United States were defended before the Federal legislature by an organized lobby devoting itself exclusively to legislation concerning children. This new children's lobby, established as the American Parents Committee, vigorously championed the cause of millions of neglected American children, seeking legislation that would meet their health, welfare, and educational needs.

Although every business and trade association, as well as labor organizations, the veterans, farmers, and other groups, have their effective lobbies in Washington staffed by full-time professional workers, the American Parents Committee is the only organization in the United States to have full-time professional lobbyists in Washington working solely in the interests of American children, according to the lobby registration reports of the Congress.

In every session of the Congress, legislation is proposed that could advance or retard the health, education, and welfare of the United States' 46 million children. There are 5,000 to 33,000 bills introduced; of these, bills con-

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cerning children are referred to a dozen House and Senate Committees, a multitude of Subcommittees. As many as 3,000 bills may be reported by Committees during the session; a few more bills receive hearings; but most fail to pass. In this legislative landslide the Congress often ignores bills affecting children.

WHY CHILDREN'S LEGISLATION NEEDS FULL-TIME LOBBY

Operations of Congress continue to be complicated, even with the streamlining applied by the Reorganization Act. It's a full-time expert job to follow legislation, to know where bills are from day to day. News, radio comment mainly covers large domestic and foreign issues, frequently after the Congress has acted. It is not surprising that parents often don't know what bills affecting children are before the Congress, which of the 435 Representatives or 96 Senators are considering them, or even that any Congressmen are considering any bills concerning children.

To fill these gaps with information tied to action, the American Parents Committee was established. As the spearhead of its effort the APC maintained one full-time lobbyist in Washington during the first session of the 80th Congress, and during the second, as the Committee's support and program developed, two able lobbyists, both working exclusively on United States children's legislation. This Washington staff, dispensing with secretarial service to save money, served in active liaison with Governmental agencies, individual Congressmen and Congressional committees, and with numerous voluntary organizations, groups, and individuals.

WHAT APC HAS ACCOMPLISHED

The American Parents Committee is less than two years old. During its first legislative venture it faced a politically divided Federal Government, and a Congress, which, after a torrent of dissension over international and military affairs, enacted virtually no domestic social legislation of consequence.

In spite of the inherent difficulties and in spite of its youth, the American Parents Committee has already made a contribution to the welfare of our Nation's children. During the 80th Congress the APC helped:

(1) to save the 1949 National School Lunch program.

(2) to halt the false economy policy started by the Congress of reducing the U. S. Children's Bureau budget further and further each year.

(3) to focus the attention of Congressmen, Congressional Committees, and many national organizations on the need for adequate health services for school-age children, the most neglected health-wise of all child age-groups.

(4) to fight off crippling amendments to the federal aid to public education bill, and to bring the bill nearer to passage by the Congress than it has ever been since first introduced a quarter of a century ago.

(5) to finance an hitherto unobtainable forecast by the U. S. Census Bureau of future school enrollments, broken down by year and by grade. The forecast is vital in estimating the needs for new school construction.

(6) to establish a National Citizens Council on Migrant Labor and to have included in the Council's program the objective of securing proper safeguards in health, education, and welfare for migrant children.

(7) to prevent ill-advised Senate floor action on the National Science Foundation Bill which would have nullified the permissive language of the bill making possible future basic research in the social sciences.

(8) to have 1948 platforms of both major political parties include references to child welfare, health, and education.

SPECIFIC BILLS SUPPORTED BY THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE DURING THE 80th CONGRESS AND PLANS FOR ACTION IN THE 81st CONGRESS

During the 80th Congress the American Parents Committee campaigned for the specific children's bills and appropriations analyzed in the following pages. These also outline the APC plans for legislation to benefit children to be undertaken during the 81st Congress, which convenes in January, 1949.

National School Health Services Bill

Drafted by the American Parents Committee, this bill would provide a $10 million grant in aid to the States to assist them in conducting health examinations of school children and to do corrective work on physical and mental defects discovered. Five Republican Senators, Leverett Saltonstall, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. (Mass.), H. Alexander Smith (N.J.), Raymond E. Baldwin (Conn.), Irving M. Ives (N.Y.), and a Democrat, J. W. Fulbright (Ark.); and former Republican Representative, now Judge Evan Howell (Ill.) introduced and sponsored this bill.

The sole exclusively child health measure to be considered during the 80th Congress, this bill had favorable hearings in both Senate and House Health Subcommittees, but failed to reach a vote in either House. No new health services legislation whatever was enacted by the 80th Congress.

As an alternative to enactment of the National School Health Services Bill the APC suggested revision of Title V of the Social Security Act to provide for health services to school children. The 80th Congress amended the Social Security Act, but the revisions dealt largely with coverage and benefits, Title II. The 81st Congress might consider revision of Title V. Five ranking members of the Senate Finance Committee have advised they will consider this approach. Moreover, the Social Security Subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee may present a further report on revisions of the Act at the opening of the 81st Congress.

National School Lunch Program

Although the Federal Government has been appropriating annually for the National School Lunch Program for the last 13 years, House and Senate Appropriations Conference Committee during the first session the 80th Congress issued a statement warning that Federal financial support for the program might be withdrawn; that they believed the States should prepare to finance the program alone.

Between sessions, in November, 1947, the American Parents Committee took the initiative of calling a one-day conference in Washington to emphasize to organizations and the public that continuation of the National School Lunch Program was in jeopardy. Approximately 50 organizations were represented at the conference.

When the school lunch appropriation was under consideration by both House and Senate Appropriations Committees during the second session of the 80th Congress, the APC testified in support of it. The APC sent out approximately 10,000 letters to school superintendents, Parent-Teacher associations, women's clubs and civic groups urging support of the appropriation.

In the second session, under the impact of aroused public opinion, Congressional opposition to the lunch appropriation died down, questioning of the terms of state-federal matching formula quieted, and the Congress not only did not discontinue support of the program but appropriated approximately $80 million for its continuation. It will be necessary during the 81st Congress for the APC vigilantly to watch the fate of the lunch program and to work for an appropriation adequate to carry the program forward.

U. S. Children's Bureau Funds, National Child Research Institute Bill

The 1948 fiscal year activities of the U. S. Children's Bureau were seriously handicapped by a $190,000 cut in its relatively small operating budget. The APC testified before both Senate and House Appropriations Committees urging not only a full restoration of the cut but also an increase of approximately $50,000 to finance a national clearinghouse on child life research. Bulletins were sent out by the APC to national organizations asking their support of the Bureau's budget.

Congress refused the requested increase, but the House proposal to reduce the Bureau's appropriation further was averted by Senate action, followed by compromise in conference. Operating funds for the Bureau were thus saved from further reduction.

Because it seems unlikely that substantial enough increases in the Children's Bureau regular budget can be obtained in the 81st Congress fully to finance the proposed national clearinghouse on child life research, and also to finance grants in aid to universities and to other public and private agencies for such research, the American Parents Committee has drafted a National Child Research Institute Bill to be introduced in the 81st Congress. Similar to the bill which was enacted to create the National Institute of Health, the proposed Child Research Institute would be administered by the U.S. Children's Bureau.

Federal Aid to Education, the School Construction Bill

The American Parents Committee cooperated with the National Education Association and approximately 40 national lay organizations to work for passage of the federal aid to education bill. The APC testified before both Senate and House Education Subcommittees and urged its local members and groups to write to Washington in support of this legislation.

The bill, appropriating $300 million toward current maintenance of elementary and secondary schools, passed the Senate 58 to 22 on April 1, 1948. Although favorably reported by the House Education Subcommittee, the bill failed to reach a House vote because of indifference or opposition of the House leadership.

The APC will continue to support this bill during the 81st Congress. In another approach to meet the crisis in education, however, the APC is drafting a companion bill, to be known as the School Construction Bill, similar to the Hospital Construction Act passed by the 79th Congress. This bill would appropriate $250 million a year for grants to the States for school building and modernization. The Federal grant would be distributed on the basis of the number of school children and the taxable wealth of States.

Schools, today overcrowded, will be flooded with additional children in the next few years as the "war babies" born since 1940 as our birth rate began to double, reach school age. The U. S. Census Bureau, at the suggestion of the APC, and financed by a $500. payment by the APC, prepared a special forecast of future school enrollments, broken down by years and by grades. This information, sorely needed, had never before been tabulated. The Census Bureau, in this study, estimated that in three years (1951) there will be need for school facilities for 2,400,000 more children than are enrolled in schools in 1948. In eight years' time (1956) school facilities for an additional 8,000,000 children will be needed.

Within the next three years there will be need for an estimated $2,400,000,000. and in the next eight years an estimated $8 billion in new school construction. The lack of financial resources in most localities and most States to meet such a staggering responsibility makes it absolutely essential that federal aid be available for new school construction. Moreover, a charge that federal aid for building schools would lead to federal domination of education is obviously groundless.

Children in Families of Migrant Farm Workers

The American Parents Committee helped to organize the National Citizens Council on Migrant Farm Labor; is represented on its Board of Directors; and has contributed to its operating funds, in order to work for better health and education for the thousands of pitiably disadvantaged children in families of migrant farm workers.

National Science Foundation Bill

Vetoed by the President after passage in the first session, of the 80th Congress, on the grounds that its projected administrative pattern was unwise, the National Science Foundation Bill was in danger of public and Congressional neglect in the second session, when it was re-introduced in changed form. The bill would authorize, among other basic researches, scientific inquiry in the medical field, and would make permissive eventual inquiry in the social sciences, both of which would mean much to child health and welfare.

The APC was the only organization with a professional lobbyist working for the bill during the second session. This provided essential liaison between scientists, the Administration, and Congressional sponsors. The APC successfully helped to retain the bill's permissive clauses in Senate action, and supported the bill in the House hearing. The House leadership failed to push the bill to passage. Unified effort should mean enactment of the bill in the 81st Congress and the APC will work to this end.

Child Welfare Planks in Political Party Platforms

Never in the past have the platforms of the political parties dealt specifically with the needs of children as they have with those of labor, the veterans and the farmers. The chairman of the APC made presentations to the Platform Committees at both the Republican and Democratic Conventions, urging the adoption of the following five planks:

(1) Adequate provision for children who are deprived of parental support through more complete protection under the Social Security insurance programs, and through programs for aid to dependent children.

(2) The National School Lunch Program, taking into account the need for the States themselves to support this program.

(3) Protections against harmful child-labor.

(4) A program of federal aid to education without federal control.

(5) The stimulation by federal aid of State efforts to combat juvenile delinquency, and to meet the nation's requirements for maternal and child health and welfare services with especial emphasis on the health needs of neglected school-age children, crippled children, and migrant children.

Aside from the National Education Association, whose presentation was confined to federal aid for education, no other organization testified before these Platform Committees on the needs of children. Planks on education and child health were included in both Republican and Democratic Platforms, while the Democratic Platform also mentioned specifically adequate financing for the School Lunch Program, and continuing efforts to reduce juvenile delinquency.

The APC will use its best efforts in the 81st Congress to have these planks translated into legislative action.

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71348

the American Parents Committee

Incorporated as a membership, non-profit, public-service association

Working for Better Conditions for Children - Locally and Nationally

Chairman
GEORGE J. HECHT
Publisher, Parents' Magazine

Temporary Office: % Parents' Magazine
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.
Permanent office to be in Washington, D. C.

April 1948

Now, if ever, write to Congressmen and Senators on behalf of an adequate appropriation for THE NATIONAL SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM!

Unless Senators and Congressmen receive an avalanche of mail promptly, an inadequate appropriation will be voted for the National School Lunch Program for the government's next fiscal year (1949).

Here are a summary of and conclusions from a nation-wide survey, that we have just completed, which reveals NEW IMPORTANT FACTS about the National School Lunch Program:

(1) There are millions of children who need, but who are denied, the benefits of the National School Lunch Program because the federal appropriation is too small! The Program is yielding untold benefits in combating malnutrition among American children (in addition to providing a market for farm foods that otherwise might spoil or become surplus). The Nation cannot afford to perpetuate the appalling situation revealed when the draft for the last war led to over five million rejections for military service - 40% of which were due to improper nourishment. America cannot afford to neglect its children! Our security as well as our economic well being is at stake.

(2) For the past two years the Secretary of Agriculture has recommended an appropriation of $100 million. The proposed $65 million federal appropriation for the 1949 fiscal year is not anywhere near enough because --

(a) Many more children need to be included in the program (as pointed out in #1).

(b) A deficiency appropriation of $6 million had to be voted for the fiscal year 1947 when $75 million was initially appropriated, and a deficiency appropriation of $5 million had to be voted for the fiscal year 1948, when the initial appropriation was $65 million. And since then the cost of food has risen sharply!

(c) The 1949 appropriation should include an additional $10 million for the purchase of equipment to enable the poorer schools to start lunch programs. Grants-in-aid for this purpose are specified in the National School Lunch Act and in the 1947 appropriation $10 million was specified for this purpose.

Write to your Senator and Congressman that the proposed appropriation of $65 million for the fiscal year 1949 is not enough, and ask for the inclusion of $10 million for school lunchroom equipment. Address Senators care of the Senate Office Building, and Representatives care of the House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Sincerely yours,

George J. Hecht

GEORGE J. HECHT
Chairman

NEW FACTS REVEALED BY THE MARCH, 1948, SURVEY OF THE SCHOOL LUNCH SITUATION, MADE BY THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, INC.

CALIFORNIA

2,500 additional schools could come into the lunch program if funds were available. Current participation takes in but 25% of the total state enrollment, and 75 schools have already discontinued lunch programs due to high cost and low rate of reimbursement. An additional $800,000 of Federal aid would be needed to reimburse at full rates set by the Department of Agriculture, schools now in the program. Additional Federal aid of $2,000,000 annually would be needed to bring all schools into the program that wish to enter it.

Comment from California: "...if this program is to reach those children who need it most, it is essential that funds be provided for kitchen equipment for one or two years."

DELAWARE

15 additional schools with total enrollment of 5,784 children could be brought into the program if funds were available. $120,000 additional would be needed to reimburse at full rates schools now participating, and an additional $174,000 annually would be required to bring into the program all schools wishing to participate.

ILLINOIS

12,000 schools with enrollment of 1,250,000 children could be taken into the lunch program if there were sufficient funds. Approximately 35% of children have dropped out of the program due to higher costs. An additional $300,000 of Federal aid would be needed to reimburse schools currently participating at full rates.

IOWA

4,000 one-room rural schools with enrollment of 40,000 children have been unable to participate due to lack of Federal aid. At present rates of reimbursement, less than full rates allowable, this state would require $140,000 additional to make full reimbursement. To bring into the program all schools that wish to enter it would require an additional $1,200,000 annually.

Comment from Iowa: "...a raise in price to children always bars those who need the lunch most."

MARYLAND

80 additional schools with approximately 16,000 children could be taken into the program if funds were available. 13 schools have been forced out of the program, more than 200 are operating with a deficit, and 21 have changed from Type A to Type B lunches. It is estimated that 10,000 additional children would participate in the plan if prices could be reduced. $250,000 would be needed to reimburse at full rates schools now in the program, and an additional $500,000 annually would be required to bring into the program all schools that wish to enter it.

MASSACHUSETTS

125 additional schools with 37,500 children could be brought into the program if funds were available. 28,924 children have dropped from the lunch program due to high prices. This state would need $269,000 to reimburse at full rates the schools now in the program, and an additional $100,000 annually to bring into the program all schools that wish to enter it.

MICHIGAN

4,627 additional school districts with 763,131 children might come into the program if funds were available. Well over 20,000 children have dropped out of the lunch program due to high prices. This state needs $350,000 additional Federal aid to reimburse at full rates schools now in the program, and approximately $8,303,563 additional annually to bring into the program all schools that wish to participate.

Comment from Michigan: "...many comments received on the noticeable improvement in health and attitude of children when school lunches are made available."

MISSOURI

1,400 additional schools with enrollments of over 40,000 children could enter the program if funds were available. 28 schools have discontinued the lunch program due to higher costs and low rates of reimbursement, and over 20,000 children have dropped from the lunch program because of increased prices. Missouri needs $500,000 additional aid to reimburse at full rates all schools now in the program, and an additional $600,000 annually to bring into the program all schools with the wish to enter it.

Comment from Missouri: "...it was reported that 68% of the school children are not receiving adequate diets."

MONTANA

30 additional schools with enrollments of 3,500 could be taken into the program if additional funds were available. And additional $50,000 would be needed to reimburse at full rates all schools now participating, and the additional sum of $220,000 annually would be required to bring all schools into the program that wish to enter it.

NORTH CAROLINA

100 schools with approximately 17,000 children could be brought into the program if funds were available. 50,000 children have dropped out of the lunch program due to increased prices. $272,000 would be needed to reimburse at full rates the schools now in the lunch program, and $22,500 additional annually would be needed to bring into the program all schools that wish to enter it.

NEBRASKA

Many schools are kept out of the program by lack of funds for kitchen equipment. A state-wide diet survey shows that 70% of Nebraska's children are deficient in diet.

OKLAHOMA

3,500 schools with attendance of 100,000 could be taken into the program if funds were available. 100 schools have been forced to drop from the program, and 31% of the children have discontinued eating in school lunchrooms due to high prices. This state needs $700,000 additional to reimburse at full rates schools now in the program, and would require $3,070,000 additional annually to bring all schools into the program that wish to enter it.

Recent survey in Oklahoma indicates that many children in the state eat but one balanced meal each day -- and that meal is obtained in the school lunchroom.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Approximately 1,000 schools with enrollments of 100,000 children could be brought into the program if sufficient funds were

available. This state would need an additional $400,000 to reimburse at full rates all schools now in the program. $1,080,000 additional annually would be required to bring into the lunch program all schools that wish to participate.

TEXAS 1,250 additional schools with enrollments of 125,000 children could be taken into the program if funds were available. 150 schools with 275,000 children were forced to drop out of the program, and 10,000 children have dropped out due to higher prices. Texas would require $1,000,000 to reimburse at full rates all schools now in the program, and $2,500,000 additional annually to bring all the schools into the program that wish to enter it.

UTAH Schools with attendance of 70,000 children could be taken into the program if funds were available. This state would need $350,000 additional to reimburse at full rates the schools currently participating, and would need an additional $630,000 annually to bring all schools into the program that wish to enter it.

VIRGINIA $72,000 additional would be needed to reimburse at full rates all schools now in the lunch program.

WEST VIRGINIA 400 additional schools with enrollments totaling 35,000 could be taken into the program if there were sufficient funds. 240 schools have been forced to discontinue lunch programs. $250,000 would be required to reimburse at full rates the schools now in the program, and an additional $400,000 annually would be needed to bring all schools into the program that wish to enter it.

WYOMING $88,609 would be needed to reimburse at full rates all schools now in the lunch program.

OHIO 4,356 elementary and high schools with enrollments totalling 1,113,994 pupils could be taken into the lunch program if funds were available. This state would require an additional $800,000 to reimburse at full rates schools now participating. They estimate it would take four times this amount additional annually to bring into the program all schools with the wish to enter it.

KANSAS Approximately 115 schools with attendance of 12,000 pupils could be taken into the program if funds were available. An additional $65,000 annually of Federal funds would be necessary to bring into the lunch program all schools with the wish to enter it.

VERMONT 590 schools with attendance of 15,000 children could be brought into the program if there were sufficient funds. In the year 1949, an additional $18,000 would be needed to reimburse at full rates schools in the program. An additional $40,000 annually would be needed to bring into the program all schools that wish to enter it.

THESE ARE THE FACTS! IT IS UP TO YOU TO SUPPORT THE NATIONAL SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM

Note: If your State is not in this sampling, you can determine the status of the National School Lunch Program in your state by asking your own State officials.

HERE IS WHY THE SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM MUST BE CONTINUED AND EXPANDED!

SCIENTIFIC AND AUTHORITATIVE EVIDENCE of the need as reported by the National Research Council, the U. S. Public Health Service and other medical and scientific groups is presented below:

RURAL COUNTIES: A study of the diets of farm families in 66 counties scattered over the country showed that 65% in the North and West, and 73% in the South are eating inadequate diets.

LARGE CITIES: Diets of low-income families in Baltimore, Cleveland, Detroit Pittsburgh and Syracuse showed that 27% had diets below minimum standards. 74% of 2,000 high school students in New York City had a daily caloric intake below their calculated energy requirements, and 62% were deficient in one or more nutrients. Another study in Chicago showed that 72% of the 7,000 children examined had diets below minimum needs.

SMALL CITIES AND VILLAGES: A survey covering 20 small cities and 140 villages across the nation showed that less than one-fifth of persons examined had diets meeting the standards of the National Research Council.

WOMEN COLLEGE STUDENTS: Over 3,000 were examined in colleges in the North Central states, and 66% were found to have sub-standard diets.

FLORIDA: A study of rural school children revealed that less than 10% are properly fed. Dietary deficiencies were found to be as follows: Milk, 97%; eggs, 90%; vegetables, 64%; citrus fruits, 64%; fats, 77%; bread and cereals, 50%.

GEORGIA: In six Georgia communities, 89% of children were found to have inadequate diets.

INDIANA: In Boone County, more than 80% of 3,000 children examined were found to have inadequate diets. This county is above average economically and the local farmers raise most of the food they need, yet their children are, for the most part, undernourished.

MAINE: Elementary school children in one community studied were found to be improperly nourished in 86% of cases.

MARYLAND: Dietary survey of more than 1,100 children in Worcester County showed as high as 81% lacking in one or more food essentials.

MINNESOTA: Out of over 11,000 elementary school pupils in 34 schools, only 45% were found to have adequate diets; 26% were rated as definitely poor. Another survey of 1,080 pupils in rural, suburban, small town and city schools showed only 27% to have good diets, while 40% definitely had insufficient diets.

NEW YORK: A recently completed michrochemical blood survey of 1,200 school children in New York State communities revealed that 54% were malnourished, lacking one or more diet essentials. Another survey of New York City high school students revealed that 74% had sub-standard diets.

PENNSYLVANIA: 10,000 children were studied, and 85% were found to be inadequately nourished. In respect to degree of nourishment, only 0.2% were found to be excellent; 15% fair; and 85% failed to exhibit good nutrition in one or more respects. Analysis of what these children ate shows the following deficiencies: protein 52%; calories 48%; calcium 49%; iron 48%; vitamin A 53%; B vitamins 52%; C vitamins 38%.

TEXAS: An examination of school children in Texas revealed that 20% were so anemic as to require medical attention. 50% could not meet Red Cross standards for blood donors.

HOW HAS THE LUNCH PROGRAM BENEFITED THE CHILDREN

Growing evidence shows that the National School Lunch Act has been one of the most beneficial that our Congress ever passed for the children. It shows that proper nourishment, if for only one meal a day for less than half the days in the year, can improve health, increase growth, reduce absences from school, make children more alert mentally and thereby save the school tax dollars.

MINNESOTA: A school in St. Paul reports: "...since the hot lunch program was started the school nurse has found only a few (children) underweight; instead of over half of the school. School attendance has improved ninety per cent."

In another study more than half of the children were found to have poor diets before the lunch program was started and only one tenth had good diets. Children were taught food values and the lunch program was started and at the end of the first year, poor diets had dropped to 26% and good diets had increased to 28%.

NORTH CAROLINA: A survey of children in one school district, showed that 24% have swollen gums due to a vitamin deficiency. After giving them canned grapefruit juice for only six days, 84% of the children showed definite improvement.

IOWA: Dr. Boyd of the University of Iowa, College of Medicine, reports: "There is good evidence that the majority of children fail to receive diets meeting accepted standards. Eighteen years of observation of children who were given proper diets as contrasted to children who have average diets has convinced the Department of Pediatrics that the adoption of better diets for children would lead to improved health and physique and to the lessening of disease. The wholesomeness and vigor of well nourished children stands out in sharp contrast to the status of children having average diets.

MISSOURI: Twenty rural schools were selected for study. School lunch programs were started in ten of them. In schools with the lunch program, attendance increased 12% and scholarship by over 9%, bearing out statements of teachers that when children are better nourished, they are healthier and learn more readily.

MICHIGAN: A low nutritional status was found in a group of school children selected as representative, when examined in February in Michigan. Many of the children showed abnormalities of the skin and mucous membrane, the results of multiple vitamin deficiency disorders. These children were of families of better than average economic status. They were given an enriched soup for 3 months as part of school lunch and upon re-examination were found to have made significant gains in ascorbic acid and iron status and a great gain in weight and riboflavin status.

VIRGINIA: How the lack of a proper diet retards learning was demonstrated by a controlled experiment in Lynchburg. Children were tested as to ability to perform a variety of practice activities and divided into two matched groups. One group was given additional thiamine for a month and a half and when re-tested showed gains over the control group ranging from 7 to 87 percent.

FLORIDA: Over 1200 children in 9 schools in 2 Florida counties were examined in 1942. Children in two schools having lunch programs were selected for study and special attention. Children in a third school having no lunch program, served as a control group. In school No. 1, children having gross symptoms of malnutrition were given vitamin and iron concentrates to supplement the lunch of good nutritive value. In school No. 2, children also had a good lunch and those who were anaemic at the beginning of the term were given iron and liver concentrate. The effects of better nutrition in school No. 1 were shown by unusual increases in physical measurements, developmental age, improvement in general health, school attendance and progress, and marked decrease in anaemia and gingivitis. Children in School No. 2, showed general improvement but to a less marked degree.

NEW MEXICO: In a study to determine what gains children would make if given a wholesome nutritious lunch at school, it was found that after a period of only four months the children who ate the lunch at school showed striking gains over those who did not in height, weight and musculature. Their attitudes and mental alertness also improved.

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GEORGE J. HECHT
Publisher, Parents' Magazine

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May 7, 1948

TO: APC Members and organizations and individuals interested in the welfare of children

RE: The Federal-Aid-to-Education Bill which is likely to remain buried in a House of Representatives Committee unless letters pour in to Washington at once urging that the Bill be put to a vote before the end of this session of Congress.

The Senate has passed the bi-partisan Federal-Aid-to-Education Bill which would make annual grants of $300 million to the States to assist them in the maintenance of their schools. The Bill provides that the poorer States get larger grants per child than the richer States, but each State would get a minimum of $5 per child per year.

But in the House of Representatives the various committees involved apparently do not want to permit the Bill to be debated on the floor and voted on. This session of Congress will probably adjourn in mid-June. If the House of Representatives does not act on the Bill before adjournment all the work on the Federal-Aid-to-Education Bill will have to be done all over again next session, and 20 million school children will be deprived of the better education that more funds would make possible. The lack of schooling, particularly in the poorer states, is shocking! It would be most useful if you would write at once to the following members of the key committees who are either opposed to the Bill, or are non-commital, or are doing nothing at this time to advance it for House action.

Education and Labor Committee
Ray J. Madden (D) Ind.
Samuel K. McConnell, Jr. (R) Penna.
George MacKinnon (R) Minn.
John Lesinski (D) Mich.
Wingate H. Lucas (D) Texas
Charles J. Kersten (R) Wisc.
Max Schwabe (R) Mo.
Ralph W. Gwinn (R) N. Y.
Ellsworth B. Buck (R) N. Y.
Thomas L. Owens (R) Ill.
Clare E. Hoffman (R) Mich.

House Republican Steering Committee
Joseph W. Martin, Jr. (Mass.) Chairman
Richard M. Simpson (Penna.)
Walter C. Ploeser (Mo.)
Charles A. Halleck (Ind.)
Leslie C. Arends (Ill.)
Richard B. Wigglesworth (Mass.)
Earl C. Michener (Mich.)
Harold Knutson (Minn.)

House Rules Committee
Leo E. Allen (R) Ill., Chairman
Christian A. Herter (R) Mass.
James W. Wadsworth (R) N. Y.
Clarence J. Brown (R) Ohio
Forest A. Harness (R) Ind.
Robert F. Rich (R) Penna.
Howard W. Smith (D) Va.
J. Edgar Chenoweth (R) Colo.
J. Bayard Clark (D) N. C.

If possible write to all of the above, but if you can not find the time to write them all, please write to Speaker Martin and Representative Allen and any Congressmen from your state. Those named above should be addressed Representative "So-and-So", House of Representatives Office Building, Washington 25, D.C. To be most effective, the letters should identify the writer by occupation and organizational connections and give at least one good reason for early action on the Federal-Aid-to-Education Bill. And also please urge others among your friends and in organizations with which you are associated to write.

Sincerely yours,
George J. Hecht
GEORGE J. HECHT, Chairman

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the American Parents' Committee

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Telephone: Murray Hill 5-4400

RECEIVED
MAY 10 1948
Southern Regional Council

May 6, 1948

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

As there is no one day the week of May 17th that was convenient to a majority of the executive committee for a meeting, I have decided to call a meeting for Wednesday, May 26th at 4 PM, in my office at Parents' Magazine, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue. Please advise me on the enclosed card whether to expect you.

I think you will be interested in the enclosed bulletins that we have recently sent out to various lists of individuals and organizations whom we thought could be persuaded to help work for passage of legislation affecting children.

Sincerely yours,

George J. Hecht

GEORGE J. HECHT
Chairman

GJH:j
Enc.

Chairman

GEORGE J. HECHT — President of Parents' Institute, Inc. (Publishers of Parents' Magazine and School Management). Founder and Secretary for 20 years of the Welfare Council of New York City; Former Secretary of Greater New York Fund; Vice-Pres., Social Legislation Information Service; Executive Committee, National Social Welfare Assembly

Vice-Chairmen

DR. HENRY NOBLE MacCRACKEN — Former President, Vassar College; General Secretary, National Conference of Christians and Jews
MRS. DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER — Novelist (as Dorothy Canfield) and Educational Authority
WALT DISNEY — Motion Picture Producer
ROBERT L. JOHNSON — President, Temple University

Secretary

MELVYN GORDON LOWENSTEIN — Senior partner of the law firm, Fennelly, Lowenstein, Engelhard, and Pitcher; Secretary, The Parents' Institute, Inc.; Secretary, the Babe Ruth Foundation

Treasurer

HAROLD A. RICH — Vice-Pres., Chase National Bank

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ROWLAND BURNSTAN — Secretary and Executive Director, State Charities Aid Association of New York; Former Pres., Lawrence Aeronautical Corp.

MRS. LEWIS L. STRAUSS of Brandy, Va.

MRS. DeFOREST VAN SLYKE — Former Executive Director, National Association of Junior Leagues; Executive Committee, National Social Welfare Assembly; Board of Directors, Association of Community Chests and Councils, Inc.

ANSON LOWITZ — Vice-Pres. J. Walter Thompson Co. (Advertising agency); Co-ordinator for the Advertising Council of the recruiting campaign for nurses; co-author of a number of books for children

MRS. REEVE SCHLEY — Executive Committee, Republican National Committee

DR. GEORGE S. MITCHELL — Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc.

DAVID BAIRD — Pres. of Baird Foundation; Director of Hudson Motor Car Company; Marine Midland Trust Co., Henry Street Settlement, Army Air Forces Aid Society, Post Graduate Hospital, Long Island College of Medicine; Vice-Pres. Marsh & McLennan

GEORGE W. NAUMBURG — Retired banker (formerly a partner of E. Naumburg & Company); Director of Youth House, Jewish Board of Guardians, Jewish Welfare Board, the Hofheimer Foundation; President, Baron de Hirsh Fund; Chairman, Finance Committee, Federation of Jewish Philanthropic Societies

MRS. CLARA SAVAGE LITTLEDALE — Editor, Parents' Magazine; Member, Nat'l Commission on Children and Youth; Board of Directors, Nat'l Committee on Parent Education

ARTHUR C. FATT — Board of Directors, National Committee on the Observance of Mother's Day; Executive Vice-Pres., Grey Advertising Agency, Inc.

AND THE CHAIRMAN, FIRST VICE-CHAIRMAN, AND SECRETARY

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Telephone: Franklin 3310

☐ c/o Parents' Magazine
52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N.Y.
Telephone: Murray Hill 5-4400

MEMO TO:

Re: The serious cutting of appropriation for the U.S. Children's Bureau and what you can do to help the situation

This year the appropriation for the U.S. Children's Bureau was less than last year's. And now the House of Representative's Appropriation bill for the government's next fiscal year (beginning July 1, 1948) calls for a further cut to a mere $1,385,000, not including the child health and welfare grants-in-aid to the States that the Children's Bureau administers under the Social Security Act. Details of the situation are explained in the enclosed joint statement by four organizations concerned with the welfare of children.

You can help by writing a letter to:

Senator William F. Knowland
Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

He is the Chairman of the Subcommittee on Federal Security-Labor Department Appropriations of the Senate Appropriations Committee. He is a Republican from California.

Please write him that, in your judgment or that of your organization, the Senate should not only restore the proposed cut in the Children's Bureau appropriation, but should also grant the full amount that the Bureau requested, namely $1,600,000 which includes funds for a national clearing house for research in child life, the restoration of traveling expenses for the staff and funds to more effectively administer and supervise the grants-in-aid to the States.

Public hearings on the appropriations for the Federal Security Agency, of which the Children's Bureau is a part, will probably be held the week of May 10th. If you can and will come to Washington to testify on this subject, write or wire Senator Knowland to be assigned a date to testify.

The matter is urgent. You can help by writing promptly and getting others to do so.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE J. HECHT
Chairman

Chairman

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RECEIVED
OCT 28 1948

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE APC:

Will you not help us build attendance to our Conference to Preview Legislation for Children in the 81st Congress. I am enclosing a number of tickets and will gladly send you more if you can use them.

We would like to build up the maximum possible attendance not only among the people professionally interested in work of this sort, but also among public-spirited citizens who might be potential contributors to the APC.

Your help in building up attendance for this meeting will be very much appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

George J. Hecht

GEORGE J. HECHT
Chairman

GJH:jh
Enc.

Chairman

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ARTHUR C. FATT — Board of Directors, National Committee on the Observance of Mother's Day; Executive Vice-Pres., Grey Advertising Agency, Inc.

AND THE CHAIRMAN, FIRST VICE-CHAIRMAN, AND SECRETARY

THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE

extends a cordial invitation to you

Dr. George Mitchell

and to your associates

to attend an all-day

CONFERENCE TO PREVIEW LEGISLATION FOR CHILDREN IN THE 81st CONGRESS

See within for Program

in Washington, D. C.

at the Willard Hotel, on Tuesday, November 23rd

Sessions from 9:30 to 12:30 and from 2:00 to 5:00

and in New York City

at the Russell Sage Foundation, 130 East 22nd Street

on Tuesday, November 30th

Sessions from 10:00 to 12:00 and from 2:30 to 4:30

R.S.V.P. As many Conference tickets will be sent on request as you and your associates can use to advantage. Address:

THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE
52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

INFORMATION ABOUT THE CONFERENCE

1. Each organization sponsoring legislation that will, if enacted, affect children, will be allotted fifteen minutes to explain the need for and the main points of their bills. *No action will be taken at either of the Conferences.* The object is to give advance information about the legislation and to stimulate public interest.

2. Advance drafts of legislation to be introduced in the 81st Congress will, whenever possible, be distributed.

3. The Conference is intended for (a) the executives of organizations taking an interest in federal legislation; (b) the officers and the board and committee members of these organizations, and (c) public-spirited citizens. We shall gladly send you as many Conference tickets as you can use to advantage or, if you prefer, shall send copies of this invitation to anyone whom you think would be interested. Please send us the names and addresses.

PROGRAM
for the Morning Session

•

Social Security Act Revisions Affecting Children

American Public Welfare Association

Federal Aid to Education

National Education Association

Public School Survey and Construction Bill

American Parents Committee

Local Public Health Services Bill

National Advisory Committee on Local Health Units

National Health Insurance Legislation

Committee for the Nation's Health

The National School Health Services Bill

American Parents Committee

Children in Migrant Families

National Citizens Council for Migrant Labor

PROGRAM
for the Afternoon Session

•

1949-50 Appropriations for the National School Lunch Program

Council of Chief State School Officers

Public Housing and Slum Clearance

National Public Housing Conference

Child Labor Proposals

National Child Labor Committee

National Child Research Institute Bill

American Parents Committee

Public Library Service Demonstration Bill

American Library Association

UN International Children's Emergency Fund

U. S. Committee for the Children's Fund

REQUEST FOR CONFERENCE TICKETS

American Parents Committee
52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

Please send me _____ tickets for the Conference in Washington on November 23rd.
_____ tickets for the Conference in New York City on November 30th.

NAME (please print) _____

ORGANIZATION _____ TITLE _____

STREET ADDRESS _____ CITY _____ STATE _____

THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, Inc.

A non-profit, public-service organization, the American Parents Committee is (1) assembling, studying and disseminating nationwide information on the health, welfare, and educational needs of American children; (2) supporting through special subcommittees, federal legislation "to get a better deal for children from Uncle Sam," and (3) assisting local parents groups to work for better conditions for children.

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WASHINGTON, D. C. OFFICE

132 Third Street, S.E. Telephone: Trinidad 1542

Mrs. Dorothy Thomson
Washington Director

Mrs. Jack Fahy
Associate Director

NEW YORK CITY OFFICE

52 Vanderbilt Avenue Telephone: MUrray Hill 5-4400

CONFERENCE TICKET . . . See Other Side

Program for the Morning Session

SOCIAL SECURITY ACT REVISIONS AFFECTING CHILDREN
American Public Welfare Association

FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION
National Education Association

PUBLIC SCHOOL SURVEY AND CONSTRUCTION BILL
American Parents Committee

LOCAL PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES BILL
National Advisory Committee on Local Health Units

NATIONAL HEALTH INSURANCE LEGISLATION
Committee for the Nation's Health

THE NATIONAL SCHOOL HEALTH SERVICES BILL
American Parents Committee

CHILDREN IN MIGRANT FAMILIES
National Citizens Council for Migrant Labor

Program for the Afternoon Session

1949-50 APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE NATIONAL SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM
Council of Chief State School Officers

PUBLIC HOUSING AND SLUM CLEARANCE
National Public Housing Conference

CHILD LABOR PROPOSALS
National Child Labor Committee

NATIONAL CHILD RESEARCH INSTITUTE BILL
American Parents Committee

PUBLIC LIBRARY SERVICE DEMONSTRATION BILL
American Library Association

UN INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S EMERGENCY FUND
U. S. Committee for the Children's Fund

over

Ticket Admitting One

THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE'S

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Additional Tickets will be mailed on request. Address either office of the APC: 132 Third St., S.E., Washington 3, D. C. (Telephone: Trinidad 1542) or 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N. Y. (Telephone: MUrray Hill 5-4400).

See other side for program

Please fill in in advance

Name (print) _____

Organization _____

Title _____

Street Address _____

City _____ Zone _____ State _____

1- Amer. Parents Ctte

the American Parents Committee

Incorporated as a membership, non-profit, public-service association

Working for Better Conditions for Children – Locally and Nationally

Address reply to office checked:

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RECEIVED
NOV 11 1948
Southern Regional Council

November 10, 1948

To: THE MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
OF THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE:

There will be a meeting of the members of the Executive Committee of the American Parents Committee on Wednesday, December 1 at luncheon at 12:30 p.m. at the Uptown Club, 60 East 42d Street, New York City. Please ask for the private room reserved in the name of Mr. George W. Naumburg.

At this meeting there will be discussed, (1) a complete reorganization of the American Parents Committee; (2) its program of activity for 1949, and (3) the 1949 Budget and ways to raise it. We hope you will make every effort to attend. Please notify us on the enclosed postcard whether or not to expect you.

On the day previous, Tuesday, November 30, the APC will hold in New York City a Conference To Preview Legislation For Children in the 81st Congress and we hope also that it will be possible for you to attend either the morning or afternoon session, or both. Ticket is enclosed, on the reverse side of which is the program.

As I believe you will be interested, I am enclosing a report of the social legislation passed in the 80th Congress. Only two of the measures that the APC worked on during the 80th Congress passed; namely, the continuation of adequate support for the National School Lunch Program, and a slight increase in the Budget for the U. S. Children's Bureau.

Among the legislation that the APC is working on for introduction in the 81st Congress is the National Child Research Institute Bill which is described in an article in the NEW YORK TIMES, reprint of which is enclosed.

Sincerely yours,

George J. Hecht

George J. Hecht
Chairman

GJH:jh
Enc.

Chairman

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$5,000,000 SOUGHT IN CHILD RESEARCH

Parents' Committee Plans to Push for National Institute in Children's Bureau

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 1—Plans to press for a National Child Research Institute in the Children's Bureau, with an initial $5,000,000 annual authorization, were revealed here today by the American Parents Committee.

Simultaneously Dr. Martha Eliot, medical physician who is assistant chief of the Children's Bureau, described the careful preparation from the standpoint of the "whole child" which has gone into the Bureau's planning for a possible research program.

The bill drafted under the auspices of the Parents' Committee would set up a basic research program in the Children's Bureau itself; would provide for grants-in-aid for child research in the states; would set up a clearing-house in the Bureau for reporting to all researchers on all research in progress; and would provide for dissemination of the information gained by child research.

These provisions would carry out the principal recommendations which have been made to the Children's Bureau by groups of experts who have been working since last November on the problem of how to get more basic research into the development of children—their physical growth, social adaptation and emotional development.

"We especially need research which brings different observers together to look at growing children from all points of view," said Dr. Eliot. "So in our conferences on research we have taken the multi-professional approach."

Such a conference, she said, would include a sociologist, one or two pediatricians, a social worker, a psychiatrist, d an anthropologist.

Two days discussion last June, she said, resulted in a general agreement that on the national scale the basic study which most needed doing was an intensive research into cultural patterns of family life, a sort of an assay of the American melting pot. One expert said that there are more than a hundred cultural patterns in the United States. "What effect do these patterns have on children when they suddenly change environment?" she asked.

To complement the Gesell studies of child development, which are primarily physiological in terms of motor reactions, she said, there should be companion studies of the emotions of children. She cited the work of Dr. Marion C. Putnam and psychotic children, seriously disturbed emotionally before they are two years of age. Some of them, she said, use sleep to escape reality.

"Sleep of little children is a more complicated situation than feeding," she added. "What is back of disturbed sleep? Why do children cry in their sleep? There needs to be research on this.

"Under the new infant-feeding theory of self-selection, of the baby nursing as long and when he wants to, the problem of sleep bobs up. This in itself shows that the various fields of child-study impinge on each other, and that an inter-related study needs to be done.

"And there needs to be more applied research. How can we learn whether or not the things we are now doing for children are bringing the desired results?"

Among the child research groups which could speed up their programs by grants-in-aid similar to those in effect in other research fields Dr. Eliot mentioned the University of Iowa, Yale University, Columbia University, the University of California and the University of Colorado. She said that no comparable research to that being done in these schools is now being done in the South, and that three or four child research centers should be started there.

From The NEW YORK TIMES
Nov. 1, 1948

Here are Basic Facts about the Needs of

THE NATION'S 46 MILLION CHILDREN*

* 17 years and under. This statement was prepared by
THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, INC.
from reports of U. S. Government, Nat'l Education Ass'n, Nat'l Child Labor Committee, Nat'l Citizens Council for Migrant Labor, and National Commission on Children and Youth

Children are our most precious and promising national asset, the only national resource which can assure our future as democratic people. But millions of American children lack basic opportunities to grow in health, to learn to read and write, to eat enough of proper foods.

1. DEPENDENT CHILDREN

Nearly four million children are fatherless, motherless, or both.

Yet six out of every ten such children neither receive public assistance (grants for aid to dependent children) nor Social Security benefits (as survivors of men who have died after being in covered employment).

Some 564,000 children were receiving Social Security benefits as survivors. The average monthly benefit (June, 1947) for a family in which a single child received a benefit, was $13.10. Half the children whose fathers died in 1946-47 did not qualify for even this meager benefit. For one million of the children receiving public assistance (23 out of every 1000 under 18 years) the average grant was only $24.21 per child per month.

2. UNDERNOURISHED CHILDREN

Only 50,000 out of the 200,000 school units of the country have a school lunch program.

Approximately three-quarters of school age children do not benefit. Growing evidence proves that the school lunch program, by providing proper nourishment, if only for one meal a day for less than half the days in the year, can improve health, reduce absences from school. Undernourishment hampers learning.

3. CHILD LABOR

Almost 2,000,000 boys and girls 14 through 17 work for pay, part or full time.

This is twice as many as were gainfully employed in 1940. These figures do not include children under 14, many thousands of whom work in agriculture.

50% of these children are not attending school.

Federal laws protect only about 20% of children against harmful employment, in industries which ship goods across state lines.

4. CHILDREN WITHOUT ADEQUATE SCHOOLING

More than 4,000,000 children of school age do not attend school at all.

Many children go to school only six months a year. In many communities there is no schooling beyond the eighth grade. Most public schools are overcrowded; some schools are unsafe; some are one-room, ugly, wooden shacks.

75,000 teaching positions remain unfilled; 110,000 "emergency teachers" are being employed without proper qualifications.

Money for education is not only too little but is unequally distributed; some communities spend sixty times as much on education per child as others do.

5. NEGLECTED CHILDREN

Health: Every year hundreds of thousands of babies and mothers die needlessly.

Although the national death rate for babies under a year old was 38.3 per 1,000 live births in 1945, in one state only 28 babies out of 1,000 died, while in the state at the other end of the list, 100 out of 1,000 died.

Nearly a quarter of a million mothers and babies have no medical care at childbirth and during the first few days of life. At least one-half the maternal deaths and one-third the infant deaths are preventable.

Nearly 28% of all children under 15 who have disabling illness for more than seven days have neither medical nor hospital care.

Not half the school age children have a health examination even by the class-room teacher, let alone a doctor. Only 1,500,000 of 29,000,000 school age children are known to have had a health examination in 1946.

404,540 crippled children registered for needed care. If adequate facilities for finding the crippled children existed, the number would be doubled.

Welfare: 2,500,000 children have marked behavior difficulties. The bulk of mental difficulties begin in childhood, yet 25 states have no child guidance clinic in any community. Full time clinical service for child guidance is provided in only 27 of the largest cities.

Five-sixths of all United States counties have no full time child welfare worker. Out of the 2,200 child welfare workers paid from public funds one-half are concentrated in seven states, mainly in urban counties.

Juvenile Delinquency: At least 250,000 youngsters annually come before juvenile courts.

Children in Migrant Farm Families: Hundreds of thousands of children in families of migrant farm laborers fail to receive the health, education, and welfare benefits available to children of fixed residence.

1 - Amer. Parents. Ctte

December 23, 1948

Mr. George J. Hecht, Chairman
American Parents Committee
c/o Parents' Magazine
52 Vanderbilt Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hecht:

Thank you for your letter of December 20.

Here are "Mary Smith Meets the People" and "By the People." I append to "By the People" some later follow-up information.

Tickler set up MET

We have run out of copies of our first mimeographed edition of "The Home Town Self-Survey", but shall send you one of the fresh ones in ten days' time, when we get out a new edition.

Tickler set up MET

The newspaper manual on race in the news and the pamphlet on the function of legislation in improving social conditions are in preparation, and I am afraid it will be weeks or months before either of them is out.

I am writing Charles Smith at once. He is mainly serving to keep us informed; you recall my reluctance to assume the garment of a pressure group.

With cordial regards,

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

1- American Parents Ctee

the American Parents Committee

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RECEIVED
FEB 25 1949
Southern Regional Council

February 23, 1949

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE APC:

As per the resolution at the last Board of Directors' meeting, I am sending you, herewith, a draft of the Pediatric Education Bill. This Bill embodies the recommendations of the American Academy of Pediatrics which they made as a result of their nation-wide Study of Child Health Services and on which they spent more than $1 million. This Bill was drafted with the counsel of the U.S. Public Health Service but does not yet reflect their final opinion.

If you have any criticisms or suggestions concerning this Bill would you please send them at once to Mrs. Jack Faby the Executive Director of the APC at our Washington office, 132 Third St., S.E., Washington 3, D.C. Please address her because I expect to be away from New York for the next two or three weeks.

We are also submitting this draft of the Bill to a great many interested organizations for their suggestions concerning it.

Sincerely yours,

George J. Hecht

George J. Hecht
Chairman

GJH:SMF
Enc.

Chairman

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AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE - 132 Third Street S. E. - Washington 3, D. C.

THIS IS THE FIRST DRAFT OF THE PEDIATRIC EDUCATION BILL
Your comment and suggestions are earnestly invited while it is still in draft form.

" THE PEDIATRIC EDUCATION BILL "

To amend the Public Health Service Act to provide grants and fellowships for medical education in pediatrics.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that Title III of the Public Health Service Act, as amended (42 U. S. C., ch. 6A, subch. II), is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new part:

PART H - EDUCATIONAL GRANTS AND FELLOWSHIPS "DECLARATION OF POLICY"

"Sec. 371. The Congress hereby finds and declares that

"(a) there is a shortage of pediatricians essential to maintaining the health of the Nation's children and this shortage is likely to increase unless present facilities for training such personnel are strengthened and expanded;

"(b) the cost of providing adequate professional training and facilities therefor, is so high and the sources of income for pediatric training in medical schools and hospitals affording such training are so limited as to render it impossible for such schools and hospitals to operate at present capacity on a financially sound basis,

"(d) it is, therefore, the policy of the United States to take such steps and to utilize such of its resources as are necessary to provide adequate numbers of persons trained in pediatrics (1) by assisting schools which provide such training in meeting their costs of instruction, (2) by assisting hospitals which provide such training in meeting their costs of instruction, and (3) by assisting States to provide fellowships in pediatrics, recipients of which will be committed to return to practise in an area of need within the State, with a view to providing opportunities for more qualified individuals to obtain such training and to induce greater numbers of students to train for pediatrics and to equalize the opportunities for obtaining such training.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR GRANTS

"Sec. 372. In order to enable the Surgeon General, through grants to medical schools for training in pediatrics to assist in increasing the number of individuals adequately trained in the field of pediatrics, there are hereby authorized to be appropriated for grants to schools of medicine, $2,500,000 for each of the three fiscal years ending June 30, 1952, and for each fiscal year thereafter such sums as may be necessary. Grants to any medical school from appropriations under this section may be used by the department of pediatrics to increase its basic teaching budget and to develop decentralized teaching and rural extension services.

ALLOTTMENTS TO SCHOOLS

"Sec. 373 of the sums appropriated pursuant to Sec. 372, $20,000 for each fiscal year shall be allotted by the Surgeon General equally among schools eligible therefor. The remainder of the sums appropriated pursuant to Sec. 372 shall be allotted by the Surgeon General among schools eligible therefor on the basis of $40.00 per students enrolled for the first semester which commences after the beginning of such fiscal year. No school shall be eligible for allottments under this section unless it has been approved by the Advisory Council on Pediatric Education.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR GRANTS FOR HOSPITALS

"Sec. 374 There are also authorized to be appropriated $1,500,000 for the three fiscal years ending 6/40/52, etc. for grants to hospitals approved by the Advisory Committee on Pediatric Education for pediatric residencies, in order to enable the Surgeon General to assist the hospitals in maintaining adequate training for interns and residents, provide pediatric fellowships and supplemental medical school services.

ALLOTTMENTS TO HOSPITALS

"Sec. 375 Of the sums appropriated pursuant to Sec. 374, $1,000 for each fiscal year shall be allotted by the Surgeon General for each pediatric resident and assistant resident filled in an approved hospital.

CONDITIONS FOR GRANTS

"Sec. 376 (a) No payments from appropriations pursuant to Sec. 372 and Sec. 374 for any fiscal year may be made to any school unless such school has filed an application therefor for such year which the Surgeon General determines contains adequate assurance that - -

"(1) such school is utilizing and will continue to utilize its resources and facilities to train the maximum number of students consistent with accepted standards of training;

"(2) such school does not and will not impose any restrictions against the admission of nonresident students which the Surgeon General finds, in accordance with regulations, to be an unreasonable impediment to the acquisition of medical training by students,

"(3) such school or hospital will submit from time to time such reports as the Surgeon General may find necessary to carry out the purposes of this part, and will comply with such conditions as may, subject to the provisions of section 380, be prescribed in regulations.

"(b) No payments shall be made to any school or hospital from appropriations under section 372 or 374 unless the Surgeon General finds that such school or hospital admits (or in the case of grants with respect to a new school or hospital, will admit) students without discrimination on the basis of race, creed, color, or national origin, except that, in the case of schools located within a State in which separate facilities are required by law to be maintained for separate racial groups, such grants may be made to schools and hospitals which admit members of the minority racial groups, and may be made to any school or hospital which does not or will not admit members of the minority racial groups if the Surgeon General finds that there are comparable opportunities for qualified members of such racial groups who reside in the State to obtain the type of professional training offered by such school or hospital. As used in this section, "minority racial group" means any race or racial group whose members constitute a minority of the population of the continental United States.

PAYMENTS AND WITHHOLDING OF PAYMENTS

"Sec. 377 (a) The Surgeon General, in accordance with regulations, shall determine from time to time the amount to be paid to each school or hospital under this part and shall certify to the Secretary of the Treasury the amounts so determined. Upon receipt of any such certification, the Secretary of the Treasury shall, prior to audit or settlement by the General Accounting Office, pay in accordance with such certifications.

"(b) Whenever the Surgeon General, after reasonable notice and opportunity for hearing to a school or hospital finds with respect to payments from appropriations under section 372 or 374 that there is failure to carry out any assurances given pursuant to section 376 or to comply with regulations under this part, the Surgeon General shall notify such school that further payments will not be made to it from appropriations under such section until he is satisfied that there is no longer any such failure. Until he is so satisfied the Surgeon General shall make no further certification for payments to such school or hospital from appropriations under such section.

REGULATIONS

"Sec. 378. All regulations with respect to grants under this part to schools of pediatrics and hospitals shall be made with the approval of the Administrator and after consultation with the Advisory Council on Pediatric Education.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR GRANTS TO STATES

"Sec. 379 (a) In order further to increase the number of persons adequately trained in the field of pediatrics and available for practise in areas where there is a shortage of pediatricians, there is hereby authorized to be appropriated for each of the three fiscal years ending June 30, 1952, and for each fiscal year thereafter such sums as may be necessary, $1,000,000 to enable the Surgeon General to make payments to the States to cover the cost of the State Fellowships awarded to persons pursuant to this section.

(b) The Fellowships which may be awarded for each fiscal year shall be allotted among the several States by the Surgeon General. The Surgeon General shall (A) determine the percentage ratio of children under 12 years of age in each State (as estimated by the Department of Commerce for the year preceding the year which the computation is made) to the number of qualified pediatricians, in each State; and (B) determine the percentage ratio of children under 12 years of age in all the States (as determined by the Department of Commerce for the year preceding the year

for which the computation is made) to the number of qualified pediatricians in all the States. When the percentage ratio thus determined in (A) for any State is less than the percentage ratio thus determined in (B) for all the States, the number of Fellowships shall be proportionately increased.

(c) Payments to a State pursuant to this section shall be used exclusively for Pediatric Residents, Assistant Residents, at hospitals approved by the National Advisory Council on Pediatric Education, or for academic postgraduate study in pediatrics and allied pediatric subjects in an approved pediatric center. Appointments of persons to such fellowships under this section shall be conditioned upon (1) the appointee being a graduate of an approved medical school, (2) acceptance of the appointee by an approved hospital, and (3) agreement by the appointee to serve, upon completion of his fellowship, in an area of need within the State receiving the grant for a period of not less than two years. If the appointee fails to fulfill his agreement, or if he voluntarily fails to complete the course of training covered by his Fellowship, he shall, unless he shows to the satisfaction of the State Agency good cause for his failure, be obligated to reimburse the State for the cost (reduced in proportion to the extent to which he has fulfilled his agreement under (c, 3)) of the sums paid to him pursuant to this section.

(d) Fellowships to which a person is appointed pursuant to this section shall be either $3,000 per year for an appointee without dependents, or $3,600 with dependents without residence or $2,000 with residence. These fellowships shall be for not less than six months nor for more than three years and above salaries will be prorated accordingly.

(e) Application for these fellowships should be made by the individual to the official health agency of the State. No payment shall be made to a State for Fellowships pursuant to this section unless the selection of persons for such Fellowships is made (1) without discrimination on the basis of race, creed, color, or national origin, and (2) on the basis of ability and such other factors as may be permitted in regulations.

ADVISORY COUNCIL ON PEDIATRIC EDUCATION

"Sec. 380 (a) There is hereby created the National Advisory Council on Pediatric Education, to consist of the Surgeon General and fifteen members to be appointed without regard to the civil service laws by the Surgeon General with the approval of the Administrator. The fifteen members shall be selected on the following basis: chiefs of the Departments of Pediatric of three approved schools of medicine, three members from a panel of ten nominated by the American Academy of Pediatrics, three members shall be teachers or practioners, of medicine, a representative of the Children's Bureau, of the State Health Agencies, of a School of Public Health, of the American Hospital Association and two laymen. The Advisory Council annually shall elect one of its members as Chairman. It shall meet from time to time upon the call of the Chairman, or the Surgeon General, but at least once a year to advise with respect to the administration of this Act. The recommendations of the Advisory Council, or a summary thereof, shall be included in the annual report of the Surgeon General submitted to the Congress under the provisions of

(b) Each appointed member shall hold office for a term of three years, except that any member appointed to fill a vacancy occurring prior to the expiration of the term for which his predecessor was appointed shall be appointed for the remainder of such term, and except that the first terms of the original appointed members shall expire, as designated by the Surgeon General at the time of appointment, five at the end of one year, five at the end of two years, and five at the end of three years. An appointed member shall not be eligible to serve continuously for more than three years but shall be eligible for reappointment if he has not served immediately preceding his appointment,

(c) Each appointed member of the Council, while attending conferences or meetings of the Council, or while otherwise serving at the request of the Surgeon General shall be entitled to receive compensation at a rate to be fixed by the Administrator, but not exceeding $50 per diem, and shall also be entitled to receive an allowance for actual and necessary traveling and subsistence expenses while so serving away from their places of residence.

(d) The Advisory Council shall advise, consult with and make recommendations to the Surgeon General on matters relating to pediatric education. The Council is authorized to:

(1) review applications for grants from medical schools departments of pediatric (Sec. 373)

(2) review applications for grants from hospitals with pediatric residencies (Sec. 379 c & d).

"Sec. 381 Except as otherwise provided in this part, nothing contained in this part shall be construed as authorizing any department, agency, officer, or employee of the United States to exercise any control over, or prescribe any requirements with respect to, the curriculum or administration of any school, or the admission of applicants thereto.

1-American Parents Committee

July 13, 1949

Mr. George J. Hecht, Chairman
American Parents Committee
52 Vanderbilt Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Hecht:

Enclosed is the data you requested on the number of school children per thousand population in the various states. As you will notice, our figures show the number of school age children per thousand total population, rather than per thousand adult population. If what we send is not sufficient, you should be able to get additional basic data from the following sources:

U. S. Office of Education, Washington, D. C.

National Education Association, Washington, D. C.

U. S. Bureau of the Census. Population Estimates.

Quattlebaum, Charles A. Federal Aid to Elementary and Secondary Education. Public Administration Service, 1313 East 60th Street, Chicago 37, Ill. (Mr. Quattlebaum is Education Analyst, Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress.)

We are also enclosing a copy of our pamphlet, Wanted: An Educated South, which contains much information you may find useful.

If we can help you further, please let us know.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, INC.

National Office: 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N.Y.
Washington D. C. Office: 132 Third St., S.E.

July 11, 1949

RECEIVED
JUL 12 1949
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

At a hearing before a House of Representatives sub-committee on the National School Health Services Bill last Thursday, Congressman John B. Bennett of Michigan questioned a statement that was made to the effect that in the Southern states there were proportionally more children per thousand adult population than in the richer Northern states. He asked for substantiation of this and I agreed to get it for him.

I remember reading such information in one of your bulletins. Have you this statistically broken down, namely the number of children per thousand adults in the Southern states compared to the number of children per thousand adults in the wealthier states. If you have it will you please send it to me air mail. If you haven't got the basic data on this, will you please write or wire me in order that I can look for this material elsewhere.

Sincerely yours,

George J. Hecht
Chairman

GJH:et

Chairman
GEORGE J. HECHT — President of Parents' Institute, Inc. (Publishers of Parents' Magazine and School Management). Founder and Secretary for 20 years of the Welfare Council of New York City; Vice-Pres., Social Legislation Information Service; Executive Committee, National Social Welfare Assembly

Vice-Chairmen
DR. HENRY NOBLE MacCRACKEN — Former President, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.
MRS. DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER—Novelist (as Dorothy Canfield) and Educational Authority, Arlington, Vermont
WALT DISNEY—Motion Picture Producer, Hollywood, Calif.
ROBERT L. JOHNSON—President, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa.

Treasurer
HAROLD A. RICH—Vice-President, Chase National Bank, New York

Secretary
MELVYN GORDON LOWENSTEIN—Attorney, New York

Executive Director
MRS. JACK B. FAHY—Washington, D. C.

Welfare
Recreation
Health
Housing

WHO. Dep. of Children

December 6, 1949

Mr. George J. Hecht, Chairman
American Parents Committee
52 Vanderbilt Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hecht:

Dr. Mitchell has asked me to write you about the proposed article, on special needs of children in the South, for your news bulletin.

The Council will be very glad to prepare such an article. We are hindered greatly at the moment by lack of staff, but we will plan to get the article to you within the next few weeks.

We think it is a most timely and useful idea and are happy to have the opportunity to help.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Jane P. Simpson
Research Assistant

the American Parents Committee

An incorporated, non-profit, public-service association

Working for Better Conditions for Children—Nationally and Locally

Kindly address your reply to office checked: ☒ NATIONAL OFFICE: 51 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N.Y. ☐ WASHINGTON, D.C. OFFICE: 132 Third St., S.E.

RECEIVED
NOV 16 1949
Southern Regional Council

November 14, 1949

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I think you would be interested in seeing a copy of our new newsbulletin published by our affiliate, The American Parents Committee Education Fund, Inc.

This affiliated agency does not engage in any legislative activities and is merely to spread information and to promote interest in the needs of children. I am wondering whether you would like to supply me with copy for an early issue of this newsbulletin on the special needs of children in the Southern States. I would want anywhere from two to four pages of material. It should deal with the education, health, welfare and any other needs of children on which you have information. We would be glad to credit the Southern Regional Council for this material, or if there are certain things that you think need to be said and you don't want to take the public responsibility for them, the American Parents Committee might be willing to be the authority for the material provided. It would be our preference to give you credit, however, for all material in the issue.

We want to issue this bulletin monthly and we wish to make it available to the various organizations with whom we try to cooperate. The list of the people who receive our bulletin is not very large, but it is pretty influential.

Looking forward to hearing from you about this, I remain,

Sincerely yours,

George J. Hecht
Chairman

GJH:et
Enc.

Chairman

GEORGE J. HECHT — President of Parents' Institute, Inc. (Publishers of Parents' Magazine and School Management). Founder and Secretary for 20 years of the Welfare Council of New York City; Vice-Pres., Social Legislation Information Service; Executive Committee, National Social Welfare Assembly

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MRS. JACK B. FAHY—Washington, D.C.

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NEWSBULLETIN ON THE NEEDS OF THE NATION'S CHILDREN

The APC Education Fund is a non-profit, public-service association which disseminates widely information on the education, health, welfare and other needs of the nation's children.

Issued whenever there is news to report—by
THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE
EDUCATION FUND, INC.
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.
Chairman: George J. Hecht, Publisher of Parents' Magazine
Editor: Mrs. Alexandrea H. Uhl

November, 1949

THE U.S.A. STILL HAS 80,000 ONE-TEACHER SCHOOLS - MOST OF THEM ARE OLD, WOODEN, ONE-ROOM BUILDINGS WITH PRIVIES

A great many people regard the little red schoolhouse as a thing of the past and link it with the horse and buggy era. And it is true that the one-room schools are disappearing from the American scene. But not as rapidly, perhaps, as it would seem considering these figures just released by the U.S. Office of Education: Forty-five percent of all U.S. schools today are still of the one-teacher type. Most of these one-teacher schools are old, wooden, one-room buildings. Furthermore most of them have no running water and their only toilet facilities are privies. In terms of children, this means that one and one-half million American children are attending such schools.

In the days when only the 3 R's were considered the basis for a sound education, these little schools served their function. Students of varying degrees of aptitude and talent struggled together to make the grade. At the end of a semester they all "passed" together and the same teacher went along with them.

Educational leaders have long since recognized, however, that there is more to the business of getting an education than the basic 3 R's, and the trend is toward larger schools with expert supervision and personnel. Many counties and states have assumed the responsibility of providing adequate school buildings and professional guidance. But there is still a great need.

The number of one-teacher schools in the United States has decreased from 200,000 in 1916 to less than 80,000 at the present time. But the degree of reduction varies widely in the states. For example, the States of Ohio, Washington, Maryland and Indiana have decreased by 90 percent the number of one-teacher schools in the past thirty years. While the following states have only reduced these schools by less than one in three: South Dakota, Nebraska, Illinois, Wisconsin and North Dakota.

As a rule, the teachers in these one-room school houses are beginners, many of them under-trained, often underpaid, with little or no help from trained, supervisors.

The rich, educational environment found in the larger, modern schools is not available in the one-teacher type. The school superintendent, supervisors, guidance officers, health services and many of the other services needed, particularly by rural youth, are still lacking in many communities.

The contents of this newsbulletin may be reprinted provided credit is given to the American Parents Committee Education Fund, Inc. and a marked copy sent to us.

Experts in the educational field, in an attempt to offer more children better educational environment have consolidated local districts, thus providing better facilities to serve the local communities, particularly in rural areas. Through this reorganization, the larger units are able to provide the smaller districts with some degree of vocational education, cooperative education and work experience programs as well as the health and special services where needed.

In areas where there are no funds to support educational facilities for the upper grades and high school level, the county, state and district supply funds to send their students to nearby towns and villages. Tuition fees as well as transportation are borne by the local districts. At the present time more than 4,000,000 children are transported annually to other school districts at a cost of $130,000,000 as compared with the 1918 transportation cost of $8,000,000 for approximately 200,000 children. The child-population increase, as well as recognition of the importance of education, are responsible for this tremendous increase in transportation costs.

The picture of the one-teacher school is not all black. It did, in its time, serve the community as a neighborhood center and was near enough to the farmers' homes to avoid long hours of travel for their children. There was often a close bond of friendship between student and teacher when both had to pitch in with the chores of keeping the schoolhouse clean and warm.

The trend to large units, better trained personnel and supervised help in the complex problems of child guidance at the early school-age level, continues but all too slowly. Too many American children are still being educated in the horse and buggy era!

If you wish to know more about the work that we are doing, please write us, so that we may send you some of our printed matter. Tell us, please, of your special interests. Contributions to our support are urgently needed. This newsletter will, of course, be sent regularly to all contributors.

The American Parents Committee Education Fund, Inc.
52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

Enclosed is a contribution of $_____. Please continue to send me your Newsletter.

Name_____
(Please print)

Organization_____ Your title, if any_____

Address of Organization_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____

Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth

PROGRESS BULLETIN

Number 2 FSA Building, 4th & Independence Ave., S. W., Washington 25, D. C. November 8, 1949

ENTHUSIASTIC NATION-WIDE CITIZEN RESPONSE

Extension of plans and activities on all fronts for the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth has been required to meet overwhelming nationwide response, Leonard W. Mayo, chairman of the National Executive Committee, announced following an all-day session of the Committee in Washington October 22.

Several thousand letters expressing interest in the Conference and desire to participate have come from organizations and individuals. A progress report to the Committee revealed how State and local citizens' committees, widely representative of official and voluntary groups and individuals concerned with child development, are rapidly forming throughout the nation.

"The accent on mental, emotional and spiritual development as the focus of the Conference's concern for children and youth has struck a responsive chord in layman and professional worker alike," Katharine F. Lenroot, chief of the Children's Bureau and secretary of the National Committee said in telling the executive group that, for breadth of interests represented, and spontaneity, the responses already had outdistanced previous White House Conferences on children.

The executive committee meeting, first to be held since the appointment of the eighteen-member group by the National Conference Committee last month, evaluated progress and developed over-all planning. Consideration was given to the plan of work and composition of the Technical Committee on Fact Finding and the four advisory councils on: Participation of National Organizations; Federal Government Participation; Youth Participation; and State and Local Action. Full membership was appointed to the Conference Program Committee and the Committee on Budget and Finance.

Agreeing with President Truman that "the greatest challenge facing the world today is how it can help its children to be secure in themselves, in their families and in their communities" are: Charline Banks, Brooklyn, N. Y.; Ruth Schaffer, Columbus, O.; and Herman Neusch, Amarillo, Tex. All are members of the National Committee.

STATE LANDSLIDE

"We asked for citizen participation and we got it", Melvin A. Glasser, executive director of the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth reported to the Executive Committee on October 22.

A total of 37 states and territories and the District of Columbia have already responded to the President's and Mr. Ewing's requests to form state committees for the Midcentury Conference, Mr. Glasser said. Governors in 23 states and territories and the District have already appointed committees. An additional 14 governors have replied that they are giving consideration to the matter.

"Judging from the letters and telegrams, many of which list complete committees, citizen interest in helping provide a healthy environment in which children can grow is widespread. They are already actively participating in state planning. The committees that have been formed are for the most part broadly representative of people from every walk of life as well as the professions concerned with children."

In view of the rapidity of organization in the states, it has been necessary to undertake full-scale

Continued on page 4

ORGANIZATIONS WHOLE-HEARTEDLY RESPOND

Mr. Oscar R. Ewing, White House Conference chairman, this week announced plans for representatives of approximately 600 national organizations with programs for, and interests in children and youth, to meet on November 29 and 30, in the auditorium of the Federal Security Agency's north building in Washington, D. C. Specific plans for participation in Conference planning of all national professional and citizens' groups concerned with children and youth will be developed.

National health, welfare, education, religious, labor, civic, and other organizations have responded with enthusiasm to a letter addressed to them in September immediately after the President's call for the Midcentury Conference. Now to provide official Conference status for organizations having bona fide programs concerned with children and youth, an Advisory Council on Participation of National Organizations will be developed. Through this Council special knowledge, experience, and resources of national organizations will be made available to the Conference activities.

Valued and varied assistance to the work of the Conference will come as a result of the special contributions that professional and citizen organizations have to offer. Some will aid the current fact finding studies bearing on mental, emotional and spiritual well being of children and youth; some may conduct corollary studies of their own. Other organizations which have state and local constituents will work with the Conference's State and local Committees in holding discussion groups and developing community programs.

If the entire Midcentury Conference, in its effort better to equip children to survive disease and be masters of their destinies, produced no other results than to pool the pertinent knowledge and know-how of national organizations, and helped in the process of fusing national programs with community projects, these achievements alone would represent significant contributions.

The Advisory Council on Participation of National Organizations consists at present of five elected representatives of the National Committee: Mrs. J. L. Blair Buck and Donald Sullivan of Washington, D. C.; Rev. C. E. Krumbholz, New York City; Walter Reuther, Detroit, Mich.; and Mrs. Roy C. F. Weagly, Hagerstown, Md. The Council will be expanded according to the decisions reached at the meeting at the end of the month.

LET'S COUNT YOUTH IN

What could be more reasonable than youth participation in a conference on children and youth? But surprisingly this will be the first of the decennial White House Conferences on Children and Youth in which young people will take active part.

Young people will participate in the Conference work not as members of an "age group" marked "Exhibit A" but will share responsibility with adults in almost all phases of the planning. The five young adults on the National Citizens' Committee have been assigned places on the four National Advisory Councils.

An Advisory Council on Youth Participation has been authorized by the National Committee to establish channels for the contributions of youth of high school and out-of-school ages to the Midcentury Conference.

Sparkle and adventure to State and local programs will come through youth participation. Meetings and discussion groups, whereby the attitudes of young people toward home life, the church, the school, and community activities, are but an example.

Two major meetings in Washington, one last spring and the other this October, were preludes to present progress of policy and organization for youth participation in the Conference.

Seventeen national leaders representing the Boy Scouts of America, American Red Cross, General Federation of Women's Clubs, National Education Association, American Youth Hostels and other voluntary organizations concerned with youth mapped out recommendations aligned with the specific objectives of the 1950 Conference attended the October meeting. Miss Miriam R. Ephraim, of the National Jewish Welfare Board presided.

Recommendations emphasized that young people should be included in Conference activities on the basis of their qualifications and the contributions they can make; not merely compartmentalized in youth committees as such. Also recommended: that methods be developed to obtain the opinions of a wide range of young people throughout the county on such matters as their place of living, employment opportunities, housing, schooling, and religious education.

Two of the four National Committee members appointed to the Advisory Council on Youth Participation are young people. They are: Charline Banks, Brooklyn, N. Y.; and Ruth Schaffer, Columbus, Ohio. The other members are Pauline Newman, New York, N. Y., and Frances Bacon of Los Angeles, Calif. The Council, in process of development will include representatives of national youth member organizations and of national organizations serving young people.

TAX EXEMPT STATUS FOR WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE GIFTS

The Executive Committee of the White House Conference on October 22nd approved an arrangement worked out with the Child Welfare League of America whereby that organization has kindly agreed to act as the recipient of voluntary contributions for the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth. A recent ruling from the Commissioner of Internal Revenue advises that gifts made to the Child Welfare League of America for the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth would constitute allowable deductions by individual donors under section 23(o) of the Internal Revenue Code.

Because it is a nationwide citizen effort, primary financial support for the Midcentury White House Conference, as with previous White House Conferences, must come from voluntary sources. The 1950 White House Conference Fund requirements have been placed before a number of philanthropic foundations and individuals. Interest in

Continued on page 8

WHAT'S THIS ABOUT "FACT FINDING"?

Faced with the task of presenting, in a span of months, information that seems to have eluded most of us mortals over a half century of remarkable scientific and human enlightenment, the Technical Committee on Fact Finding brings together in one group nationally recognized leaders from the various disciplines.

Headed by Benjamin Youngdahl, dean of the George Warren School of Social Work, Washington University (St. Louis) this Committee will advise and aid the fact finding staff in its difficult assignment of:

Assembling scientific knowledge from psychology, psychiatry, physiology, cultural anthropology, sociology, etc., about healthy personality development - what enters into it; what facilitates or handicaps it. This material is to serve as a background for more practical studies. It is also proposed to examine (a) the American system of values as it affects children; (b) prevalent attitudes and practices in American life that controvert the American ideal; and (c) child-rearing practices in various cultural groups in the U. S.

Assembling a statistical description of the present economic and social conditions and services affecting children. . . .

Assessing ways in which present programs and services for children help or hinder the development of healthy personalities. . .

Obtaining examples of programs and practices that seem particularly effective in creating the kind of situation in which children feel respected, at ease, capable of using their best capacities, etc. . . .

Obtaining opinions about the minimum essentials in the professional training of persons who serve children.

In short, the Committee will help to consolidate information from the universities and from the fields of professional practice to show just

Continued on page 8

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

How can a State committee obtain help in developing its Conference activities?

Field services are of necessity limited by the extensive geographical coverage required and a small Conference staff. However consultation and advisory services are to be made available. Field offices are being established in San Francisco to serve the west coast and in Chicago to serve the midwestern States. The northeastern States and the southern States will be served from Conference headquarters in the District of Columbia, by the director of State and Local Action and the Assistant Director.

At this time it is advisable to address requests to the Director of State and Local Action at the Conference Headquarters so that staff visits may be efficiently planned.

How will information, such as that provided by the nationwide Study of Child Health Services conducted by the American Academy of Pediatrics, with the cooperation of the Public Health Service and the Children's Bureau, be used in the Conference?

This Study, like all surveys of services to children, will be of great help to the Fact Finding staff of the Conference. This staff, with the advice of the Technical Advisory Committee, is assembling pertinent data relating to the healthy personality development of children. A healthy personality means a sound mind in a sound body. It is, accordingly, very fortunate for the White House Conference that the Academy of Pediatrics' survey of services in the health field is available to its fact finders.

Will the Conference concern itself with the cultural factors affecting the lives of American children?

Yes. Concerned as it is with consideration of the factors in American life which can and should be contributing to the development of healthy, well-rounded personalities in children and young people, the Conference will look at the effects and contributions of music, art, children's museums, libraries, etc.

TECHNICAL COMMITTEE ON FACT FINDING

*Member of the National Committee

*Benjamin E. Youngdahl, Chairman

Leo H. Bartemeier, M.D.
Leroy E. Burney, M.D.
Mrs. Eveline M. Burns
Jules V. Coleman, M.D.
Fred DelliQuadri
Oscar Dombrow
Hon. Harry Eastman
E. Franklin Frazier
Ruth Freeman
Robert J. Havighurst
Donald S. Howard
*T. Duckett Jones, M.D.
Philip Klein
Otto Klinebert
Hugh R. Leavell, M.D.
Alexander Leighton
William H. Lemmel
David M. Levy, M.D.
Alain Lock
Grace Marcus
Walter B. Martin, M.D.
*The Very Rev. Msgr. John J. McClafferty
*Mabel Newcomer
The Rt. Rev. Msgr. John O'Grady
Willard C. Olson
Katherine Personius
Louis E. Raths
*Helen Ross
Robert Sears
*Benjamin Spock, M.D.
*George D. Stoddard
Ruth Updegraff
Lois Wildy
Ellen Winston
Donald Young

STATE LANDSLIDE Cont'd

activities with the small executive staff. Mr. Glasser cited for instance that twenty states are being visited in thirty days by staff members. "Now", he said, "if we expect states and communities to develop real programs looking to the Conference in 1950 and following up the Conference over the coming decade, it is up to the National Committee and the staff to give the information and guidance required."

To help meet this growing demand for nationwide service, Mr. Glasser announced the appointment of Mr. Louis de Boer as Director of State and Local Action, and Mr. Paul McCormack as Consultant with field responsibilities for the mid-western States. Mr. de Boer comes to the White House Conference staff from his position as educational secretary of the Illinois State Mental Hygiene Society. Mr. McCormack's last position was Chief of Repatriation and Resettlement of Displaced Persons with the U. S. Army in Germany.

STATE CONFERENCE PROGRAMS ALREADY "GOING CONCERNS"

In order to bring together information and reports on State and local programs for children and youth and to provide for exchange of mutually helpful experience, an Advisory Council on State and Local Action is being formed. The National Executive Committee on October 22 voted that this Council should consist of 110 members: four from the National Committee and two each from the 48 states, the District of Columbia, Alaska, Hawaii, Puerto Rico, and the Virgin Islands.

State White House Conference Committees on Children and Youth are being asked to choose their own official representatives to the Council which will hold its first full scale meeting in Washington in December. With State and local committees forming rapidly, the December meeting promises to sparkle with good reports of community organization and of preconference action programs for children and youth already under way.

Members of the National Committee who have been appointed to serve on the National Advisory Council are: Rabbi Solomon Goldman and Mrs. John E. Hayes, Chicago, Ill.; Benjamin E. Mays, Atlanta, Ga.; Emma Puschner, Indianapolis, Ind.; and Herman Neusch, Amarillo, Tex.

State committees appointed or designated by the Governors at the President's request fall under four categories: existing State committees on children and youth such as the Florida Children's Commission; single existing state-wide group as the Georgia Congress of Parents and Teachers; committees of representative citizens; and committees of organizations. In each case membership attempts to be inclusive of children's interests throughout the State.

FOR EXAMPLE

An example of what a State citizen's committee should be and can do is highlighted in the work of the FLORIDA CHILDREN'S COMMISSION. Established by act of Legislature in May 1947 its membership, appointed by the Governor, consists of the State Superintendent of Public Instruction; the State Health Officer, Welfare Commissioner, Chairman of the Crippled Children's Commission and civic-minded men and women selected because of their broad interests and knowledge, their ability to make contributions to specialized fields, and their concern for children. The Governor likewise, by law, has appointed County committees numbering 9 or more members each.

Over the past two and a half years Florida's State and local committees have developed, through studies, information concerning the needs of its children and have submitted plans and proposals to meet the needs. A $50,000 appropriation was made for a two year period. Members serve without compensation.

Some of the results: A detailed study of juvenile courts; a booklet of questionnaires for the County studies and a report of findings; a state-wide conference resulting in plans for serving handicapped children; establishment of a clearing house for all groups planning legislation affecting children; beginnings of planning toward a State-wide study of child placement practices and an informational service on child welfare activities in the form of a News Bulletin.

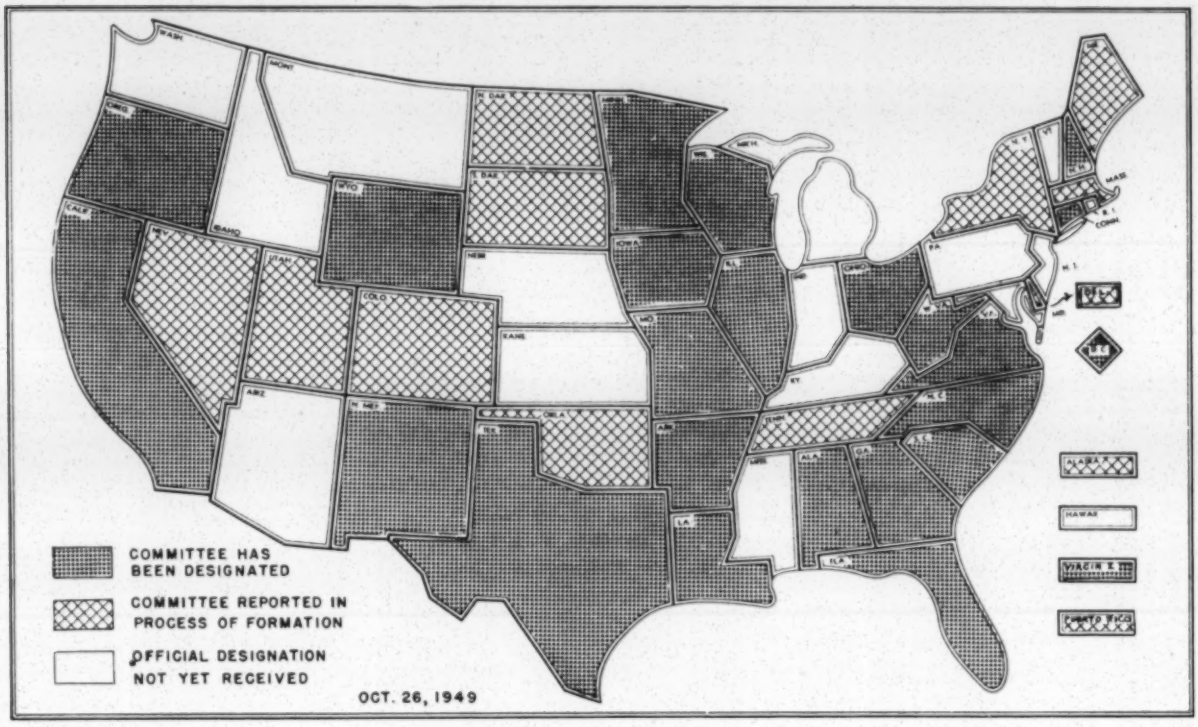
IN OREGON, THE GOVERNOR'S COMMITTEE ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH, formed in 1948, has been designated by the Governor as the official State White House Conference Committee on Children and Youth. It has a salaried executive secretary. Study committees, including education, health, family life, juvenile delinquency, recreation, and youth employment are now at work. A committee on child welfare is to be appointed. The State Committee is financed by public and private funds.

THE CALIFORNIA YOUTH COMMITTEE, appointed by the Governor in 1945 as successor to the Youth in Wartime Committee, was recently enlarged by Governor Warren and officially designated as the cooperative group for the Midcentury Conference. A statewide two-day meeting this fall emphasized that action rather than discussion was the function of the Committee. Working subcommittees were appointed: Executive; White House Conference Planning; Public Information and Communication; Legislative; and ten committees on Special Problems of Children and Youth such as Mental Health, Health and Medical Care, Education, and Work Experience and Employment.

In Ohio, County committees have already been organized under the aegis of the OHIO COMMISSION ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH. Training sessions on the function and aims of the Ohio Commission have been held at several places throughout the State. The Commission itself held its first working conference for three days in September. Young people participate in the State and County programs. Two professional staff members service the Committee.

NEW HAMPSHIRE'S COMMITTEE FOR THE MIDCENTURY WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH, recently designated by the Governor, is headed by a pediatrician who, as State Chairman for the American Academy of Pediatrics, directed its recent Study of Child Health Services in that State.

PROGRESS IN FORMATION OF STATE CITIZEN'S COMMITTEES FOR THE MIDCENTURY WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH



STATE LINEUP

As of October 31, 1949, responses had been received from 37 States and Territories and the District of Columbia indicating that Committees for the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth are rapidly being established.

Included in this total are 24 States in which committees have already been designated or appointed as follows:

Alabama State Advisory Committee on Children and Youth

Chairman: Mrs. James Fitts Hill
200 Gilmer Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama

Arkansas Council on Children and Youth

Chairman: Mrs. Scott Wood
Arkansas National Bank Building
Hot Springs, Arkansas

California Youth Committee

Chairman: Robert A. McKibben
825 East Sixth Street
Los Angeles, Calif.

Connecticut State Planning Group for the Midcentury White House Conference

Chairman: Stanley H. Osborn M.D.
State Department of Health
Hartford, Connecticut

District of Columbia Committee for the Midcentury White House Conference

Temporary Chairman: Charles Fyfe
Boys' Club of Washington, D. C.

Florida Children's Commission

Chairman: Mrs. Ellen Whiteside
4409 Santa Maria
Coral Gables, Florida

Georgia Congress of Parents and Teachers

Chairman: Mrs. Ralph Hobbs
Cautaula, Georgia

Illinois Committee for the Midcentury White House Conference

Chairman: Frank H. Woods, Jr.
59 East Van Buren St.
Chicago 5, Illinois

Iowa Commission on Children and Youth

Chairman: King Palmer
4816 Harwood Drive
Des Moines, Iowa

Louisiana Committee for the Midcentury White House Conference

Chairman: Shelby M. Jackson
State Department of Education
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Minnesota Youth Conservation Commission

Chairman: A. Whittier Day
117 University Avenue
St. Paul 1, Minnesota

Missouri Committee for the Midcentury White House Conference

Chairman: Samuel Marsh
State Department of Health and Welfare
State Office Building
Jefferson City, Missouri

Continued on page 6

STATE LINEUP Cont'd

New Hampshire Committee for the Midcentury White House Conference

Chairman: Colin C. Stewart, M.D.
Hitchcock Clinic
Hanover,
New Hampshire

New Mexico Committee on Children and Youth

Chairman: Charles Rose
State Department of Public Instruction
Santa Fe, New Mexico

North Carolina Conference for Social Service

President: Mrs. Ellen Winston
State Board of Public Welfare
Raleigh
North Carolina

Ohio Commission on Children and Youth

Chairman: Judge Raymond P. Smith
1207 State Office Building
Columbus 15, Ohio

Oregon Governor's Committee on Children and Youth

Chairman: Mrs. Saidie Orr Dunbar
Woodlark Building
Portland 5, Oregon

South Carolina Citizens' Committee on Children and Youth

Chairman: Mrs. T. B. Stackhouse
1511 Laurel Street
Columbia,
South Carolina

Texas Youth Development Council

Chairman: Rev. Walter K. Kerr
First Methodist Church
Kerrville, Texas

Virginia Committee for the Midcentury White House Conference

Chairman: Richard W. Copeland
State Department of Welfare and Institutions
Richmond, Virginia

Virgin Islands Committee for the Midcentury White House Conference

Chairman: (To be appointed)

West Virginia Committee for Children and Youth

Chairman: Charles E. Kenney
Division of Child Welfare
State Department of Public Assistance
Charleston,
West Virginia

Wisconsin Commission on Children and Youth

Chairman: Morris Hursh
Tenney Building
119 East Washington Avenue
Madison, Wisconsin

Wyoming Youth Council

Chairman: Harry M. Tibbs
Union Pacific Coal Company
Rock Springs,
Wyoming

Also included are 11 States and 2 Territories which have reported action in process to establish committees:

Colorado	New York
Delaware	North Dakota
Maine	Oklahoma
Massachusetts	South Dakota
Nevada	Tennessee
Utah	
Alaska	Puerto Rico

DISCUSSION MATERIALS FOR STATE COMMITTEES

A schedule of specific questions related to the theme of the Conference, for the use of State Committees in preparing activities and materials for local discussion groups, has been drawn up by the fact finding staff of the White House Conference.

The provocative queries deal with topics of interest to parents, teachers, clergymen, doctors, the legal profession and others in daily contact with children. They are, in part, designed to help search out

COMMUNICATIONS

Newspaper columnists have reported tremendous reader response to announcements of the Conference and its focus on the development of healthy personalities in children. National leaders in professional, business, civic and other fields, have taken occasion to telegraph and write congratulations to President Truman and Conference heads. Conference committees have responded enthusiastically to the first Progress Bulletin.

The function of Communications is to bring Conference news to the citizen and professional worker through regular news channels; keep all conference workers informed of progress; and more, - it must provide informative literature, and interpretive and discussion materials for Conference working groups.

To give effective direction to Communications planning and activities the National Committee has appointed Lyman Bryson chairman of the Technical Committee on Communications. It has appointed four members of the National Committee to serve with him: Raymond B. Allen, M.D., Seattle, Washington; Mrs. Jerome Evanson, Jamestown, N. D.; Mrs. Agnes E. Meyer, Washington, D. C.; and Mrs. Phyllis Jones Tilley, St. Augustine, Fla.

Approximately thirty other individuals, experts in various fields of media and the professions related to communications will constitute the full committee. Included will be specialists in interpretative techniques; individuals knowledgeable in use of materials and resources for ground discussions; and those who can make available special facilities such as libraries.

At its meeting on October 22, the Executive Committee authorized the Communications chairman, with the four appointed members from the National Committee and the staff, to appoint a full committee and to hold a meeting to prepare an over-all program of communications. Work is currently going forward in selection of committee personnel and a meeting is scheduled to be held in New York City early in December.

Continued on page 8

CONFERENCE MATERIALS

Pamphlet: "The Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth -- Why a Conference? -- How Will it Work? -- What Can it Mean to You?" Copies available for general distribution.

Reprints from "The Child", U. S. Children's Bureau, Washington 25, D. C. October 1949: Remarks on the White House Conference by President Truman, Mr. Ewing, Miss Lenroot, Mr. Glasser; Conference organization chart; listing of National Committee. (Reprints available in November)

In process for November distribution:

A pamphlet telling what the theme "Development in Children of those mental, emotional and spiritual qualities essential to individual happiness and to responsible citizenship" means to individuals, and to those whose work is concerned with children and youth.

A guide, with questions relating to the Conference theme, for State Conference Committees.

Conference Committee Meetings

November 7	Technical Committee on Fact Finding Benjamin Youngdahl, Chairman Conference Headquarters, Washington, D. C.
November 10	Federal Inter-departmental Committee on Children and Youth Conference Headquarters, Washington, D. C.
November 29-30	Meeting of Official representatives of National Organizations Main Auditorium, Conference Headquarters, Washington, D. C.
December 6	(tentative) Technical Committee on Communications Lyman Bryson, Chairman New York City
December 9	Committee on Conference Program A. J. Brumbaugh, Chairman Conference Headquarters, Washington, D. C.
December 15-16	National Committee Oscar R. Ewing, Chairman White House, Washington, D. C.
January 23	National Executive Committee Leonard W. Mayo, Chairman Conference Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

FEDERAL AGENCIES ARE HELPING TOO

Taking advantage of the important resources offered by Federal agencies to the Midcentury White House Conference program, the Executive Committee has set up an Advisory Council on Federal Government Participation.

The Council, many of whose members have served on the Federal Interdepartmental Committee on Children and Youth, provides for participation in Conference activities such as policy and program determination, fact finding, communications, and state and local action; and for cooperation in follow up programs.

Membership includes representatives of each department or agency concerned with children and youth, and heads of agency bureaus and divisions in a position to make the resources of their bureaus available over coming months for assistance in the preparatory work of the Conference. Four National Committee members have been appointed by the Conference Executive Committee to serve with the Council. They are: Harvie Branscomb, Nashville, Tenn.; and Flemmie P. Kittrell, G. Howland Shaw, and Donald F. Sullivan of Washington, D. C.

The agencies represented include: Department of Agriculture; Production and Marketing Administration; Department of Defense; Department of the Interior; Department of Justice; Department of Labor; Federal Security Agency; St. Elizabeth's Hospital; Housing and Home Finance Agency; Administrative Office of the U. S. Courts; Howard University; Selective Service System; Department of Commerce; and the Office of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs.

CONFERENCE PROGRAM TO BE PLANNED

Details for the actual program for the Conference during the week of December 3, 1950, are to receive preliminary consideration on December 9, 1949, at a meeting in Washington of the newly formed Program Committee.

Responsibility for the plans rests with the Committee on Conference Program which consists of members appointed from the National Committee.

A. J. Brumbaugh of Washington, D. C., is chairman. The Committee has the two-fold function of planning the actual content of the Conference week and of determining who shall receive invitations. In the 1940 White House Conference there were approximately 700 appointed members. In 1930 more than 2000 were invited to participate.

Serving with Mr. Brumbaugh are: James Carey and Mary Leeper,

Continued on page 8

MORE COMMENTS FROM NATIONAL LEADERS

Telegram to President Truman from W. Walter Williams, Chairman, Committee for Economic Development:

"NO RESPONSIBILITY TRANSCENDS THAT WHICH WE BEAR TO OUR COUNTRY'S 46 MILLION CHILDREN. WE CANNOT EXPECT TO LEAVE THEM A WORLD FREE OF PROBLEMS, BUT WE CAN AND MUST LEAVE THEM EMOTIONALLY, PHYSICALLY AND SPIRITUALLY ABLE TO MEET AND MASTER THOSE PROBLEMS. I CONGRATULATE YOU FOR CALLING THE MIDCENTURY WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE ON CHILDREN AND YOUTH TO FURTHER THIS PURPOSE. I AM CONFIDENT THAT ALL CITIZENS WILL FIND IN THE CONFERENCE, AS WELL AS IN THE ACTIVITIES WHICH WILL LAY THE GROUNDWORK FOR IT, A REAL OPPORTUNITY TO ASSURE MAXIMUM DEVELOPMENT OF FORWARD-LOOKING PROGRAMS WHICH WILL EQUIP OUR CHILDREN FOR THE YEARS AHEAD."

Mary McLeod Bethune, President of the National Council of Negro Women, Washington:

"Allow me to add my appreciation to that of many others you must be receiving for your decision to hold a Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, and for your invitation to all citizens to help in making that conference the springboard to a great forward movement in behalf of all children.

"One of the great cornerstones of our democracy is our belief in the worth and dignity of every single human being. I count on this conference to help all of us translate that belief, more thoroughly and more consistently than ever before, into concrete services and opportunities for all children so that each one of them may grow up with respect for himself and with dedication to the service of his fellowmen."

* * *

Letter from E.-E. A. Winslow, Emeritus Professor, Public Health, Yale University School of Medicine:

"Please accept my congratulations on the completion of the plans for the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth. I am delighted that things are developing so satisfactorily."

CONFERENCE PROGRAM TO BE PLANNED (Cont'd)

Washington, D. C.; Katherine Faville, Detroit, Mich.; Lawrence K. Frank, Eduard C. Lindeman, Gerard Swope and John Wood of New York City; Charles Janeway, M.D., Boston, Mass; Rev. Raymond B. Johnson, Hingham, Mass.; Max Rheinstein, Chicago, Ill.; Edward B. Shaw, San Francisco, Calif.; and Rev. Luther A. Weigle, New Haven, Conn.

WHAT'S THIS ABOUT "FACT FINDING" (Cont'd)

what is already known about the rearing of children; how this knowledge is presently being applied; and ways in which the knowledge may be better applied.

Members of the Committee have been carefully selected on the basis of their qualifications in the various fields of competence.

TAX EXEMPT STATUS FOR WHITE HOUSE CONFERENCE GIFTS (Cont'd)

the unique opportunity provided in this Conference for a combination of expert study and citizen action, toward advancing the social and emotional well-being of children, throughout the country, has already resulted in grants of funds from the Children's Fund of Michigan (reported in Progress Bulletin #1), the New York Fund for Children, the Lessing J. Rosenwald Foundation, the Marshall Field Foundation, and gifts from individuals. Additional grants will be required to meet the Conference budget.

Material in this bulletin, excepting photograph in which President Truman appears, may be reproduced.

STAFF APPOINTMENTS

Mr. Paul McCormack, joined the Conference staff November 1. He will be consultant in State and Local Action, working out of the Regional FSA office in Chicago with responsibility for carrying Conference staff services to the committees in the midwestern states. Mr. McCormack has just completed his work as chief of the Displaced Persons Division of the Office of Military Government in Germany.

* * *

The appointment of Mrs. Gertrude R. Davis as consultant to the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth, took effect in October. Mrs. Davis, who has been associate executive director of the Jewish Family Service Association of New York City, has volunteered her services to the White House Conference effort. Her initial responsibility will be interpretation of White House Conference plans, and objectives to philanthropic foundation executives and other financial sources of support.

Mrs. Davis is a graduate of Barnard College and received her M.S.S. at the New York School of Social Work of Columbia University. She has been a case worker and supervisor in the fields of delinquency and family social service. She has served as executive director of the former Jewish Family Welfare Society of Brooklyn and as representative of the Family Service Association of America to the 1948 International Conference on Mental Hygiene in London. She is a member of the American Association of Social Workers.

DISCUSSION MATERIALS FOR STATE COMMITTEES (Cont'd)

present practices good and bad that affect children's mental, emotional, and spiritual makeup.

Developed through numerous discussions and conferences, the schedule has run the gauntlet of lay and professional testing; has been assembled, disassembled, reassembled, shaped and reshaped. It is expected to be made available in the near future.

the American Parents Committee

An incorporated, non-profit, public-service association

Working for Better Conditions for Children—Nationally and Locally

Kindly address your reply to office checked: ☐ NATIONAL OFFICE: 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N.Y. ☐ WASHINGTON, D.C. OFFICE: 132 Third St., S.E.

RECEIVED
MAY 13 1950
Southern Regional Council

May 10, 1950

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE:

There will be a luncheon meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Parents Committee on Wednesday, May 24th at 12:30 in a private dining room at the Roosevelt Hotel, 45th & Madison Avenue, New York City. I hope you will make every effort to be present. The charge for the luncheon including tip, will be $2.

The agenda of the last meeting was so long that time did not permit an adequate discussion of the proposal to change the name of our affiliated organization, The American Parents Committee Education Fund, Inc. to The American Citizens Committee for Child Welfare, Inc. Prior to the meeting, I hope you will have an opportunity to read the enclosed draft of a statement about the aims and activities of the American Citizens Committee for Child Welfare. At the meeting, there will be full discussion about this.

There is also other important business to be decided at the meeting. As there will probably be no other meeting till next fall I hope you will make every effort to come on May 24th.

Will you kindly use the enclosed postal card to notify me whether you will attend the meeting and whether a place for luncheon should be reserved for you.

Sincerely yours,

George J. Hecht

GEORGE J. HECHT
Chairman

Chairman

GEORGE J. HECHT — President of Parents' Institute, Inc. (Publishers of Parents' Magazine and School Management). Founder and Secretary for 20 years of the Welfare Council of New York City; Vice-Pres., Social Legislation Information Service; Executive Committee, National Social Welfare Assembly

Vice-Chairmen

DR. HENRY NOBLE MacCRACKEN — Former President, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

MRS. DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER—Novelist (as Dorothy Canfield) and Educational Authority, Arlington, Vermont

WALT DISNEY—Motion Picture Producer, Hollywood, Calif.

ROBERT L. JOHNSON—President, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa.

Treasurer

HAROLD A. RICH—Vice-President, Chase National Bank, New York

Secretary

MELVYN GORDON LOWENSTEIN—Attorney, New York

Executive Director

MRS. JACK B. FAHY—Washington, D.C.

THE AMERICAN CITIZENS COMMITTEE for CHILD WELFARE, Inc.

Executive Vice-Chairman
GEORGE J. HECHT
Publisher, Parents' Magazine

ANNOUNCEMENT

The name of The American Parents Committee Education Fund, Inc., a non-profit, membership association incorporated in 1947 under the laws of the State of New York, has been changed to The American Citizens Committee for Child Welfare, Inc. No changes have been made in its purposes as stated in its certificate of incorporation. The U.S. Bureau of Internal Revenue has issued a ruling that contributions to the support of the organization are deductible as charitable donations on income tax returns.

A RESTATEMENT OF THE AIMS AND ACTIVITIES

While there are a great many local and state organizations devoted to the welfare of children, amazing as it may seem, there is no national association or committee exclusively concerned with all child welfare problems. There are a number of specialized organizations, such as the National Child Labor Committee, various organizations working for better schools, and the Child Welfare League of America, which is an association of public and private institutions and agencies providing foster and day care and other direct services for children. But there is no other association with the broad program in the field of child welfare including aims and activities such as the following, which are those of our Committee:

(1) To digest the mass of current data on the conditions and needs of children throughout the United States and to inform the public about their conditions and needs.

(2) To research for needed information not now available (for example, there are now no national, state or city indexes on the extent of juvenile delinquency, which indexes would be most helpful in checking such delinquency).

(3) To aid and supplement other groups in stimulating local and state efforts to meet child welfare needs.

In general, we will try to convince the nation that children are its most precious asset and that every possible effort should be made to provide that our 46 million children should grow up to be healthy, educated and good citizens.

The American Citizens Committee for Child Welfare will not take any position for or against legislation. However, through its affiliate, The American Parents Committee, the members of The American Citizens Committee for Child Welfare will be supplied with digested, factual information on proposed federal legislation affecting children for whatever action, if any, its members may individually wish to take.

The American Citizens Committee for Child Welfare will cooperate with all specialized agencies in the field.

WHAT IS EXPECTED OF MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

(1) There will be no meetings to attend! Members are, however, expected to remain interested in and informed about the most pressing needs of children. The Committee will send its members in an every-other-month "Newsbulletin on the Needs of the Nation's Children", and a monthly newsletter, "Washington Report on Legislation for Children".

(2) It is hoped that members will encourage, whenever possible, constructive local and state efforts to meet the needs of children.

(3) (Optional) Members will be asked once or twice a year to write to their Congressmen and Senators expressing their personal support of one piece of important child welfare legislation which Congress is considering. There is, of course, no obligation to do this, if for any reason they do not favor the bill.

(4) Members are asked to send an annual contribution to support the work of the Committee, however, the amount of the contribution is left entirely up to each member.

RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, Inc.

The American Citizens Committee for Child Welfare and The American Parents Committee will work in close cooperation. They will share the expenses of a Washington, D. C. Office (as explained in the budget below). They have an inter-locking Board of Directors. The American Citizens Committee for Child Welfare refers to The American Parents Committee as its legislative affiliate and The American Parents Committee refers to the American Citizens Committee for Child Welfare as its research and educational affiliate. The American Citizens Committee for Child Welfare does research and public education work on the needs of children while the American Parents Committee does the necessary legislative work. The news bulletins of each Committee are sent not only to its own Directors and contributors, but also to the Directors and contributors of the other Committee. The American Citizens Committee for Child Welfare takes no position on legislation and it is completely optional whether its Directors, members and contributors support The American Parents Committee's sponsored legislation individually.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The activities of the American Citizens Committee for Child Welfare are controlled by a Board of Directors that meets at least four times a year in New York City. On its Board are outstanding citizens concerned with the welfare of the nation's children and officials and executives of a number of the leading voluntary organizations concerned with the welfare of children. A number of the Directors (far less than a majority) are also members of the Board of Directors of The American Parents Committee.

THE COMMITTEE'S BUDGET

New York City Office

	Contributed by Parents' Magazine	
Rent		
Executive Director	$6,000	
Assistant Director	3,640	
Secretary	2,600	
Telephone, office expense, stationery	500	
Travel	250	
		$12,990

Washington, D.C. Office

Rent (1/4 of the rent of the APC's office)	$ 125	
Public Relations (1/2 of salary of APC's P.R. Director)	1,450	
Secretary (1/2 of salary of APC's Secretary)	666	
Office expense (1/4 of APC's office expense)	300	
		$2,541

Bulletin and Publications

Newsbulletin on the Needs of the Nation's Children	500	
Other publications & reports	1,000	
		1,500

Research	7,000	
Miscellaneous & unforeseeable expenses	1,000	
TOTAL		$25,031

While this budget is the Committee's aim, expenditures will not be authorized by the Board of Directors until the money is in sight.

GEORGE J. HECHT
Executive Vice-Chairman

- - - - - - - - - - - - - - - MEMBERSHIP ACCEPTANCE BLANK - - - - - - - - - - - - - - -

Mr. George J. Hecht, Executive Vice-Chairman
THE AMERICAN CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR CHILD WELFARE, Inc.
52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Hecht;

I gladly accept membership on your Committee.
Send me your two newsletters to the address below.

I will contribute $_____ to the support of your work.
( ) Check enclosed ( ) Send me a bill

NAME (please print)_____

c/o_____

STREET ADDRESS_____

CITY_____ZONE_____STATE_____

Organizational connections (optional)_____

_____

Comment, if any:_____

December 20, 1950

Mr. George J. Hecht
American Parents Committee
52 Vanderbilt Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hecht:

My apologies for being so delayed in answering your letter of October 25.

We are too poor and too few to do on our own a real fact-finding job about children in the South. The best suggestion we have is to take the reports that will have been made to the White House Conference on Children and Youth and sift from the Southern ones the material you want.

Provided the reports contain good material, the Council would be happy to take some part in, or even do all, the work of fitting together from them a report about children in the South. But we simply can't, without financing that isn't in sight, do any field research.

I will come to see you when next I can get to New York.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:er

12/4/50

GSM;

Skeleton! Dont see how we could possibly do such a report, unless the reports (by states) coming out of the White House Conference would make such material readily accessible to us. Otherwise, the amount of research involved would be tremendous -- and probably not worth it, unless we could use the material too.

If the W. H. Conference reports are usable, why couldn't we prepare a Children's Issue of NEW SOUTH? It would help bring up-to-date at least parts of our health and education material, and would perhaps fill the bill for Mr. Hecht at the same time.

jpf

JF: GSM wants to know what to do about this?

the American Parents Committee

An incorporated, non-profit, public-service association

Working for Better Conditions for Children—Nationally and Locally

Kindly address your reply to office checked: [X] NATIONAL OFFICE: 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N.Y. [ ] WASHINGTON, D.C. OFFICE: 132 Third St., S.E.

October 25, 1950

RECEIVED
OCT 28 1950
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I know the Southern Regional Council has issued reports on education in the South and health conditions in the South, but I wonder whether it has ever published an over-all report on the conditions and problems of children in the Southern states? If you have published such a report, I wish you would send me a copy.

I am of the opinion that the citizens of the wealthier states of the Union should be informed, should take an interest, and should try to help improve the conditions of the children in the poorer states. When I say help, I don't mean giving charity, I mean that they should work for Federal Government action which would help right out the inequalities of social services that are provided to children.

The American Parents Committee has just formed an organization called The American Citizens Committee for Child Welfare, Inc. with which it has an inter-locking Board of Directors. I am enclosing herewith a sheet explaining the objectives of the new organization and also a copy of two of its newsbulletins. It has occurred to me that we might get out a bulletin on the conditions and needs of children in the South. This bulletin should be two or three pages long. I wonder whether you would prepare the text of such a bulletin for us and we will say in the bulletin that we obtained the material from the Southern Regional Council. You will note in the bulletins that I enclose herewith, we have been supplied with the information by other organizations and we have given them due credit in each bulletin.

I look forward to hearing from you about this matter at your convenience. When you next come to New York, I certainly hope you will plan to have lunch with me.

Sincerely yours,

George J. Hecht

GEORGE J. HECHT
Chairman

GJH:et
Encs.

Chairman

GEORGE J. HECHT — President of Parents' Institute, Inc. (Publishers of Parents' Magazine and School Management). Founder and Secretary for 20 years of the Welfare Council of New York City; Vice-Pres., Social Legislation Information Service; Executive Committee, National Social Welfare Assembly

Vice-Chairmen

DR. HENRY NOBLE MacCRACKEN — Former President, Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N.Y.

MRS. DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER—Novelist (as Dorothy Canfield) and Educational Authority, Arlington, Vermont

WALT DISNEY—Motion Picture Producer, Hollywood, Calif.

ROBERT L. JOHNSON—President, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pa.

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Secretary

MELVYN GORDON LOWENSTEIN—Attorney, New York

Executive Director

MRS. JACK B. FAHY—Washington, D.C.

THE AMERICAN CITIZENS COMMITTEE for CHILD WELFARE, Inc.

Executive Vice-Chairman
GEORGE J. HECHT
Publisher, Parents' Magazine

52 VANDERBILT AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
Telephone: MUrray Hill 5-4400

WHY ANOTHER ORGANIZATION?

While there are a great many local and state organizations devoted to the welfare of children, amazing as it may seem, there is no national association or committee exclusively concerned with all child welfare problems. There are a number of specialized organizations, such as the National Child Labor Committee, various organizations working for better schools, and the Child Welfare League of America, which is an association of public and private institutions and agencies providing foster and day care and other direct services for children. But there is no other association with the broad program in the field of child welfare including aims and activities such as the following, which are those of The American Citizens Committee for Child Welfare, Inc.

THE COMMITTEE'S AIMS

(1) To digest the mass of current data on the conditions and needs of children throughout the United States and to inform the public about their conditions and needs.

(2) To research for needed information not now available (for example, there are now no national, state or city indexes on the extent of juvenile delinquency, which indexes would be most helpful in checking such delinquency).

(3) To aid and supplement other groups in stimulating local and state efforts to meet child welfare needs.

In general, the ACC will try to convince the nation that children are its most precious asset and that every possible effort should be made to provide that our 46 million children should grow up to be healthy, educated and good citizens.

The ACC will not take any position for or against legislation. However, through its affiliate, The American Parents Committee, Inc., the members of the ACC will be supplied with digested, factual information on proposed federal legislation affecting children for whatever action, if any, its members may individually wish to take.

The ACC will cooperate with all specialized agencies in the field.

SOME SPECIFIC CURRENT ACTIVITIES

The ACC is deeply interested in strengthening the U. S. Children's Bureau. To this end, it is calling together, with the full knowledge of the Chief of the Children's Bureau, a number of outstanding leaders in the child welfare field to review the present status of the Children's Bureau, to make recommendations as to its future activities, and to suggest any other constructive steps that appear to be advisable.

The ACC publishes a "Newsbulletin on the Needs of the Nation's Children", which is sent not only to its own members, but also to a large list of key people and organizations whom it is hoped can be stimulated to great interest in meeting the needs of children.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

The activities of the ACC are directed by a Board of Directors that meets at least twice a year in New York City, with its Executive Committee meeting as often as is necessary. On its board are outstanding citizens concerned with the welfare of the nation's children and officials and executives of a number of the leading voluntary organizations concerned with the welfare of children.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

Persons throughout the United States who are known to be genuinely interested in the welfare of children are being invited to be members of the ACC.

WHAT IS EXPECTED OF MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

(1) There will be no meetings to attend! Members are, however, expected to remain interested in and informed about the most pressing needs of children. The Committee will send its members its own "Newsbulletin on the Needs of Children", and a newsletter, "Washington Report on Legislation for Children", the latter being published by its affiliated organization, The American Parents Committee, Inc.

(2) It is hoped that members will encourage, whenever possible, constructive local and state efforts to meet the needs of children.

(3) (Optional) Members will be asked once or twice a year to write to their Congressmen and Senators expressing their personal support of one piece of important child welfare legislation which Congress is considering. There is, of course, no obligation to do this, if for any reason they do not favor the bill.

(4) Members are asked to send an annual contribution to support the work of the Committee, with the amount of the contribution left entirely up to each member.

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NEWSBULLETIN ON THE NEEDS OF THE NATION'S CHILDREN

This Newsbulletin is being sent to all members of The American Citizens Committee for Child Welfare, Inc., and to a number of other key individuals and organizations interested in the welfare of children to whom it is believed the information contained therein will be useful.

Issued whenever there is news to report—by
THE AMERICAN CITIZENS COMMITTEE
FOR CHILD WELFARE, INC.
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

September, 1950

THE SCHOOL CRISIS GROWS WORSE!

Schools throughout the nation have been shockingly over-crowded during recent years and now, to make a bad situation even worse, nearly a million more pupils have entered the elementary schools this fall than did last year. Here is a quick summary of the situation:

SCHOOL AND COLLEGE ENROLIMENTS FOR 1950-51 AS COMPARED WITH THOSE FOR 1949-50

	1950-51	1949-50
Elementary Schools		
Public	20,674,000	19,905,000
Private and Parochial	2,887,000	2,736,000
Residential schools for exceptional children	60,000	57,000
Model and practice schools in teacher training institutions	37,000	35,000
Federal Schools for Indians	28,000	27,000
Total elementary	23,686,000	22,760,000
Secondary Schools		
Public	5,452,000	5,557,000
Private and Parochial	635,000	628,000
Residential schools for exceptional children	10,000	10,000
Model and practice schools in teacher training institutions and preparatory department of colleges	40,000	40,000
Federal schools for Indians	5,000	5,000
Total secondary	6,142,000	6,240,000
Higher Education		
Universities, colleges, professional schools, including junior colleges and normal schools	2,700,000	2,750,000
Total higher education	2,700,000	2,750,000

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Other Schools		
Private commercial schools.....	300,000	300,000
Nurse training schools, (Not affiliated with colleges and universities)....	75,000	75,000
Total other schools.....	375,000	375,000
Grand Totals.....	32,903,000	32,125,000

NOTE: This tabulation consists of the estimates of the U.S. Office of Education. They include enrollments for the entire school or college year; they are not restricted to September enrollments alone.

School building needs are greater today than they ever have been in the nation's history. The acute shortage of school facilities is due to (1) the deferment of construction during World War II, (2) the shifting of population during and since the war, and (3) to the sharpe increase in the birth rate during and since the war. Hundreds of thousands of pupils will be taught in buildings that are unsanitary and unsafe. Many schools will run on a double and triple shift basis. In virtually all schools the classrooms will be over-crowded.

The U.S. Office of Education revealed that by 1957 there will have been a 10-year increase of more than 10,000,000 pupils in public, parochial, and private elementary and secondary schools throughout the United States. If one teacher teaches 25 children, this would mean a national need of 400,000 more teachers in 1957 than we had in 1947, it is pointed out.

It is estimated that 90,000 elementary school teachers will be needed this year over and above the number now teaching. The supply will come in part from the 36,000 students with some college preparation for elementary school teaching. On the other hand, the college supply of persons prepared for secondary school teaching will be 85,000, to fill an estimated need for 25,000 high school teachers in 1950-51.

If you wish to know more about the work that we are doing, please write us, so that we may send you some of our printed matter. Tell us, please, of your special interests. Contributions to our support are urgently needed. This newsletter will, of course, be sent regularly to all contributors.

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THE AMERICAN CITIZENS COMMITTEE FOR CHILD WELFARE, INC.
52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

Enclosed is a contribution of $_____. Please continue to send me your Newsletter.

Name_____ _____
(Please print)

Organization_____ Your title if any _____

Address of Organization_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____

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Issued whenever there is news to report—by
THE AMERICAN CITIZENS COMMITTEE
FOR CHILD WELFARE, INC.
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

April, 1950

ONE MILLION MIGRANT CHILDREN ARE DISINHERITED FROM U.S. BENEFITS

School, a decent home, good health -- all the things most American children take for granted -- seem strange and wonderful to the children of migrant families. These are the one million children who are dragged from one harvest to another along the East Coast or through the Middle West or up the West Coast. Helping their families eke out a living in the fields, they work long hours to provide fresh fruits and vegetables for the more fortunate American families.

Many migrant children have never been inside a school. A study by the U.S. Children's Bureau in Hidalgo County, Texas, showed that over 15 percent of the children of agricultural laborers had never gone to school. More than half of the children contacted in a study of Texas-Mexican migrant families working in Wisconsin during the summer of 1947 had gone no higher than the second grade. Migrant children are not even getting as much schooling as their parents did, one study of children working in strawberries in Arkansas and Kentucky showed.

The United States free public school systems do not include these children. Only one state, New Jersey, makes any effort to give them an education and New Jersey only operates one short-term school for migrant children during the summer. Elsewhere, financially strapped rural schools do not welcome additional temporary students. In some states children who are not residents are excluded or required to pay tuition to attend.

School attendance laws in most states apply only to resident children. Others have so many loopholes that they cannot be enforced. In some states a child employed in agriculture is legally excused from school. In others, children are required to attend only 120 days of the school term. In Louisiana, only 90 days a year attendance at school is required in towns of less than 10,000.

While other children are getting an education, the migrant child is stooping to pick strawberries or carrying heavy baskets of potatoes. Their small hands are needed in the fields to add to the families income. A U.S. Department of Agriculture study of migratory workers in San Joaquin Valley, California in 1948 found that the average annual wages earned by a migratory worker totaled approximately $1,200 a year but that with the wife and children working, a badly needed $600 more could be added to the budget.

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Unlike children in industry, children doing as injurious work in the fields are completely unprotected in 21 states. Fifteen more states allow children of any age to do agricultural work outside school hours. These 36 states, or three-fourths of the states, allow not just work on the family farm, but tedious, hard and often dangerous work on industrialized farms for children who are barely able to toddle around after their parents.

"It is better for the children to go to the fields to work than to stay at home because their homes are so poor", a packing shed foreman in Hidalgo County told the U.S. Children's Bureau. Most of the "homes" the migrants can find are poor. A vacated chicken coop or a leaky barn are often their only shelter. Last winter in Kern County, California, migrants were found living in the ditches along the main highway and behind sand dunes with only a tarpaulin for protection against the weather and with the newest baby in a grocery carton.

At present migrant families are excluded from all government housing programs. The old Farm Security Administration migrant centers are now either sold or leased for nominal fees, pending their liquidation by June 30, 1950, the deadline set by Congress. Many camps which are now being operated by farmers associations or local public housing authorities have increased rents by as much as $8 a week. All child care and health programs have been dropped.

Despite the much acclaimed advantages of a life in the open air, migrant families have a higher rate of illness than the rest of the population, the U.S. Public Health Service has found. Almost one-fourth of the children born alive in the families surveyed in Hidalgo County, Texas died before reaching 18, and 15 percent died under one year of age. One out of every six Texas-Mexican families studied by the University of Wisconsin had members needing medical care.

The health of migrant children is undermined by both poor living conditions and inadequate diets. The two children, aged 16 and 21 months in Hidalgo County, who took cow's milk only in their coffee, epitomize the nutrition problem. Or take the family in California whose mother said, "We haven't had a bite of meat for three weeks. At those prices we can't even eat to keep up our strength to earn any money."

With a higher rate of illness, the migrant family receives less medical attention than the rest of the population. Unable to lay aside money from their spasmodic earnings for emergencies, the migrant family cannot, in most cases, afford a doctor. Yet public health and medical services are not available to migrant children.

No state in the union provides a well-rounded health and welfare program for all its rural families, let alone the families of its migrant agricultural workers. Often the rural counties in which the migrant families are working do not have even prenatal or well-baby clinics. Even the cost of an accident on the job is paid by the migrant family, for in only 5 states are migrants covered by workmen's compensation law.

Other families in an emergency, such as sickness, can turn to the county for help. The migrant family, shut out by residence requirements for aid, must face emergencies alone on their meager wages. Residence requirements, which no migrant family can afford to stay home long enough to meet, exclude them also in almost every state from the Federal Programs for Aid to the Blind, Old Age Assistance and Aid to Dependent Children.

Migrant children are deprived of the benefits which most U. S. children receive almost as their birthright. But the loss to migrant children is not born by them alone. Children of other more fortunate American families also pay. All the children living in Kern County, California paid last year with the County's high infantile paralysis rates, with its infant diarrhea epidemic. Both were attributed by the Kern County Council of Social Agencies to insanitary housing for the migrant families who came to help in the fields. The high juvenile delinquency rate in California was blamed by witnesses before the State Crime Commission on the "lost generation" growing up in unsupervised labor camps. The cost of migrant children growing into uneducated citizens will tax heavily the democratic government for many generations to come.

The solution for the ills of migrant children is not one of setting up special programs to care for these one million children. The solution is one of including them in the nation's education, housing and welfare programs-not as a special underprivileged group but as future citizens of the United States. They, too, should have a birthright.

The data for this Newsbulletin was obtained from the National Citizens Council for Migrant Labor.

If you wish to know more about the work that we are doing, please write us, so that we may send you some of our printed matter. Tell us, please, of your special interests. Contributions to our support are urgently needed. This newsletter will, of course, be sent regularly to all contributors.

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MINUTES OF THE SEVENTEENTH MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, INC.

The seventeenth meeting of the Board of Directors of the American Parents Committee, Inc. was duly held on the 1st day of February, 1951 at 12:30 p.m. in a private room of the Uptown Club in the Borough of Manhattan, City, County and State of New York pursuant to written notice thereof mailed to each Director.

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman.

Those present: Mrs. Oswald B. Lord, Mrs. Gertrude F. Zimand, Mr. Leo Perlis, Miss Helen Hall, Mr. Maximillian Elser, Colonel Harold Riegelman, Mrs. George J. Hecht, Mrs. Clara Savage Littledale, Mrs. Arthur White, Mr. George W. Naumburg, Dr. Roma Gans, Mr. Lester Granger, Mr. Jonathan Bingham, Mrs. Luther Gulick, Mr. B. Alden Lillywhite, Mr. George J. Hecht, and Mrs. Jack B. Fahy, by invitation.

The minutes of the last meeting were approved as mailed out.

The Chairman presented the attached statement of the receipts and disbursements of the organization for the past six months. In view of the difficulty of raising the APC's budget there was a long discussion as to whether the APC should continue its activities especially because in the present defense economy, little new social legislation is likely to be passed. The members of the Board however felt that the gains made on behalf of children during the past several decades must be stoutly maintained. It was also pointed out that many emergency measures established patterns for necessary permanent legislation. It was therefore unanimously Resolved:

That in the present emergency, it is more important than ever to work for federal legislation on behalf of children particularly in order that adequate provision should be made for children in a defense economy. Particular stress should be placed upon the need for day care centers for the children of working mothers and federal aid for new school construction.

The Chairman submitted the following report on requests that had come into the Washington office during January, 1951:

	On proposed legislation	On speeches
I. The number of requests for information or help -		
a. From Senators or their assistants, or clerks of Senate Committees	11	
b. From Congressmen, or their assistants, or clerks of House Committees	13	1
c. From U.S. Government Departments	15	
II. The number of requests for information on proposed legislation -		
a. From organizations	25	
b. From individuals	5	

Mrs. Fahy, the APC's Executive Director, reported on the legislative work done in Washington since the last meeting. Although the formation of Committees has delayed legislative action, a number of our bills have already been introduced. Despite the twin-drives of economy and defense there appears considerable interest in our legislation.

The President requested only $32,999,200 for the grants administered by the Children's Bureau. Last year we secured the increase of these grants to $41,500,000 in an amendment to the Social Security Act. Therefore, on motion duly made and seconded, it was resolved that the APC should work for the full appropriation for the Children's Bureau of funds authorized by last year's amendment to Title V of the Social Security Act on behalf of Maternal and Child Health Services, Crippled Children and Child Welfare Services.

There was discussion of the Defense-Housing Bill on which hearings are now being held in both the House and the Senate. One title of this Bill provides for Community Facilities including School Construction and Day Care Centers. Therefore, on motion duly made and seconded, it was voted that the APC should support adequate provision for the needs of children in defense legislation.

Although the APC has already endorsed the Federal Aid to Medical Education Bill which includes the training of nurses, it was felt that support of a newly-introduced Bill pertaining solely to nurses education was in order. Therefore, on motion duly made and seconded, the APC endorsed the Bolton Bill providing federal aid for the education of nurses.

Members of the Board expressed concern about the lack of trained personnel to handle new defense needs of children. It was pointed out that there were no teachers available for new Day Care Centers and that the need for recreational directors for after school hours was acute. It was therefore resolved that the APC sponsor legislation on the recruiting and education of personnel to handle special services for children as they are affected by a defense economy.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 2:30 p.m.

APPROVED:

Mrs. Jack B. Fahy, Secretary pro tem

GEORGE J. HECHT, Chairman

THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, INC.

Statement of income & expenses for the 12 months ended 12/31/50

Contributions			$13,758.50
Subscriptions to "Washington Report on Legislation for Children"			157.50
			$13,916.00
Expenses - Washington, D. C.			
Salaries	$12,113.75		
Rent	581.50		
Telephone	516.73		
Stationery & supplies	76.11		
Printing	6.00		
Social Security expenses	110.46		
Exhibits	129.38		
Depreciation on furniture & fixtures	54.05		
Miscellaneous expenses	1,068.78	$14,656.76	
Expenses - New York City			
Clerical Salaries	147.37		
Telephone	82.67		
Stationery & supplies	290.39		
Postage	78.66		
Printing	513.68		
Travel	48.70		
Legal & auditors expense	275.00		
Miscellaneous expenses	118.29	$ 1,554.76	$16,211.52
Excess of expenses over income			$ 2,295.52

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OCT 25 1950
Southern Regional

MINUTES OF THE FIFTEENTH MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
OF THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, Inc.

The fifteenth meeting of the Board of Directors of The American Parents Committee, Inc. was duly held on the 17th day of October, 1950 at 12:30 p.m. in a private room of the Uptown Club in the Borough of Manhattan, City, County and State of New York pursuant to written notice thereof mailed to each Director.

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman.

Those present: Mrs. Gertrude Folks Zimand, Mrs. Louis Azrael, Carl A. Gray, Mrs. Luther Gulick, Miss Helen Hall, Mrs. Charles Monroe, Oscar V. Rose, Mrs. Samuel Rosenman, Prof. L. Joseph Stone, Mrs. Lewis L. Strauss, Jonathan Bingham, Mrs. Jack Fahy and George J. Hecht.

The minutes of the last meeting were approved.

On motion duly made and seconded, the election was ratified of the new members of the Board of Directors to whom invitations to serve were authorized at the last meeting as follows: Miss Helen Hall, Mrs. Charles Monroe, Mrs. Luther Gulick, Mrs. Joseph Farrington, Mrs. Louis Azrael, Mr. Joseph Anderson and Mr. Lester Granger.

On motion duly made and seconded, Mr. Jonathan Bingham and Mrs. Jinx Falkenburg McCrary were elected to the Board.

On motion duly made and seconded, the Chairman was authorized to extend invitations to serve to the following persons: Dr. Frank Graham, ex-Senator from North Carolina and former President of the University of North Carolina; Mr. Claude Pepper, ex-Senator from Florida; Mr. Russell W. Ballard, Executive Director of Hull House, Chicago and Board member of the National Federation of Settlements; Mr. Ed Lewis, Director of the New York Urban League; Dr. Harold C. Havighurst, Professor in charge of Child Research and former Director of Social Science Research of the General Education Board; a representative of the A. F. of L. to be named by Mr. Mark Starr of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Mr. Leo Pearl of the C.I.O. of New York; and Gordon Gray, President of the University of North Carolina.

The Chairman reported that he had talked with Miss Hazel Corbin about the possible merger of Spokesmen for Children into the American Parents Committee.

On motion duly made and seconded, it was resolved that if the Spokesmen for Children evidenced interest in this proposal that the Chairman be authorized to appoint a Committee to work out details.

Mrs. Jack Fahy summarized her report of what she and her staff accomplished, and failed to accomplish, during the past session of Congress. A complete copy of her report is attached herewith.

There was a preliminary discussion of our proposed legislative program for the 82nd Congress. (See attached yellow sheet)

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 2:30 p.m.

Mrs. Jack Fahy
Secretary pro tem

Confidential Report
to the members of the Board Of Directors of
THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, INC.
made by Mrs. Jack B. Fahy, the Executive Director
on October 17, 1950

Despite the economy wave and the international situation, the APC made considerable progress for children in the second session of the 81st Congress. Tangible legislation passed was the increased authorization under the Social Security Revision Act for Maternal and Child Health Services from $11 million to $16.5; Crippled Children's Services from $7.5 million to $15; and Child Welfare Services from $3.5 million to $10. At least a start was also achieved on needed aid for School Construction including a survey on long-term need.

Less tangible but probably more important was the growth in the prestige and strength of the APC. This is vital for long-term achievement of children's legislation. What we had already accomplished by our work in the first session became obvious the first month of the second session.

An effort was made in the House to change the Rules under which legislation is brought to the floor for action. This reversal would have seriously handicapped all social legislation. The APC was hurriedly called by Congressman Bailey of W. Va. and asked to confer with the strategists opposing the change. Within the course of three days the APC lobbyists talked to more than 250 Congressmen. The move to change the Rules was defeated, and our work was rewarded by a luncheon with the White House advisors. Subsequently we have been in frequent consultation with the top Administration advisors on strategy for that part of the Administration program we support. From this spring-board we were able to approach the Bureau of the Budget with whom we have been in continuous touch in the hope of increasing the Children's Bureau appropriation. Our Board member, Mrs. Rosenman, attended our first conference with the Bureau.

We are pleased to report that 24 Senators, ranging from Southern Democrats to Northern Republicans, in addition to the Administration people, have called us for information and consultation, as well as 31 House members. A number of these call us frequently. In addition to these Members of Congress we should also mention the close working relations the APC has maintained with staff members not only of Senators and Congressmen but with the working staffs of Committees. These staff people are extremely useful in helping to get action on our program. For instance, a staff expert assigned to a sub-committee handling legislation in which we are interested can remind a busy Senator that he must call a meeting for action on the measure. We can also make suggestions to this staff member on the kind of a report we want written in order that the legislative history will safeguard our intent in the law.

Also, speaking generally, the APC has in this session greatly strengthened its mobilization powers. We have been able to secure the cooperation, in testifying, letter writing and calling upon Congress of labor groups, women's clubs, church organizations, farm, and veterans. We no longer have to explain who we are. It should be understood that when we talk of our success in the memorandum which follows, we extend appreciation to all of the cooperating organizations.

LEGISLATION:

1. The APC initiated and carried through the increases in Maternal and Child Health Services and Crippled Children's Services under the Social Security Revision Act. Our original success was due to personally convincing several key Senators. The final acceptance of these increases despite the economy wave was due to

supplying Senators and Congressmen with detailed information on these programs in their home states. We secured most of it from writing to the State Directors of the programs. This material was not only convincing on their home state needs but was material that was useful to them for general background. This was evidenced by the thank-you letters we received.

Organization support was evidenced by the CIO statement that although centered on other provisions of the Act said, "Finally we endorse the recommendations on child welfare services which have been made by the APC."

A Senator told us that during the appropriation struggle for administrative funds (which we lost in conference) that a government official approached him stating that the APC lobbyist was on vacation but that the APC requested he get some action on these funds. He further reported that of course he immediately did so.

The revisions of the Social Security Act that were passed this session which increased by $13,000,000 the grants in aid to the states for maternal and child health and crippled children services were initiated by the American Parents Committee, and its enactment was largely due to our efforts and it is the biggest single achievement that the APC has accomplished in its history. We also helped in the passage of securing the increased grants of $6,500,000 for the child welfare grants, but for this we can only take partial credit.

2. School construction legislation was passed in the Senate during the first session. A House sub-committee toured the country during the recess between sessions studying the needs primarily in areas affected by emergency defense or military establishments. We tried to get local witnesses representing long-term needs at these hearings. These Congressmen were convinced of the emergency needs and convinced the entire House Education and Labor Committee. Due to the rush to adjourn negotiations were simultaneously being carried on for appropriations in the Senate. The House rejected the Bureau of the Budget's estimate for funds and insisted that the Senate request more. In turn Senator Humphrey demanded that the survey on long-term needs be included. The result was inclusion of the survey and more funds than the Bureau of the Budget requested. Yet these funds will only provide for 155 school districts whereas the Congressmen know that 500 to 600 districts desparately need help.

Inadequate as this Act is, its importance lies in the fact that it was introduced for the 1st time in the 81st Congress and its new concept of federal aid for school construction was passed in the same Congress. It is usually estimated that new legislation requires three sessions for enactment. Our success in sponsoring this act is due to the articulate, effective cooperation of the School Superintendents in the Emergency Districts led by our Board member, Mr. Oscar Rose, and the careful technical guidance provided by another Board member, Mr. Alden Lillywhite.

3. Children's Bureau Appropriations: The hearings both in the Senate and the House on the Children's Bureau Budget were far more friendly and sympathetic than in previous years, despite the fact that no increase was granted. This attitude was not only shown to our own witnesses, APC Board member Max Grant in the House, and Mr. Hecht in the Senate, but was evident for the representative of the Children's Bureau when they appeared. We were told that this was due to the continuous spade work of the APC. The Administration request was in itself inadequate. Even this the economy members of the House Appropriations Committee cut. The APC lined up 36 Congressmen to back up Congressman Bolling in a Floor fight to restore the cut. This plan was abandoned when the Sub-Committee majority and minority leaders could not restore any of the cut suffered by the Public Health

Cancer Institute. It was obvious that "economy" would win and all amendments to increase, including the Children's Bureau, were dropped. We won restoration of the cut in the Senate but despite continued activity on the House, we lost in conference.

4. School Lunch Appropriation: We held last year's $83½ Billion appropriation for the School Lunch program, but contrary to expectations, the Secretary of Agriculture was not authorized to pay transportation of surplus foods for this program. The House passed a Bill providing this authority but the Senate Agriculture Committee tabled it and announced no further meetings before the recess. Due to the activity of Church groups and supporters of CARE (also to be included in this authorization), and our personal lobbying in addition to 700 letters for action, the Committee not only met but reported the Bill favorably. The White House requested action. Senator Lucas agreed to bring it to the floor before adjournment. It was strangled by the anti-subversive bill filibuster. Although it was obvious that it would not get to the floor for a vote, the APC lobbyied the tired Senators throughout the night of the filibuster.

5. For the first six months of the session continuous efforts were made to get a Federal Aid to Education Bill out of the House Education and Labor Committee to the Floor for debate and a vote. In this we and the many other organizations were unsuccessful.. We maintain our ability to confer with representatives of all sides of this controversy.

6. There was little direct work on our sponsored School Health Bill. It was caught behind the Aid to Medical Education Bill in the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. We mainly harrassed by frequent inquiry as to the status of the latter. We did several times try to get a quorum present for action on the latter Bill in the hope that once it moved, School Health would be acted on.

7. The only health measure that the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee did take action on was Local Public Health Units. This was reported favorably but failed to secure a Rule for floor action. We not only worked on this Bill but were used as the liason between the House by the main Senatorial sponsor, Senator Hill.

8. Second session activity on Child Research was confined to frequent conferences between Agency people, Senators, staff members, and social scientists. No action was taken by the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

9. Late in the session the Aid to the Education of Physically Handicapped Children was introduced. Hearings were held in the Senate and the APC testified in favor of the Bill. No action was taken.

10. Reorganization Plan Number 27 to establish in the Cabinet a Department of Health, Education, and Welfare received concentrated and intensive attention. The APC acted as secretary of a clearing house of information on this plan for all interested organizations. The APC testified both in the House and the Senate. We saw innumerable Senators and Congressmen and were frequently consulted by Administration leaders who believed that the plan would be accepted despite our early estimate of defeat. After the defeat recognition was given of our realistic knowledge of the Hill.

The APC testified on legislation four times in the House and five in the Senate. Of these nine times only three statements were presented by Board members,

including Mr. Hecht, the remainder by the staff. It is recommended that in the next session more Board members testify.

Miscellaneous: The APC gave the final testimony on the hearings on Low Income Families for the Committee on the Joint Economic Report. We were requested by the Staff Economist to appear at this time because they felt the effect of low incomes on children would be a good summation.

This testimony was particularly effective because we used to illustrate our statement photographs taken by Marion Palfi during a year's Rosenwald Fellowship to study by camera children in the United States. Mrs. White also used her photographs in her School Lunch testimony for us.

The APC also testified on the needs of migrant children before the President's Commission on Migrant Labor.

As part of the Children's Bureau's program we supported House Joint Resolution No. 334 that called for an increase in the U.S. contribution to the American International Institute for the Protection of Childhood. This is a Pan-American program started in 1919. In 1946 its council revised the contribution scale and the U.S. assessment was raised from $2000 to $10,000 a year. Congress ignored this increase until this year which meant that small and poor countries such as Guatemala were contributing more than we were. Due to our efforts Congress not only appropriated $10,000 but the arrears we owed from 1946 on.

Our news release in January outlining our program for the second session received broad publicity. A photostatic copy of the New York Times story was sent to every Congressman and Senator. It was subsequently inserted in the Congressional Record. Good publicity was given to our testimony on the Children's Bureau Budget both in the House and in the Senate. Our School Construction testimony was also considered newsworthy.

At least once a month we prepared material on the request of Congressmen or Senators for speeches, both in Congress and out.

A small luncheon was given to award an APC medal for two Senators who had done most for children, Senators Thomas of Utah and Senator Aiken of Vermont. To this we invited a small group of representatives of cooperating organizations and Administration people. It was most helpful for additional cooperation and publicity.

The APC has participated in the planning for the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth as a member of the National Organizations Advisory Committee. There have been a number of meetings at which the APC has consistently urged that discussion time be given during the Conference to implementation of what ever recommendations are made.

Our mailing list has increased from approximately 500 to 1,750. These are tabbed for special interests for quick appeals. Its usefulness was indicated in the last minute work on School Lunch when we sent out 700 letters.

PROPOSED APC LEGISLATIVE OBJECTIVES FOR THE 82nd CONGRESS

for the consideration of the Board of Directors

1. Appropriations for the full funds authorized under the Social Security Revision Act for Maternal and Child Health Services, Crippled Children's Services, and Child Welfare and also adequate appropriation for the U.S. Children's Bureau's administration of these grants.
2. A School Construction Bill providing for long-term needs. The Act passed this year is only for areas where the Federal Government owned most of the taxable property and its appropriation was insufficient to cover all of such areas.
3. An adequate appropriation for the U.S. Children's Bureau.
4. Adequate appropriation for the School Lunch Program with full recognition of who has to pay for the transportation of surplus foods.
5. A General Federal Aid to Education Bill.
6. A local Public Health Units Bill.
7. A School Health Bill if we decide that the increased Maternal and Child Health Services and the Local Public Health Units Bill will not meet this need.
8. Research in Child Life and Development. This can either be special legislation or worked out under the original authority of the U. S. Children's Bureau.
9. Federal Aid to Education of Physically Handicapped Children.
10. Cabinet status for the Federal Security Agency
11. Day Care Centers
12. Legislation affecting children of migrants.
13. Federal Aid for Medical Education

PLUS whatever additional legislation the APC's Board of Directors may from time to time vote to add to this list.

1- American Parents Committee

Southern Regional Council
JUN 24 1949

MINUTES OF THE TENTH MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
OF THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, INC.

The tenth meeting of the Board of Directors of The American Parents Committee, Inc. was duly held on the 20th day of June, 1949 at 4:30 p.m. at 52 Vanderbilt Avenue in the Borough of Manhattan, City, County and State of New York pursuant to written notice thereof mailed to each Director.

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman, Mr. Hecht.

The minutes of the last meeting were approved as mailed out.

Mr. Hecht announced that Mr. Lowell Iberg, Dr. Alfred J. Marrow and Professor Joseph Stone have accepted their recent election to the Board. On a motion duly made and seconded Mr. Joseph Savage of the National Foundation of Infantile Paralysis was elected to the Board.

The Chairman presented a plan for the joint sponsorship and promotion by The American Parents Committee and Parents' Magazine of Children's Day, the third Sunday of October of each year. Children's Day would have two objectives: (1) It will be a fitting occasion for churches and civic and community gatherings to call attention to the basic educational, health, recreational and welfare needs of children and to discuss ways of meeting these needs. (2) It will be an appropriate opportunity for parents and others who love children to evidence their love in tangible ways. The President submitted an editorial to appear in the October issue of Parents' Magazine and showed the Children's Day poster which had been produced, reproductions of which will be sold to department stores, and chain stores. The Chairman stated that the publishers of Parents' Magazine had agreed to pay all the costs of printing and selling the posters and for the promotion of the day and that any profits that would result from the sale of posters would be turned over to the American Parents Committee.

On motion duly made and seconded it was Resolved that the Chairman was authorized to sign a contract with the publishers of Parents' Magazine embodying the above understanding.

On a motion duly made and seconded it was Resolved to organize a National Council on the Observance of Children's Day which would be a division of The American Parents Committee and he was authorized to appoint a Child Welfare Committee which would advise and cooperate in using the day for the stressing of educational, health and child welfare needs and a Trade Promotion Committee of department store and chain store and trade association executives to advise and cooperate in promoting the day through retail stores.

On motion duly made and seconded it was Resolved to ask Senators Young, Langley and Humphreys who proposed a Resolution in the U. S. Senate calling on the President to officially proclaim Children's Day on the second Saturday in June of each year, to change the date to the third Sunday in October when it would not conflict with Father's Day. Furthermore the fall, when schools were getting under way, seems to be a better time of the year for the observance of the day.

There being no further the meeting was adjourned.

Approved: George J. Hecht, Chairman

Clara S. Littledale, Secretary pro-tem

Editorial to appear in the October 1949 issue of PARENTS' MAGAZINE, which will have a paid circulation of more than 1,200,000 copies, going into homes in which there are about 2½ million children.

WHY CHILDREN'S DAY?

by George J. Hecht
Publisher of Parents' Magazine and
Chairman, American Parents Committee

Millions of children have each year asked the reasonable question, "There's a Mother's Day and a Father's Day, why not a Children's Day?" At long last, on the third Sunday of October, this brand new Day will be observed in honor of the Nation's children. Sponsored by the American Parents Committee and by Parents' Magazine, it will call upon all who have children or who are concerned with the welfare and happiness of children to set this day apart as a time when the needs of our boys and girls and the love we feel for them can be expressed in ways that are constructive and far-reaching as well as warm and personal.

Children's Day, on October 16th, will be the fitting occasion for churches and civic and community gatherings all over the country to call attention to the basic needs of children and to discuss better ways of meeting these needs. Briefly, such needs are: the best possible health care for all children; good schools, well built and equipped and above all well staffed with qualified teachers; mental hygiene care for children who are developing serious difficulties; better recreational facilities, public and private; the teaching of better intercultural relations and better international understanding in our schools; more attention to helping children learn to live and work in groups and to get along well with people, since getting along and working with people is basic to the success of democracy.

But Children's Day will not stress the national needs of children alone. Children's Day will be an additional opportunity for parents everywhere to show their love for their children in tangible ways. Because we love our children it is good to have a day when we can give special expression to our love, to the joy we feel in having children. Childhood is meant to be joyous, so too is parenthood. Whatever we do for children is better done if we fully realize the happiness that

children, cherished and well cared for, can bring to our lives and to the lives of all with whom they come in touch.

Remember the children you love on Children's Day. It is natural and right for us to want to give our children all that we can of the best things in life. Children are never spoiled by such giving if behind it is an understanding of their needs. This means, for instance, choosing toys best suited to the child's age and interests, toys that are well-made, play equipment which encourages the natural creativeness of children. It means giving our children needed apparel and other useful gifts, and as we are able, gifts of beauty and lasting value, thus guiding their tastes and stimulating their appreciation of fine things. Such giving, according to one's means, is a lasting joy to parents and children alike.

And so, because deeper concern and greater love for all children is one of our greatest needs today, we give you, Children's Day. Observe it importantly, joyously in the spirit of its 1949 slogan which is: "Children, the joy of today, the hope of tomorrow."

1- American Parents Committee

RECEIVED
MAY 27 1949
Southern Regional Council

MINUTES OF THE NINTH MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
OF THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, INC.

The ninth meeting of the Board of Directors of THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, INC. was duly held on the 18th day of May, 1949 at 4:15 p.m. at 52 Vanderbilt Avenue in the Borough of Manhattan, City, County and State of New York pursuant to written notice thereof mailed to each Director.

Those present were: Dr. Henry Noble MacCracken, Col. Harold Riegelman, Mr. Maximillian Elser, Mrs. George J. Hecht, and Mr. George J. Hecht.

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman, Mr. Hecht.

The minutes of the last meeting were approved.

Mr. Hecht reported on the following subjects:

(1) The effective and efficient Washington staff that the American Parents Committee now has.

(2) The National School Health Services Bill passed the Senate without a dissenting vote and has been introduced into the House by about fifteen Congressmen. A hearing before a House Sub-committee is expected shortly. This Bill was originally drafted by the American Parents Committee three years ago and we have been the principal sponsors. A large part of the time of the American Parents Committee staff has been working with the members of Congress about this Bill.

(3) The House of Representatives has voted $75 million for the National School Lunch Program for the governments next fiscal year and the Senate $87 million. The matter is now in conference committee between the two houses. The American Parents Committee testified for a bigger appropriation before committees.

(4) A Sub-committee of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee held a two day hearing on the National Child Research Bill which was drafted by the American Parents Committee. The American Parents Committee staff arranged for all the testimony at the hearing which turned out to be very successful. Senator Murray, who presided, indicated early passage of the bill. The bill has been introduced into both houses and a hearing by a House Committee is expected shortly.

(5) The American Parents Committee bill on School Construction has been introduced in the Senate by Senator Humphreys, who is Chairman of the School Sub-committee of the Senate Labor and Public Welfare Committee.

Mr. Hecht reported that Mrs. Berle, elected to the Board at the last meeting, had not accepted membership. A motion duly made is seconded and the following persons were elected to fill vacancies on the Board of Directors: Dr. Alfred J. Marrow, Research Director of the Harwood Manufacturing Company; Mrs. Alvin Thalhiemer of the Maryland Board of Education; Mrs. Margaret Lewisohn, President of the Public Education Association of New York City and Professor Joseph Stone of Vassar College.

The President asked the assistance in raising money for the organization and in getting more people on its Board who could devote time to the organizations activities.

There being no further business to come before the meeting, the meeting adjourned at 5:15 p.m.

GEORGE J. HECHT
Chairman & Secretary Pro Tem

1- American Parents Ctee

MINUTES OF THE EIGHTH MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
OF THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, INC.

RECEIVED
FEB 14 1949
Southern Regional Council

The eighth meeting of the Board of Directors of THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, INC. was duly held on the 2nd day of February, 1949 at 4:15 p.m. at 52 Vanderbilt Avenue in the Borough of Manhattan, City, County and State of New York pursuant to written notice thereof mailed to each Director.

Those present were: Dr. Henry Noble MacCracken, Messrs. Shelby Harrison, Rowland Burnstan, George J. Hecht and Mrs. Mary E. Buchanan (representing Mrs. Clara Savage Littledale), Mrs. George J. Hecht, Dr. Hildegard Durfee, and Mrs. Arthur White.

The meeting was called to order by the Chairman, Mr. Hecht

The minutes of the last meeting were approved and ordered filed.

The Chairman announced the resignation of Mr. Anson Lowitz from the Board.

On motion duly made and seconded, the following officers were elected for the ensuing year:

Chairman, George J. Hecht; Vice Chairmen, Dr. Henry Noble MacCracken, Mrs. Dorothy Canfield Fisher, Mr. Walt Disney and Robert L. Johnson; Secretary, Melvyn G. Lowenstein; Assistant Secretary, George Gibson; Treasurer, Harold A. Rich; Assistant Treasurer, G. Theodore Zignone.

Dr. MacCracken suggested there should be an equal number of women officers of the organization, as there are men, and it was decided to add a number of women vice-chairmen. The Chairman was authorized to recommend additional women vice-chairmen at the next meeting of the Board. Among the women suggested were: Dr. Mary Fisher Langmuir, Mrs. Beardsley Ruml, Mrs. Marshall Field III and Mrs. Mildred McEvoy Horton.

Approval was given to the establishment of the National Child Welfare Fund of the American Parents Committee, Inc. which Fund would be used to finance the APC's work for federal legislation to secure better schools and more adequate health and welfare services for the Nation's 46 million children, many of whom are in serious need.

The Chairman announced that he had received a contribution of $5,000 from The Parents' Institute, Inc. establishing a special fund to finance the preparation and dissemination of essential, authentic information and to finance the expenses of experts to give their views to Congress -- or its established appropriate committees - to further the passage of the National Child Research Bill.

The Chairman reported on his money-raising efforts for the organization and asked the members of the Board to lend every possible assistance. Mr. Hecht stated that $2,500 had been received from the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, Inc., $500 from Mrs. Adele R. Levy and some smaller amounts from other people whom he had personally contacted.

The Chairman reported the establishment of a newsletter, WASHINGTON REPORT ON LEGISLATION FOR CHILDREN, with the first issue in January, 1949 and stated that he had received paid subscriptions at $2 a year from approximately fifty persons of the most important organizations in the country, a list of which was read during the meeting.

On motion duly made and seconded it was

RESOLVED to approve The American Parents Committee sponsorship for a bill for federal aid for pediatric education which would embody the recommendations of the American Academy of Pediatrics resulting from their nation-wide study of Child Health Services, with the understanding that drafts of the Bill would be circulated to members of the Board of Directors of The American Parents Committee.

The Chairman gave a report of the activities of the Washington Office of The American Parents Committee. Mr. Hecht said that he expected the National Child Research Bill would be introduced by Senator Douglas, Democrat of Illinois and Representative J. Percy Priest, Democrat of Tennessee.

The Chairman reported that substantial progress was being made with The National School Health Services Bill in the Senate and he was very hopeful of its early passage.

The Chairman reported about the increasing recognition that was being accorded The American Parents Committee and told of the many requests for assistance that the APC staff was called upon to give to members of the House and Senate.

There being no further business, the meeting adjourned at 5:15 p. m.

MARY E. BUCHANAN
Secretary pro-tem

APPROVED:

GEORGE J. HECHT,
Chairman

DECLASSIFIED
JAN 1 1948
Authority Copies

MINUTES OF THE FOURTH MEETING OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS ("EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE") OF THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, INC.

The fourth meeting of the Board of Directors of THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE INC., was duly held at 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, in the Borough of Manhattan, City, County and State of New York, on the 15th day of December, 1947, at 4:15 PM, pursuant to written notice thereof mailed to each director.

Those present were Messrs. Baumburg, Lowenstein, Hecht, Mrs. Littledale and by invitation, Mr. Arthur C. Fatt, Vice President of the Grey Advertising Agency, Inc. of New York City.

The minutes of the last meeting of the Board of Directors were approved.

On motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried the following additional member of the Board of Directors ("Executive Committee") was elected:

ARTHUR C. FATT

On motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried the following additional officers were elected:

Vice-Chairman Walt DISNEY, Motion Picture Producer
" " " " " ROBERT L. JOHNSON, Pres. Temple University

The Chairman reported that a proposal had been made to transfer the health activities of the U. S. Children's Bureau to the U. S. Public Health Service. In his opinion this would be most unfortunate and would disintegrate the Children's Bureau's operation. He felt that the Children's Bureau was doing a splendid and very useful job and that no part of its present functions should be taken from it. On motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried it was

RESOLVED that the Chairman should write Mr. Oscar R. Ewing, Federal Security Administrator, and take whatever steps he felt necessary to oppose the transfer of the health activities of the U. S. Children's Bureau to the U.S. Public Health Service.

The Chairman reported that the appropriation for the U. S. Children's Bureau for the Government's fiscal year ending July 31st, 1948, was only $431,000, not counting the grants made to the states under Title V of the Social Security Act and for the liquidating EMIC (Emergency Maternity and Infant Care) Program for the wives of men in military or naval service and certain funds appropriated to administer these grants-in-aid.

Of the $431,000 only a small amount was allocated for child life research. The Chairman pointed out that millions of dollars were spent by the Government for military and naval research; for cancer and other medical research, and in research on the diseases of farm animals and that a negligible amount was being appropriated for research on child life, child health, child welfare and juvenile delinquency. On motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried it was

RESOLVED that the Chairman be authorized to appear before the House of Representatives' Appropriations Committee in support of a request for an increased appropriation for the U.S. Children's Bureau and particularly for increased appropriations for child life and child welfare research and to take whatever other steps he felt desirable to achieve this goal.

There being no further business to come before the meeting, upon motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried, the meeting was adjourned at 5:00 PM.

Melvyn G. Lowenstein, Secretary

APPROVED: _____
George J. Hecht, Chairman

MINUTES OF THE THIRD MEETING OF THE BOARD
OF DIRECTORS ("EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE") OF THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, INC.

The third meeting of the Board of Directors of THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, INC., was duly held at 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, in the Borough of Manhattan, City, County and State of New York, on the 12th day of November, 1947, at 4 o'clock P.M., pursuant to written notice thereof mailed to each director.

Those present were Messrs. Naumburg, Burnstan, Lowenstein, Hecht, Mrs. Littledale and by invitation, Mr. Robert Halpern, Vice-President of the United Parents Associations of New York City.

The minutes of the last meeting of the Board of Directors were approved by the directors present.

On motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried the following additional members of the Board of Directors ("Executive Committee") were elected:

DAVID BAIRD
GEORGE V. DENNY, JR.
SHELBY M. HARRISON
DR. MARY FISHER LANGMUIR
ANSON LOWITZ
DR. HENRY NOBLE MacCRACKEN
DR. GEORGE S. MITCHELL
DR. JOHN K. NORTON
MRS. REEVE SCHLEY
MRS. DE FOREST VAN SLYKE

On motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried the following officers were elected:

Chairman - GEORGE J. HECHT
Vice-Chairman - MRS. DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER
" " " " - DR. HENRY NOBLE MacCRACKEN
Treasurer - HAROLD A. RICH
Assistant Treasurer - G. THEODORE ZIGNONE
Secretary - MELVYN G. LOWENSTEIN
Assistant Secretary - GEORGE GIBSON

The Chairman presented the attached budget calling for an expenditure of $32,150 during the year 1948. This budget was approved with the understanding that no money would be spent until it is in sight.

The Chairman reported that Mrs. Dorothy W. Thomson, a trained newspaper and contact person had been working for the APC in Washington for some months at a salary of $110 a week, and it was decided that her employment should be

continued and that she would have the title of Washington Director of the organization.

The Chairman submitted a number of mimeographed bulletins which he had prepared. These included (1) A Statement of Fundamental Belief of the officers and committee members of the APC. (2) The first APC bulletin on proposed Federal Legislation affecting the Welfare of the Nation's Children. (3) Suggested Community Activities for Local APC Chapters and other Parent Groups. (4) How to Organize a Local APC Chapter. (5) Fund-Raising Suggestions for APC Chapters. Comments were invited from those present and the Chairman asked all Directors to send in criticisms and suggestions regarding this mimeographed material. These bulletins were mimeographed purposely in order that suggested changes could be incorporated before these bulletins were printed.

The Chairman outlined a suggested program of work for the next few months as follows:

(1) Concentrated effort to secure the passage of the National School Health Services Bill.

(2) A Conference on Saving the National School Lunch Program to be held on November 21st at the National Education Association in Washington, to which more than 100 national organizations have been invited.

(3) Participation in the Conference Group organization by the National Education Association for the passage of a Federal Aid to Education Bill.

(4) Assistance to Committee on Children of the newly organized National Citizen's Council on Migrant Labor.

On motion duly made, seconded and carried this program was unanimously approved.

Mr. Halpern brought up the subject of an affiliation between the APC and the United Parents Associations of New York City, with more than 100 thousand members. The matter was discussed fully and Mr. Halpern said he would confer further with his associates regarding it and would report back.

There being no further business to come before the meeting, upon motion duly made, seconded and unanimously carried, the meeting was adjourned.

Melvyn G. Lowenstein, Secretary

APPROVED:
George J. Hecht, Chairman

July 6, 1953

Mr. George J. Hecht, Chairman
The American Parents Committee
52 Vanderbilt Ave.
New York 17, N. Y.

Dear Mr. Hecht:

Apologies for being slow in answering your letter of June 3.

I do not happen to know of any citizens groups who are studying the problems you raise. I get the bulletin from the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, and they show some activity in Tennessee, Kentucky, and Texas, but I don't know at all whether they interest themselves in the problem of federal aid.

My own opinion is that the action of the Supreme Court, when it comes, on the segregation cases is going to make necessary a very substantial program of federal aid to school building. When the time comes, I should suppose that Southern Senators and Congressmen would put up such a demand for federal aid that they would get it. The more so, as Eisenhower in the campaign, to my mind, foreshadowed some such appropriation.

We are busying ourselves just now to get started local discussion groups on the issues bound to arise from the Supreme Court decision, and of course, out of them will come some citizen pressure for federal aid.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ec

The American Parents Committee, Inc.

A Child Welfare Organization working for More and Better Schools,
and for Adequate Health and Social Welfare Services for the Nation's 50 Million Children

Kindly address your reply to office checked: ☐ WASHINGTON OFFICE: 132 Third St., S. E. TEL: LINCOLN 6-4526 ☑ NATIONAL OFFICE: 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N. Y. TEL: MU 5-4400

June 24, 1953

RECEIVED
JUN 25
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I wrote you a pretty important airmail letter on June 3 and I have not yet received a reply.

I am wondering whether, by any chance, the letter went astray.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE J. HECHT
Chairman

GJH/h at

Board of Directors and National Council Members

Chairman

GEORGE J. HECHT — President of The Parents' Institute, Inc. (Publishers of Parents' Magazine). Founder and Secretary for 20 years of the Welfare Council of New York City; Vice-Pres., Social Legislation Information Service

Vice-Chairmen

MRS. GERTRUDE FOLKS ZIMAND — General Secretary, National Child Labor Committee

RICHARD H. WELS — Chairman, Special Committee on the Improvement Family Laws, New York City Bar Association

MRS. DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER — Novelist and Educator, Arlington, Vermont

ROBERT L. JOHNSON — President, Temple University, Philadelphia

Treasurer

HAROLD A. RICH — Vice President, Chase National Bank, New York

Secretary

MELVYN GORDON LOWENSTEIN — Attorney, New York; Secretary, Baby Ruth Foundation

Executive Director — in Washington Office
ADA BARNETT STOUGH

NOTE: The officers, directors and National Council members listed on this letterhead may not personally endorse (nor are the organizations with which they are associated in anyway committed to) each piece of legislation favored or opposed by the APC. The APC's position on each piece of federal legislation for children in which it interests itself is determined by its Board of Directors, which gives its approval only if a majority of its members concur. Members of the National Council are indicated by an asterisk.

JOSEPH P. ANDERSON, Executive Secretary, American Association of Social Workers

MRS. LOUIS AZRAEL, Board Member, YM & YWHA of Baltimore, Md.

DAVID BAIRD, President of the Baird Foundation and the Lansing Foundation, New York

RUSSELL W. BALLARD, Director Hull House Association, Chicago, Ill.

EDITH VALET COOK*, Attorney and Counsellor at Law, New Haven, Conn.

MRS. MARGARET CULKIN BANNING,* Author, Duluth, Minn.

MRS. ALGER B. CHAPMAN, Board Member, Region 2, Girl Scouts

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR.*, Radio Forum Moderator

MRS. LaFELL DICKINSON*, Honorary President, General Federation of Women's Clubs

MRS. WENDELL D. DORNAN*, Muscatine, Iowa; Former Executive Director of the American Parents Committee

DR. HILDEGARDE DURFEE*, Brattleboro, Vt. Child psychologist.

MRS. EDWIN W. EISENDRATH*, Chairman, Illinois Commission on Children & Youth

MAXIMILIAN ELSER, President, Elser & Cothran, New York

MRS. JOSEPH R. FARRINGTON, former President, National Federation of Women's Republican Clubs, Washington, D. C.

DR. BENJAMIN FINE, Education Editor of the New York Times

MRS. HERBERT F. FISHER, Hartford, Conn. Treasurer, Child Welfare League of America, Inc.

DR. ROMA GANS, Prof. of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University; Board Member, Citizens' Committee on Children of New York

MR. D. SAMUEL GOTTESMAN, President, Gottesman Foundation

MAX GRANT, President of Money Meters, Inc., Providence, R. I.

CARL A. GRAY, President of the Grenby Manufacturing Co., Plainville, Conn.

MRS. LUTHER GULICK, Board Member, Consumers League of New York

MISS HELEN HALL, Director, Henry Street Settlement, New York. Chairman, National Association of Consumers

DR. HAROLD C. HAVIGHURST*, Dean, School of Law, Northwestern University, Chicago, Ill.

MRS. GEORGE J. HECHT, President, Ass'n of Neighbors & Friends of Hunter College; Board Member, New York Society for the Orthopedically Handicapped

GERTRUDE HESS, Executive Secretary, Republican County Committee of N. Y.

CARLOS L. ISRAELS, New York attorney; Treasurer, United Service for New Americans

MRS. ARCHIE O. JOSLIN

MERRILL KRUGHOFF*, Director, Health & Welfare Planning, Community Chests and Councils of America

DR. MARY FISHER LANGMUIR, President of the Child Study Association of America; Head of the Department of Child Study, Vassar College

MRS. ALBERT D. LASKER, Co-Chairman, National Mental Health Committee

MISS KATHARINE F. LENROOT*, Former Chief, U. S. Children's Bureau

MRS. SAMUEL A. LEWISOHN, Chairman of the Board, Public Education Association of New York City; member of National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools

B. ALDEN LILLYWHITE, Vice-Chairman, Arlington, Va. Citizens' Committee for School Improvement

MRS. CLARA SAVAGE LITTLEDALE, Editor, Parents' Magazine

MRS. OSWALD B. LORD, U. S. Representative to United Nations Commission on Human Rights

DR. ALFRED J. MARROW, President, Harwood Manufacturing Corp., New York; Lecturer, New School of Social Research

LEONARD MAYO*, Director Association for the Aid of Crippled Children

MRS. JINX FALKENBERG, McCRARY*, Radio commentator

DR. GEORGE S. MITCHELL*, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Ga.

MRS. CHARLES MONROE, Board Member of Child Welfare League of America. Former Executive, Junior League of New York City

R. MAURICE MOSS, Associate Director, National Urban League

GEORGE W. NAUMBURG, Chairman of the Finance Committee, Federation of Jewish Philanthropies, New York; President of the Baron de Hirsh Fund

MRS. SAMUEL I. NEWHOUSE, Wife of the publisher of a chain of twelve newspapers

BASIL O'CONNOR, President, Nat'l Foundation for Infantile Paralysis; Former President, American Nat'l Red Cross

DR. RALPH H. OJEMANN*, Iowa Child Welfare Research Station, Univ. of Iowa

MRS. LIONEL C. PERERA, JR.

MR. LEO PERLIS, National Director, Nat'l CIO Community Services Committee

COL. HAROLD RIEGELMAN, Partner of Nordlinger, Riegelman & Benetar, New York law firm. Counsel for New York Citizens Budget Commission

OSCAR V. ROSE, Superintendent of Schools of Midwest City, Okla.

DR. ROBERT SEARS*, Director, Laboratory of Human Development, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

DR. GEORGE N. SHUSTER, President of Hunter College, New York

MRS. FREDERICK SPIEGEL*, Board Member, Infant Welfare Society of Illinois

MRS. HAROLD A. STONE, Arlington, Va. Former Vice-President, League of Women Voters of the U. S.

PROF. L. JOSEPH STONE, Child Study Dept., Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

MRS. ALVIN THALHEIMER, Former member of Maryland State Board of Education

MRS. DE FOREST VAN SYLCK*, Washington, D. C.

MRS. ARTHUR WHITE, Mayor, Red Bank, N. J.

MISS ELIZABETH WICKENDEN, Former Washington Representative of the American Public Welfare Association

MRS. JOSEPH WILLEN, Chairman, Legislative Committee of Nat'l Council of Jewish Women

PHILIP H. WILLKIE*, Member of Indiana House of Representatives

The American Parents Committee, Inc.

A Child Welfare Organization working for More and Better Schools,
and for Adequate Health and Social Welfare Services for the Nation's 50 Million Children

Kindly address your reply to office checked: ☐ WASHINGTON OFFICE: 132 Third St., S. E. TEL: LINCOLN 6-4526 ☐ NATIONAL OFFICE: 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N. Y. TEL: MU 5-4400

June 3, 1953

RECEIVED
JUN 5
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I am of the opinion that the southern states are in a particularly vulnerable position because of the decrease in federal grants-in-aid in the health, education and welfare fields. I presume you are fully aware of this and I would be interested to know as to whether any studies or plans are being made to gather data to combat the trend.

As you probably know, there is a bill in Congress to authorize a Commission to study all the federal aid programs and to make recommendations. It is fully possible that this Commission will come up with recommendations, suggesting that federal aid programs such as 1) aid for school lunches, 2) crippled childrens' services, 3) child welfare services, 4) maternal and child health services, be eliminated or substantially reduced. With the elimination of federal aid the poorer states and communities will not be able to offer childrens' services anywhere comparable to those in the wealthier states.

It would therefore seem to me that in the southern states either citizens groups or organizations should start studies on the value to them of the various federal aid programs and what would happen to their work if the federal aid was eliminated.

I would like to hear from you whether any states have started such studies and if so would you give me the names and addresses of organizations that are making them. Is your organization doing anything in this connection? I would like very much to get your views on this matter.

Kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE J. HECHT
Chairman

GJH/nat

See reverse side for the APC's Officers, Board of Directors, and National Council

THE CRITICAL SITUATION OF THE

UNITED NATIONS INTERNATIONAL CHILDREN'S EMERGENCY FUND (UNICEF)

and what you can do to help get the U. S. to continue its support of this, the most universally acclaimed of all United Nations activities

The United States has not contributed nor even appropriated any money to support the 1953 activities of the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. Unless the United States continues to support this, the most universally acclaimed of all United Nations activities, UNICEF will dwindle and undoubtedly collapse.

Unlike many international activities for which the United States puts out all or the predominant part of the money, the U. S. has supplied less than one-third of the total that UNICEF has spent during the seven years of its existence, and 61 other nations have made governmental contributions to it, many of them year after year.

$9,814,000 was authorized at the last session of Congress of the United States for UNICEF's 1953 activities, but the money still needs to be appropriated. This will come up for Congressional vote in May, June or July. The Congress of the United States has adopted the policy of limiting its contribution to one-third of the total cost of UNICEF activities. In other words the other countries must contribute $2 for every dollar that the U. S. gives. The other countries of the world have already paid in or appropriated as their share of the international fund and the required matching money, more than $20,000,000 to justify the 1953 contribution of the U. S. Our contribution of $9,814,000 is not only a moral obligation, but on its appropriation the continuance of UNICEF's important work principally depends.

During its seven years of operation the UNICEF has directly aided more than 60 million children in more than 72 countries. In 1953 it aims to reach over 25 million children and mothers. This vital work must go on!

UNICEF is the greatest child welfare effort of all time. Immediately after the last World War, UNICEF concentrated on the mass feeding of destitute children in the war-torn countries of Europe. Recently UNICEF has launched long-range fundamental child welfare projects in the under-developed countries of Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America. These projects include campaigns against malaria, yaws, and tuberculosis among children, setting up maternal and child welfare centers, and schools for training midwives.

A letter from you to your Congressman will help to get this UNICEF appropriation passed. Write to your Congressman, c/o the House of Representatives Office Building, Washington, D. C. Tell your Congressman that you believe in the work of UNICEF and urge him to vote for continuing adequate support for it. If you need to refresh your memory on who is your Congressman, call up your local newspaper, local library or county clerk. If you are willing to write two more letters, please write also to your Senators, c/o the Senate Office Building. We are counting on you to write!

GEORGE J. HECHT
Publisher, Parents' Magazine and
Chairman, American Parents Committee
52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17
Tel: Murray Hill 5-4400

TESTIMONY FOR AN ADEQUATE APPROPRIATION FOR THE U. S. CHILDREN'S BUREAU

before a Sub-committee of the Senate Appropriations Committee, May 25, 1953

By GEORGE J. HECHT
Chairman, American Parents Committee, Inc.
and Publisher, Parents' Magazine

Our purpose this morning is to urge you to approve adequate appropriations for the Children's Bureau. Mrs. Ada Barnett Stough, the Executive Director of the American Parents Committee, Inc.,was here to hear the testimony of both Mrs. Hobby and Dr. Eliot before your Committee so I do not want to take your time in repeating facts and figures which you have had from these official sources. My purpose is: first to bring to you the opinion of a group of parents and tax payers on the importance of services for children, and second to share with you some data I have on what a cut in Children's Bureau grants-in-aid will do to childrens' services in various states.

As tax payers, members of the American Parents Committee are interested in economy in government, but as parents we have ideas about what is true economy and what becomes a "penny wise and pound foolish" policy. As the President said so well in his speech to the nation Tuesday night, "We live not in an instant of danger but in an age of danger". To meet such danger takes human resources as well as material resources. What will it profit us to spend billions for ships and planes and guns and ammunition if we neglect the health and welfare of today's children who will be the citizens and the defenders of the nation a few years hence. The money we spend on children now is the soundest possible investment for the future, whether that future brings the peace we hope for, or the war we are trying so hard to prevent.

I heard the Chief of the Children's Bureau discuss with Senator Thye the increasing number of children in the country. She presented the facts about the number of crippled children who are receiving no treatment whatsoever, and the high infant death rate in certain areas of the country. Senator Thye discussed with her the unrelieved and untreated social and emotional tensions among children which are resulting in increased juvenile delinquency.

The Children's Bureau is the one agency of government charged by law with special responsibility for children. Administering the grants-in-aid set up by the Social Security Act is only one of its legal responsibilities. Under the Act of 1912 it is also supposed to help parents and citizens with facts about children which it is to gather from investigations, also it must advise workers and agencies serving children on methods and standards of child care. Social research as it relates to children is woefully behind, the Bureau has not carried on the research it should have been doing.

We submit that the Children's Bureau has never been given the funds to carry out properly the responsibilities with which Congress has charged it. I am sure there have been reasons - which need not be considered now.

What I would like to discuss is the present, the job to be done if we are to build the human resources needed for the future, and whether or not we are willing to make the necessary investment to that end.

Since 1947 the staff of the Children's Bureau has been steadily shrinking. In 1947 it had funds for 339 positions, in 1953 it had money for 234. This year the Bureau of the Budget approved a request for six additional positions, three to help service states in the New England area, and three more to work with State agencies and others who are studying child welfare and child health. The revised budget

submitted by Mrs. Hobby cut out those six additional positions. Now the action by the House Appropriations Committee would cut the staff down to 225 positions. This means that more and more requests from the states for consultation, for special services they need with their particular problems or programs must go unanswered.

Now just a word about the grants-in-aid which help the states to carry out their maternal and child health and crippled children's programs and their work in the child welfare field. The amount authorized by Congress in 1950 was $40 million. This year's budget request as revised by the new Administration called for only $30,600,000 and now the House Committee would cut that to $30 million. Furthermore the House Committee deleted the language about the carry-over funds which are still standing to the credit of a few states which would have assured a more equitable distribution of whatever is finally voted for 1954.

As I figure it, if the House cuts are allowed to stand, and it looks as if they will, it means the services to children in the states in 1954 will be cut about 8% over what was available in 1953. In answer to our request, I have had letters from a fairly large number of states giving me examples of what such cuts would mean.

Child Welfare Services

Child welfare services translated in the language most of us understand is helping individual children over some of the difficult emotional and social hurdles that threaten to wreck their lives. Helping to keep children in their own homes, placing homeless children under proper foster care, aiding neglected and abused children are services the money you appropriate helps to finance. They are the services that can prevent juvenile delinquency, and help to develop normal citizens instead of candidates for jails or mental institutions. In working with troubled children it is just as important to have competent, professionally trained people as it is to have licensed doctors to treat crippled children. But there is a shortage of trained child welfare workers. For that reason some of the funds under the Child Welfare grants are spent on stipends and scholarships for professional training.

CALIFORNIA

A letter from Miss Lucile Kennedy, chief of the Division of Child Welfare of California stresses the points I have just made and then goes on to say that only 19 of California's 56 counties have any professionally trained staff for child welfare. One of several examples she gives is of Tommy, who was a healthy boy, an "A" student, and winner of an American Legion Award as the outstanding boy in his school. Then at the age of 10, both his parents died and he was placed in an institution. As time went on, he lost interest in school and developed many physical ailments. Four years ago, Miss Kennedy says the doctor who examined him at the clinic said he could find nothing wrong with Tommy physically but felt that the boy would continue to deteriorate if he remained in an institution. Yet because there is no staff in that county to take on Tommy's case and find a home which will adopt him or give him foster care, Tommy is still in the institution.

NEW MEXICO writes that it has child welfare service in only 10 of its 32 counties. Several of the counties have very serious child welfare problems, particularly in those areas where air bases have been reactivated. New Mexico's share of money spent for child welfare services is more than five times that of the federal share.

Crippled Children's Services

NEW MEXICO has not been able to get state funds for work with crippled children beyond what is needed to match federal funds. If there is a cut in funds, New Mexico would be able to continue its existing basic medical care for the number of children

now under treatment, but the extra care and service needed by many crippled children would be cut out. New Mexico had hoped to begin some services for needy children with cerebral palsy, convulsive disorders, rheumatic fever and congenital heart disease, but if federal funds should be cut, none of these services can be offered.

Under funds now available IOWA is able to operate 34 mobile general clinics for crippled children and three or four cerebral palsy clinics each year. The demand is for twice that many. In operating the general clinics it became evident that the crippling ailments of many children were apparently a result of diet deficiencies. So money was allocated for a part-time nutritionist on the staff of the State Services for Crippled Children. She attends the mobile clinics and interviews parents of children referred to her by the doctors. Through this work the nutritionist is able to work with the child's mother to try to show her how to plan and prepare better balanced meals even with low cost foods.

The Iowa director says that if the grant for work with crippled children should be cut, the clinics now in operation would go back to a skeleton staff where such cases as those described would be seen only by physicians too busy to probe into the cause of the ailment, much less to do anything to help remedy the causes.

Maternal and Child Health Work

In WEST VIRGINIA there are 3,000 premature babies born each year. Dr. Helen Fraser, director of the division of Maternal and Child Welfare for that state says she is aware that the ideal solution would be to establish centers throughout the state where these babies might be cared for. Since that is not possible with the funds available, a Premature Nursery has been set up in Charleston which can take care of about 100 babies a year. This Nursery serves as a training center for the nurses from other hospitals of the state. Through it the hospitals are stimulated and helped to set up facilities for care of premature babies in their own area. There is a need for another such Nursery in the northern part of the state where it will be more accessible to nurses in that area. However, if there is a cut in budget another Nursery would be impossible and the activities of the one in Charleston will be curtailed.

At this point it seems appropriate to point out that providing the hospital facilities for the premature baby is only the beginning. The cost of such care is so high that it becomes prohibitive for many families. Dr. Edward Davens of the MARYLAND State Health Department sent us a copy of a letter he received from a desperate veteran of the Pacific Campaign of World War II asking if there was some way he could get help in meeting such costs. Their premature baby would have to be in the hospital for 3 months, and would have to have oxygen for two of those months. The father says, quote "We are willing to do everything to save our baby's life, yet the hospital bill is going entirely out of our reach. I make approximately $32.00 a week. Last week the hospital bill was $93.12. You can understand our financial status. My wife and I confided in Dr. M. She advised us to write to you to see if there was any way we can get financial help from the state" end of quote. Along with this letter is the carbon of a reply informing the veteran that there is nothing the Maryland Health Department can do since the relatively small amounts budgeted for hospital care under the maternal and child health program is greatly overdrawn, - they have failed to obtain a deficiency appropriation from the state legislature and there are no additional funds available from the Children's Bureau. How the father of that premature baby paid a three month hospital bill of over $1100 - with a total income of $384 in that time, is an unanswered question.

The American Parents Committee hopes that in the new Department of Health, Education and Welfare, the Children's Bureau will be given a status in keeping with the responsibilities it has under law. We believe that if it is placed where it can bring the interest and concern for the child into all the deliberations of the Department, it can produce for the nation rich dividends in the form of healthier, happier, more productive citizens.

What happens in our nation tomorrow will depend in great part on what happens to our children today. We hope that Members of the Senate will take a very serious look at this Budget request, that you will not concur in the action which the House seems about to take and that you will grant to the Bureau and to the states enough funds to keep up the services which millions of children so desperately need.

The American Parents Committee, Inc.

A Child Welfare Organization working for More and Better Schools,
and for Adequate Health and Social Welfare Services for the Nation's 50 Million Children

Kindly address your reply to office checked: ☐ WASHINGTON OFFICE: 132 Third St., S. E. TEL: LINCOLN 6-4526 ☒ NATIONAL OFFICE: 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N. Y. TEL: MU 5-4400

RECEIVED
NOV 25
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

November 23, 1953

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Before too long the American Parents Committee should present its views on present grant-in-aid programs for children to the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations headed by Dr. Clarence Manion. Unfortunately there was too little time to discuss this at the last Board meeting, but Mrs. Stough and I would like to have the benefit of your thinking on the subject.

We have in the past supported, defended, and worked actively for all grants-in-aid which help provide needed services for children. Certainly you will all want to continue that policy. However, I think we all recognize that there is merit in the statement by President Eisenhower to the effect that the present system is "a product of more than a century and a half of piecemeal and often haphazard growth" -- and that there is often "duplication and waste." Nothing ... even the present system of grants-in-aid ... is so perfect it cannot be improved upon.

It is improvement, not dissolution which we want, is it not? Maybe we won't get improvement if we do not present some constructive views to the Manion Commission. How to remodel the present grants-in-aid to meet more effectively today's needs for children is a big question. But, I do think we have a responsibility to come up with some specific suggestions.

You have had an opportunity to deal with some of the present programs. Will you take time to send us some of the ways you think the programs you know best might be improved.

> Are there ways they might be consolidated to make for smoother administration on the state and local level?
>
> Is there any common denominator of policy or philosophy which could be applied to all grants? For instance, some now require matching, some do not. Some formulas make for more aid to poorer states, others do not, etc.
>
> Should there be more supervision by Federal Government, more rigid standards, or should there be less?
>
> Should formulas be rewritten to provide greater stimulation for states to assume more and more responsibility for the program?

See reverse side for the APC's Officers, Board of Directors, and National Council

Are there any programs for which you think local governments can now assume responsibility? Assuming of course, tax sources are returned to them.

The above are only a few of the questions on which I would like the benefit of your experience. I hope you will be so kind as to help develop some suggestions which we may pass on to the Manion Commission.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE J. HECHT
Chairman

GJH:mc

The American Parents Committee, Inc.

A Child Welfare Organization working for More and Better Schools,
and for Adequate Health and Social Welfare Services for the Nation's 50 Million Children

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July 8, 1954

RECEIVED JUL 12 1954 Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
c/o Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave. No. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

The Legislature of the State of New York (in which the American Parents Committee is incorporated) has recently passed a law requiring social welfare organizations which solicit contributions to have on file written permission for the use on stationery and other printed matter of the names of all persons associated with the organization.

This is a wise law and the American Parents Committee wants to be one of the first to comply. As you are a member of our

National Council

will you be so kind as to sign the attached letter of consent and return it to me in the enclosed envelope which needs no stamp.

I wish to call to your attention that whenever your name is printed as associated with our organization (see the back of this letterhead), the following statement is always included:

> The officers, Directors, and National Council members listed on this letterhead may not personally endorse (nor are the organizations with which they are associated in any way committed to) each piece of legislation favored or opposed by the APC. The APC's position on each piece of Federal legislation for children in which it interests itself is determined by its Board of Directors, which gives its approval only if a majority of its members concur.

Thank you again for your interest in the American Parents Committee.

Sincerely yours,
George J. Hecht
GEORGE J. HECHT
Chairman

Done GSM July 12. '54

See reverse side for the APC's Officers, Board of Directors, and National Council

September 27, 1954

Dictated September 24

Mr. George J. Hecht
52 Vanderbilt Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hecht:

You wrote me September 9th about studies of financial abilities of Southern states to meet their various health and welfare needs without Federal aid.

One of the "trailies" to the Ashmore Report is being edited by Professor Truman Pierce, at George Peabody College in Nashville. The volume is to be called By-Racial Aspects of Education in the South. It is a detailed job with statistics on the schools. I should not be surprised but what his work would be quite helpful to you. Write him directly and he will be glad to correspond with you I am sure.

Lewis Jones, of the Rural Life Council at Tuskegee Institute, is doing a study on the expenditure patterns of low-income families in the South, with particular emphasis on expenditures on health. It is being done for the Health Information Foundation. Write to him and see if he can help you. I know he would want to if he could.

That is all I know of.

I agree with your view and thinking that in the long run the job the South has to do can only be done with Federal aid.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Refer to Ashmore report statistics on Southern educational expenditures. The more detailed volume containing statistics on schools will be edited by Truman Pierce (Bi-Racial Aspects of Education in the South). He might write Truman Pierce at George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tenn. for inform. a. Harold says it will be some time before the study will be published.

Lewis Jones is doing a study on the expenditure patterns of low-income families, with particular

emphasis on expenditures on health — being done for Health Information Foundation.

ah - advise again
as to answer

The American Parents Committee, Inc.

A Child Welfare Organization working for More and Better Schools,
and for Adequate Health and Social Welfare Services for the Nation's 50 Million Children

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September 9, 1954

RECEIVED
SEP 13 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I would like to know whether any authoritative study has recently been made on the financial ability of the Southern states to meet their essential health, education, and welfare needs without Federal aid.

If I remember correctly, you got out a publication a good many years ago on this subject, and in writing the enclosed pamphlet I used a lot of facts from your booklet. I am, as you know, a very strong believer in the need for Federal aid as the only feasible means of more nearly equalizing the health, education, and welfare facilities throughout the United States. If you have some new facts on the situation I would like to get them in order to bring my pamphlet on why Federal aid is vital up to date.

Ashmore report
Accept yours

If you haven't any up to date data on this, I wonder whether your organization would be interested in selecting some outstanding research organization with a national reputation to make an impartial, authoritative study on the financial ability of the Southern states to meet their essential health, education, and welfare needs.

To my way of thinking such a study would be very helpful. In arguing for adequate Federal aid appropriations for the programs that affect children we are constantly confronted with the argument that the poorer states are well able to meet these needs on their own. If we had some new facts and figures, it would help us refute these arguments.

I look forward to hearing from you on this matter.

Sincerely yours,

George J. Hecht

GEORGE J. HECHT
Chairman

See reverse side for the APC's Officers, Board of Directors, and National Council

Why FEDERAL AID IS VITAL to meet the Educational, Health, and Welfare Needs of AMERICAN CHILDREN

and why it's a long-run economy

By GEORGE J. HECHT
Chairman, The American Parents Committee,
Publisher of "Parents' Magazine" and "School Management"

Published by the
AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, INC.
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.
Washington, D. C. Office: 132 Third St. S.E.

THERE are in the United States approximately 46 million children up to 17 years of age. Millions of these children are getting a raw deal!

Seventy-five percent of American school children need dental care; ten million children have defective vision. Three million will be hard of hearing if neglected. Half a million children have orthopedic and plastic defects. 175,000 have active tuberculosis.

While the death rate of mothers and babies has been reduced sharply during the past years, still, twelve babies in the United States die every hour and about half of these deaths are preventable. In 40% of our counties there are no hospitals. In areas where 40 million people live there are no full-time health services.

School health services are negligible except in the wealthier cities and States. Four out of every ten young American men were rejected for military service during World War II because of mental or physical defects. Many of these defects could have been corrected during the early years of their lives. We usually think only of children in the war-torn areas as being underfed. Actually, malnutrition is widespread among American children.

Almost two million boys and girls between 14 and 17 years of age are engaged in child labor; twice as many as were employed before the war. And the most forgotten children of all are the several hundred thousand children of migrant farm families who do not receive public schooling or health services because they are not considered as residents of any locality inasmuch as they are continually migrating from one community to another to keep pace with the harvesting of crops.

Four million children of school age are not going to school at all either because there are no schools or because school attendance laws are laxly enforced. Many schools are already so overcrowded that they have to run on double shifts and even triple shifts. Many schools are fire-traps. There are still about 100,000 one-room wooden schoolhouses in America where one teacher teaches children of all ages.

The needs of the Nation's children are so gigantic that they cannot anywhere near be met by private philanthropy. Only by the cooperative effort of Federal, State and local governments can the needs of children be met. We certainly do not ask for Federal and State action to do anything for children that individual families and communities can possibly do for themselves.

Many people and some organizations believe that meeting the needs of children is solely the responsibility of local and State governments. "Why federal aid to meet the needs of children?" is a question that needs a straightforward answer.

Why Federal Aid is Vital

The main reason for federal aid to meet the needs of children is that the United States simply can't afford to have children grow up as illiterates and in poor health. When the States don't do, for one reason or the other, other vitally important work that needs to be done, the Federal Government steps in and helps. There would hardly be any forests today in the United States if we depended on the State governments to provide forest-fire protection. Virtually all money to control forest fires is given to the States by the Federal Government. The Federal Government votes to the States several hundred million dollars every year to help build roads. It provides millions to help fight venereal disease throughout the Nation. Congress each year appropriates many times as much money to the Agriculture Departments of each State to do health and research work on cattle and crops as it appropriates for similar work for children. It would seem that Uncle Sam is more interested in cattle and in forests than in children!

The education and health of children are a national problem in which local communities, the States and the Federal Government must cooperate. There is, as you know, a tremendous amount of interstate migration. Nearly half the people in the United States live in different States than those in which they were born and in which they grew up. New York State, for example, can't do anything without the aid of the Federal Government, about the fact that millions of its present and future residents were born and brought up in States where they may not have been taught to read and write, and where physical and health defects which developed during their childhood went uncorrected, only to make them public charges in hospitals and mental institutions in their adult years. If for no other reason than interstate migration, every State should be deeply concerned about the lack of education and health care given children born in other States.

In many of the poorer States there isn't wealth enough that can be taxed to provide adequate health and welfare services for children. In many of these poorer States, the tax rate is higher than the tax rate in the wealthy States. But because incomes in the poorer States are much lower, the tax yield, even with a high tax rate, does not provide sufficient money to pay for decent school and health services. If some of the Southern States used all the money that they raised in taxes for education alone, they couldn't raise the level of educational expenditures per child in their States to the average for the entire United States.

Another reason why federal aid to help reduce the inequalities in education and health services

among the States is so vital is that there are more than fifty percent more children per 1000 adults in some of the poorer States than in some of the wealthier States. The rich States get richer, and the poorer States get children! In the poorer States the education and health job is proportionately bigger because there are proportionately more children, and there are relatively fewer adults to pay taxes, and less per capita income that can be taxed. And so the Federal Government must help the poorer States to meet the needs of children, as it is now helping the States to fight forest fires, to fight venereal disease, to aid the farmers with their crops and cattle, and to help build roads.

The Federal Government has recently passed legislation to help the States in building hospitals. Why shouldn't it also help the States in building schools?

Federal grants-in-aid for health and welfare purposes have in the past stimulated, and can be expected to continue to stimulate and to increase state appropriations for these purposes. This is what has happened, for example, in the Federal grants-in-aid for maternity and child health work. Before the Federal grants-in-aid were made for these purposes almost half of the States appropriated either nothing or less than $10,000 a year for these purposes. But stimulated by the money received from the Federal Government which required State matching, ten years later the States have appropriated $4,800,000 of their own and local money for these purposes — almost as much as the Federal grants then available. Many of the States now appropriate much more than the minimum Federal matching requirements for these vital services.

A child can't help the State he is born in! Yet millions of children born in poorer States are being cheated out of a decent education and the health services which they require, through the accident of their place of birth.

We already have considerable federal aid to meet certain of the needs of children. Many years ago the Sheppard-Towner Act provided grants to the States for maternity and child health work. Now this is incorporated in the Social Security Act which makes grants for such work, as well as for crippled children and child welfare. But the money appropriated for these purposes is inadequate to meet the need. We already have federal aid to the States to maintain a National School Lunch Program which is needed to combat malnutrition among school children. But only one-third of the children of school age benefit by this program.

We already have considerable federal aid to education. The land-grant colleges have for more than one hundred years been receiving financial aid from the Federal Government and a large part of all home economics and vocational education is paid for by the Federal Government. Frankly, I can't understand all the furore against federal aid for elementary and secondary education on the ground that it will lead to federal control of education. I

have never heard any complaints about federal control of our land-grant colleges, nor of the home economics and vocational education that is so largely supported by the Federal Government.

It's a long-run economy

Many conservative business men say that the Federal Government is spending too much, and should not add expenditures even on behalf of children. The answer to that is that Federal expenditures on behalf of children are the best investment that the Government can make! Actually this type of spending is a long-range economy. The U. S. Chamber of Commerce and other business groups have repeatedly declared that good business depends on an educated citizenry. The United States just cannot afford to let an increasing number of its children grow up to be illiterate. It cannot afford to let four out of every ten young men grow up to be unfit for military service. It is infinitely cheaper to correct health defects in the early years of life than to put billions of dollars into hospitals to care for these persons when they are grown.

One out of every twenty Americans is, has been or will be, as conditions are now, a patient in a mental hospital. It is infinitely cheaper to prevent and cure mental and nervous diseases during childhood than to pay the staggering cost of maintaining mental hospitals to care for these children when they're grown. There are already more patients in the mental institutions of America than there are patients in the hospitals caring for the physically sick. In New York State, in spite of the inadequate care and treatment of the mentally ill—which Governor Thomas E. Dewey himself called "disgraceful" — one-third of that State's total operating budget is earmarked for its psychiatric institutions. Similar proportions of the tax dollar go into mental hospital operation in other States. Think of it — one-third of the budget of many of our States is devoted to hospitals serving the mentally ill. And many of these mental illnesses could have been prevented or cured during the school years at relatively little expense. Isn't it wise economy to spend money to treat mental illnesses in childhood?

One of the largest expenses of the Federal, State and local governments is the maintenance of jails. It would be good business on the part of Government to help provide the mental hygiene clinics and adequate recreational facilities which would go a long way to prevent the increasing juvenile delinquency which often develops into adult crime.

The total cost of all requested Federal Government appropriations for children is infinitesimal compared to Government costs such as those for the Army and Navy and for the European Recovery Program — and even far less than the Government spends on the United States Department of Agriculture.

I am not suggesting that anywhere near all the cost of meeting the needs of children should be borne by the Federal Government. It should be a cooperative job between local communities, the States and the Federal Government.

While it is vitally important to press for federal legislation on behalf of children, it is equally important for local parents groups and community organizations to work for adequate local support for school and health and child welfare services. New schools can't be built and adequate salaries paid to teachers unless local governments vote for them. If local legislators are to act, they should receive increased evidence that their constituents are concerned about getting better and more schools and better health services. They must learn that the taxpayers are willing to pay the necessary taxes to support the educational and health services that children need. In every city and town there must be a mobilization of support to meet the needs of children!

The members of Congress hear plenty from the business interests concerning legislation. Farmers, labor and the veterans are extremely vocal in making known to the members of Congress the legislation that they want. But the voices of children cannot be heard. Organizations need to speak up on behalf of the Nation's children! There needs to be a rallying of the social forces of America.

Members of Congress are very busy people. But they are extremely sensitive to public interest and to public opinion. If they get evidence that many national organizations and local groups in their districts, and particularly their own constituents are concerned about federal legislation affecting children, they will act.

Now is the time for all parents who love their own children and who are concerned about the welfare of the Nation's children to rally in a crusade for children which will result in better schools and more adequate child health services.

Children are our Nation's most precious and promising asset; our only national resource that can assure our future as a free people. They must not be neglected!

ADDITIONAL COPIES OF THIS PAMPHLET

can be obtained for: 1 copy—5¢ and a stamped addressed envelope is sent; 6 copies—25c postpaid; 50 copies — $1.00 postpaid; 100 copies — $2.00 postpaid. For larger quantities, write for prices.

AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, Inc.
52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

The American Parents Committee, Inc.

A child welfare organization working for more and better schools, and for adequate health and social welfare services for the nation's 56 million children

Kindly reply to office checked:
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Southern Regional Council

December 8, 1954

MEMO TO: Dr. George S. Mitchell

You will be interested to read on the reverse side of this letterhead of the many important and key persons who have joined our Board of Directors and National Council. We are very happy about this and feel that they will be most helpful in our legislative efforts for children.

As you know, our special 1955 legislative objective is more adequate appropriations for crippled children. The U.S. Program for Crippled Children and what the APC believes Congress and the states should do about it are explained in the enclosed pamphlet. I hope you will find time to read it. And more particularly, I hope you will be able to get any organizations with which you are connected and, if possible, other organizations in your state, to take an active interest in helping our efforts for more adequate appropriations for crippled children. We will be glad to send you or anyone you designate additional copies of this pamphlet.

Please write us in what ways you think you can help us. We will communicate with you at a later date telling you when we would like you to write to your Senators and Congressmen on this subject. It is too early to do so now.

I am also enclosing a printed leaflet on all our 1955 legislative goals. Additional copies of this will gladly be furnished to you on request.

We are counting on the help of members of our Board of Directors and National Council in achieving our 1955 legislative goals for children.

As you know, membership on the Board of Directors and National Council of the APC does not entail an obligation to contribute. I have always taken on my own shoulders the responsibility of raising the APC budget. It is, however, a very difficult job. I shall greatly appreciate any contributions that members of our Board of Directors or National Council will send us. Or if you know of any foundations or individuals who you think might be a source of financial help, won't you please send me their names and address and I shall write to them.

Sincerely yours,

George J. Hecht

GEORGE J. HECHT
Chairman

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January 17, 1955

JAN 19 1955

Memo To: Dr. George S. Mitchell

I am writing to ask whether you, as a member of the Board of Directors of the American Parents Committee, would send a telegram to President Eisenhower in the next day or two urging that the School Construction Program that he will recommend in his special message on February 15 will be a big and bold program with sufficient aid to the states to meet the great need.

There is talk around Washington that what President Eisenhower will recommend is a relatively small loan program to the states. I feel that there should be a very large program of outright grants to the states -- a program somewhat comparable to the Federal dollars that Eisenhower proposes for road building.

I am sending you herewith a carbon of the telegram that I sent. Naturally, you will not use the same wording. I would appreciate it very much if you would send me a copy of any telegram you send.

Many, many thanks to you.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE J. HECHT
Chairman

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COPY

January 13, 1955

President Dwight D. Eisenhower
The White House
Washington, D.C.

The gratitude of parents everywhere is due you for full recognition of the shortage of classrooms for the education of their children. We hope your program will be broad of vision and of sufficient magnitude to meet the known need. Only a large bold local-State-Federal plan can alleviate this national emergency. Surely the share of Federal dollars for education of the nation's children should be comparable to the Federal dollars proposed for roads.

George J. Hecht
Chairman, The American Parents Committee, Inc.
Publisher, Parents' Magazine

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March 28, 1955

MAR 30 1955

Attention of: Dr. George S. Mitchell

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE APC BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND NATIONAL COUNCIL:

Legislative matters of concern to the American Parents Committee are moving regrettably slowly in the Congress. I hope you will have time to read your copy of the APC newsletter, "Washington Report," which you should receive soon. It gives you a general picture of the legislative situation. In addition, I would like to give you some background information of a more confidential nature and a few suggestions as to what you could do, if you would, to help. It would be helpful if you would write to your Senators and your Congressman about these matters.

SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION

This legislation is being held up for two reasons--first, the difficulty (mentioned in our "Washington Report") of compromising the points of view of those who want straight Federal aid and those who believe only in the approach recommended in the Administration Bill. However, progress is being made and it seems certain that some compromise Bill can be written.

The second difficulty (not mentioned in the Washington Report) is more serious and may mean the defeat of any legislation. An attempt is being made to tack on to any Bill an amendment which would deny funds to any state in which separate schools for different races are maintained by law. This move stems from two sources: First, from the very sincere and well-meaning motivation of the organizations and persons who have always opposed discrimination and have worked hard to end it; second, from organizations and persons who have heretofore shown no interest in the equality of educational opportunity for children of minority races, but who are so opposed to any Federal aid for school construction that they will latch on to any device to defeat it.

This is an unfortunate situation. Those who hope that such an amendment will not arise point out that there is no such provision now in any of the Federal statutes authorizing grants for school lunch, vocational education, or other grant programs. They reason that since the Supreme Court has not handed down its implementing decrees, it would be inconsistent with Federal policy and inadvisable at this time for Congress to legislate on a pending judicial issue on which the Supreme Court is moving with caution and deliberation. If such an amendment were passed, "apparently states and local districts would receive no Federal funds for school construction until all cases now pending before the Supreme Court and all cases subsequently arising from the Court's decisions and decrees had been adjudicated. In effect, the U. S. Commissioner of Education would become an agent of the Supreme Court. This runs contrary to the normal method of enforcement of judicial decrees." (Quotes from NEA testimony before Senate Committee.)

Facing the situation realistically, it is apparent that a Bill with such an amendment will never pass this Congress. I have written my own two Senators asking them to work for a bill with adequate Federal aid, which will contain some of the best features of the Administration Bill which might help states with their own school

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financing, and one which does not contain an anti-segregation amendment. I hope each of you will write your own ideas to your representatives in Congress.

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY

The Bills described in the Washington Report form the basis for a good program of help to states to deal with the problem. You may not agree with all the provisions, but I hope you will agree that we need hearings to express our opinions on the Bills and to get some attention for them in the press. So I hope many of you will write to your Congressmen asking for copies of the Bills and inquiring when hearings are going to be held.

APPROPRIATIONS

The Appropriations Bill for the Health, Education, and Welfare Department was passed in the House on March 21. The amount approved for the three grant-in-aid programs of the Children's Bureau was $30 million, the same as last year. No additional amount was allowed for the Crippled Children's Program, probably because no such increase was asked for in the President's budget. However, a total of $750,000 in new money was appropriated for research to determine the cause of mental retardation in children. $500,000 of the amount went to the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness, and $250,000 to the National Mental Health Institute. This new amount was put in almost entirely because of the newly awakened interest of Mr. Fogarty (Chairman of the Committee) in the problems of caring for mentally retarded children and his conviction that little is being done for them under existing programs. Mr. Fogarty talked with representatives of the APC about his contemplated action. We told him a certain amount could be done under the Crippled Children's Program if it had sufficient funds. Mr. Fogarty believed, however, that the first step was to find the cause of mental retardation.

The House did not approve the full $196,500 increase requested by the Children's Bureau under Salaries and Expenses, to expand its activities in the field of juvenile delinquency, although it did allow a $40,000 increase over the amount budgeted for juvenile delinquency work in 1955. The APC would like to see the full amount appropriated and will work to have the Senate increase the total salary and expense item of the Bureau to $1,796,500, as requested by the President. Those who wish to register their voice in favor of more money for juvenile delinquency work and for crippled children should write to their Senators.

The School Lunch Appropriation is still under consideration.

If we want some of these Bills for children to move, we must begin prodding--and at once! I hope we can count on you to do just that with your own representatives in Congress.

Sincerely yours,

George J. Hecht

GEORGE J. HECHT
Chairman

The American Parents Committee, Inc.

A child welfare organization working for more and better schools, and for adequate health and social welfare services for the nation's 56 million children

Kindly reply to office checked:
☒ WASHINGTON OFFICE: 132 Third St., S. E. – Telephone: LI 6-4526 ☐ NATIONAL OFFICE: 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N.Y. – Telephone: MU 5-4400

April 23, 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

APR 25 1955

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Mr. Hecht and I are beginning to be somewhat hopeful of getting the appropriation for the Crippled Children's Program raised in the Senate. Hearings of the Committee, on which your Senator Russell is a member, begin April 25. His interest will be an important factor in the decision.

We are hoping you will be able to get over to your Senator your interest in this problem. A letter or telegram is better than no communication at all. The most effective action, however, (short of a personal visit) is to get statements of need and some resolutions of groups to him with the request that he submit them to the Committee to be made a part of the record of the Hearing.

I cannot over-emphasize how much each Senator listens for the voice of the people from his own state. It is the most effective means he has for evaluating the requests that pour in from everywhere. I hope your Senator will hear from you and several other people willing to speak for crippled children who cannot speak for themselves.

Sincerely,

Ada B. Stough

(Mrs.) Ada Barnett Stough
Executive Director

Enclosure

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR THE APC'S OFFICERS, BOARD OF DIRECTORS, AND NATIONAL COUNCIL

The American Parents Committee
132 Third St. S.E.
Washington, D.C.
April 20, 1955

Current Situation Regarding

FEDERAL APPROPRIATIONS for THE U.S. CRIPPLED CHILDREN'S PROGRAM

The amount authorized by law for the grant-in-aid program for Crippled Children administered by the Children's Bureau is $15 million. That amount has never been appropriated. The budget for 1954 and 1955 allowed only $10,800,000 or $4,200,000 short of the authorization.

MORE MONEY IS NEEDED to bring to children the benefit of the amazing advances made by medical research in knowledge and techniques for treating crippled children.

TOO FEW CHILDREN ARE BEING HELPED BY

- the new drugs for control of epileptic seizures
- the latest electronic devices for the hard of hearing
- knowledge of how artificial limbs may be made for children
- new surgical knowledge for children with heart trouble
- new techniques for treating cleft palate

The full $15 million appropriation by the Federal government would bring out more state money and increase services to Crippled Children.

The President's Budget, unfortunately, did not recommend an increase, and the 1956 Appropriations Bill, which passed the House March 21, included only $10,800,000 for the Crippled Children's Program. There is a possibility that the amount can be raised in the Senate if the members of the Senate Appropriations Committee can be acquainted with the need.

Special messages should go to the following Senators who are members of the Subcommittee which will soon begin consideration of the budget for Health, Education, and Welfare:-

Lister Hill, Alabama, Chairman

Richard B. Russell, Georgia	Edward J. Thye, Minnesota
Dennis Chavez, New Mexico	Karl E. Mundt, South Dakota
Harley M. Kilgore, West Virginia	Margaret Chase Smith, Maine
Warren G. Magnuson, Washington	Henry C. Dworshak, Idaho
John Stennis, Mississippi	Charles E. Potter, Michigan

Letters should also go to other members of the Appropriations Committee

Carl Hayden, Arizona	Styles Bridges, New Hampshire
Allen J. Ellender, Louisiana	Leverett Saltonstall, Massachusetts
John L. McClellan, Arkansas	Milton R. Young, North Dakota
A. Willis Robertson, Virginia	William F. Knowland, California
Spessard L. Holland, Florida	Joseph R. McCarthy, Wisconsin
Earle C. Clements, Kentucky	Everett McKinley Dirksen, Illinois

Address Senators- Senate Office Building, Washington 25, D. C.

The American Parents Committee
132 Third St. S.E.
Washington, D.C.
April 20, 1955

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Address Senators- Senate Office Building, Washington 25, D. C.

The American Parents Committee, Inc.

OCT 19 1955

A child welfare organization working for more and better schools, and for adequate health and social welfare services for the nation's 56 million children

Kindly reply to office checked:
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October 17, 1955

Attention of: Dr. George S. Mitchell

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE APC NATIONAL COUNCIL

I am sending you herewith proposals for our 1956 legislative program. These proposals will be discussed and acted upon by our Board of Directors at a meeting on November 15.

Prior to that time, however, I would like to receive the comment of the members of our National Council on this proposed legislative program. Won't you please write me your comment, which I will present to the Board of Directors for their consideration.

Hof. 10/20/55

I am also enclosing a booklet entitled "Now Is The Time!" which is published by the National Education Association and which describes the School Contruction Bill which we have supported in the past and which I recommend that we continue to work for in 1956.

As a member of our National Council, you have no obligation whatsoever to attend any APC meetings, but if you are going to be in New York City on November 15, we would be delighted to have you attend the meeting as a guest. The meeting will take place at luncheon at 12:30 in a private room at the Uptown Club, 60 East 42nd Street, New York, N. Y. Please notify me in advance if you are coming.

The APC had a considerable measure of success during the last session of Congress. Our campaign on behalf of the U. S. Program for Crippled Children resulted in an increase of 38% in the Federal appropriations. This will enable the states to expand their existing programs so they can serve crippled children who have had to wait for treatment and can offer newer types of preventive and curative services. You will be interested, I am sure, in the enclosed reprint of a feature that the Associated Press syndicated to newspapers throughout the United States, which tells of this achievement.

Although the Administration recommended a big cut in the National School Lunch Program, the APC, with the aid of a number of other organizations, persuaded Congress to appropriate the same amount as the previous year for the National School Lunch Program, namely, $83,236,197.

I look forward to receiving your comments on our proposed 1956 legislative program.

Cordially yours,

George J. Hecht

GEORGE J. HECHT
Chairman

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR THE APC'S OFFICERS, BOARD OF DIRECTORS, AND NATIONAL COUNCIL

AP NEWSFEATURES

Washington Letter

By JANE EADS

WASHINGTON—The little Michigan girl with blonde curls and a missing arm, and the shy boy with untreated epilepsy in West Virginia probably know nothing about the wheels that turn on Capitol Hill to get legislation to help them overcome their handicaps.

But they will appreciate the benefits that come to them through passage of a bill appropriating money for the Health, Education and Welfare Department.

It was the result of a quiet but dramatic campaign of many people who decided to lobby for the crippled children who could not lobby for themselves.

The effort was led by a small organization called the American Parents Committee, headed by publisher George J. Hecht. Last summer, Hecht assigned his assistant, Mrs. Ada Barnett Stough, to find out about what is being done for crippled children. She found that children are handicapped by many conditions ranging from cerebral palsy to deafness.

The results of her study were published in a pamphlet, "The U.S. Program for Crippled Children." The pamphlet carried true stories of handicapped children who were made normal through clinics in their communities. Contrasted with these stories are the statistics about the many children who are not receiving treatment because their parents cannot afford private treatment and the Crippled Children's Program in their states lack funds and personnel to offer it to them in public clinics.

Last May Hecht, Mrs. Stough and others told a Senate Committee that the amazing advances in medicine are not reaching thousands of children who need them.

The new heart surgery is not available to children in many sections, the new electronic devices for testing and electronic hearing aids are available in only a few states: practically no artificial limbs are being made for children, and the wonderful new drugs for treating epilepsy are not reaching enough children.

The senators listened. They acted. The President signed the bill. The little girl in Michigan should get an artificial arm, the boy in West Virginia new drugs to control his epileptic seizures. And services to all children with handicaps should move ahead faster.

PROPOSED 1956 LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE

SPECIAL 1956 OBJECTIVES

IMPROVED HEALTH SERVICES FOR SCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN - The number of young men rejected by the Selective Service for military duty because of physical and mental defects is in excess of 50%! The APC believes that this is a shocking condition and that in the National interest something should be done about this as promptly as possible. An estimated 8 million children need eye care, 1/3 million have hearing defects, more than a million have orthopedic or plastic handicaps and thousands have crippling heart conditions or active tuberculosis. The APC believes that the cheapest and best way to detect and correct the conditions which make for poor health in American youth is through more and better health services for school-age children. This means more effective screening examinations in schools to discover incipient physical defects and mental ailments, better follow-up with parents to get defects corrected, and increased community resources to provide the needed health and clinical services.

The APC will work to get the Congress to raise the appropriation for the Maternal and Child Health grant-in-aid administered by the Children's Bureau from the present amount of less than $12 million to the $16,500,000 authorized by law, with the hope that the increased funds will stimulate states to determine through demonstrations and special projects how health services to school-age children may be improved. The APC will support any other legislative efforts to improve such services.

TREATMENT AND CONTROL OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY - Juvenile delinquency is a steadily mounting problem which impedes the development of our youth and saps the strength of our nation. While control and treatment of the problem must necessarily take place in the local community, its proportions have outgrown the facilities and resources of most localities. States and communities need expert guidance, specialized facilities, and professionally trained personnel. The problem is a national one and the leadership of the Federal government is needed to stimulate and help each state to make a coordinated effort toward its solution. The APC will:

1. Work for more adequate appropriations for the small Division of Juvenile Delinquency in the Children's Bureau so that a minimum of expert assistance can be made available to help the states on such matters as training schools, police and probation, and other related questions.

2. Support legislation for a grant-in-aid program to provide assistance to and cooperation with states in strengthening and improving state and local programs for the diminution, control and treatment of juvenile delinquency.

CONTINUING OBJECTIVES

FEDERAL AID FOR SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION - The number of classrooms needed for the adequate education of the country's children is estimated at over 300,000. It is known that several million children are attending schools in double or triple sessions, many of them with their desks in garages, church basements, or firetrap buildings. In addition, many schools must be built to accommodate the increasing numbers of children reaching school age in a few years. States are making valiant efforts to meet the problem but the need is still great particularly in certain areas.

The APC believes that equalization of educational opportunity is a responsibility of the Federal government. The Federal government has for years helped the states to maintain colleges and to build highways and hospitals. Federal aid for the construction of public schools, administered through the state agencies for education, avoids any threat of Federal control. It will free state and local money for teachers' salaries and other educational costs. The APC will work for enabling legislation and appropriations adequate to help states to meet the need. It believes in a variable matching formula giving the most aid to states with the lowest per capita income per school age child.

ADEQUATE APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE CHILDREN'S BUREAU AND ITS PROGRAMS

CRIPPLED CHILDREN - Through the efforts of the APC and other groups last year the Congress increased the 1956 appropriation for the Crippled Children's grant-in-aid program by 38%, up to the full $15 million authorized by law. States are now making plans to provide the necessary matching funds and to increase their efforts to rehabilitate handicapped children. The APC will urge the Congress again to appropriate the full $15 million.

CHILD WELFARE - The APC will support an increase in the appropriation for the Child Welfare grant-in-aid to help states to improve their foster care of neglected and orphaned children.

CHILDREN'S BUREAU ADMINISTRATION - The Bureau is the one agency of government charged with matters pertaining to child life and the health and welfare of children. The APC believes that funds are needed to maintain a strong Bureau which can keep ever alert to the over-all needs of children.

APPROPRIATIONS FOR MENTALLY RETARDED CHILDREN - The increasing number of mentally-retarded children constitutes a problem receiving too little attention. Last year the Congress appropriated a small amount of money for research into the cause of mental retardation and to determine better methods of training and education. The APC will support future appropriations which seem needed.

ADEQUATE APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE NATIONAL SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM - More than 10 million school children may now buy a nutritious lunch at reasonable cost, aided by the Federal donations of surplus foods, and by Federal and state appropriations. The proportion of the cash funds put up by the states and local communities is over five times that provided by the Federal government and continues to increase. Sufficient Federal funds continue to be needed so that millions of children will not be undernourished and the country will have a desirable outlet for its surplus commodities.

U. S. CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND (UNICEF)- UNICEF helps maintain fundamental child welfare projects in the underdeveloped countries of the world. Its fight against malaria, tuberculosis, yaws and other diseases is a great builder of international good will. Its work is supported by 62 countries, and the U. S. must contribute its proportionate share of the cost.

OTHER POSSIBLE ACTION

The APC will be alert to legislative proposals affecting children and may at a later date take action to support or oppose specific bills. Subjects of special concern are:

1. Amendments to the Social Security Act affecting children.

2. Bills providing for research related to the health, education and welfare of children.

COOPERATION WITH OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

The APC is the only organization concerned exclusively with legislation for children, which has a full-time paid staff in Washington. Consequently, it is able to collect and supply information to other groups and to encourage them to record their views on specific bills. The APC welcomes such opportunities and hopes to expand these activities.

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Kindly reply to office checked:
☐ WASHINGTON OFFICE: 132 Third St., S. E. – Telephone: LI 6-4526 ☒ NATIONAL OFFICE: 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N.Y. – Telephone: MU 5-4400

November 23rd, 1955

NOV 28 1955

Dr. George S. Mitchell
c/o Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Ave., No. W.
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I have a pretty hard time raising the budget of the American Parents Committee.

I would be very happy if each member of our Board of Directors and National Council would send us some contribution, even if it is only a small token contribution of $5 as further evidence of their interest. I know that some members of the Board can give only a little, while others can and do give us quite substantial sums.

I think the American Parents Committee accomplishes relatively more for children per dollar spent than any other organization. For example:

1. We secured in the last session of Congress an increase of 38% in the Federal appropriation for the U. S. Program for Crippled Children, bringing the appropriation to the full $15 million authorized by law.

2. We led a successful effort to get a renewal of the full appropriation of $83,236,197 for the National School Lunch Program, in spite of a determined effort that was made to cut it by $15 million.

3. Plus a lot of other activities which have been reported to you in our newsletter, WASHINGTON REPORT ON LEGISLATION FOR CHILDREN.

I assure you that whatever you send, whether it is large or small, will be helpful and will spur us on to increased efforts. A reply envelope that needs no stamp is enclosed for your conveneince.

Sincerely yours,

GEORGE J. HECHT
Chairman

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR THE APC'S OFFICERS, BOARD OF DIRECTORS, AND NATIONAL COUNCIL

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THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, INC.

52 Vanderbilt Avenue

New York 17, N.Y.

WASHINGTON REPORT ON LEGISLATION FOR CHILDREN

AND WHAT YOU CAN DO ABOUT IT

Washington Office: 132 Third Street, S.E., Washington 3, D. C.

Publication and Subscription Office: 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

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Dr. George S. Mitchell,
% Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
63 Auburn Ave., No. W.,
Atlanta 3, Ga. APC-NC

Issued from time to time while Congress is in session by

THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, INC.

Chairman: George J. Hecht, Publisher of Parents' Magazine, New York City
Executive Director: Mrs. Ada B. Stough, Washington, D. C.

November 1955 Issue No. 37

1956 LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM OF

THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE

The following was adopted unanimously by the American Parents Committee Board of Directors at its meeting on November 15, 1955.

SPECIAL 1956 OBJECTIVES

IMPROVED HEALTH SERVICES FOR SCHOOL-AGE CHILDREN - The number of young men rejected by the Selective Service for military duty because of physical and mental defects is in excess of 50%! At least 15% of these young men had defects that might have been remedied or prevented during their school years. An estimated 8 million children need eye care, 1/3 million have hearing defects, more than a million have orthopedic or plastic handicaps and thousands have crippling heart conditions or active tuberculosis. The APC believes that the cheapest and best way to detect and correct the conditions which make for poor health in American youth is through more and better health services for school-age children. This means more effective screening examinations in schools to discover incipient physical and mental defects, better follow-up with parents to get defects corrected, and increased community resources to provide the needed health and clinical services. The APC will work to get the Congress to raise the appropriation for the Maternal and Child Health grant-in-aid administered by the Children's Bureau from the present amount of less than $12 million to the $16,500,000 authorized by law, with the stipulation that the increased funds will be used to help the states to finance demonstrations and special projects in the field of health services for school-aged children.

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specialized facilities, and professionally trained personnel. The problem is a national one and the leadership of the Federal government is needed to stimulate and help each state to make a coordinated effort toward its solution. The APC will:

1. Work for more adequate appropriations for a Division of Juvenile Delinquency in the Children's Bureau so that an effective minimum of expert assistance can be made available to help the states on such matters as training schools, police and probation, and other related questions.

2. Support legislation for a grant-in-aid program to provide assistance to and cooperation with states in strengthening and improving state and local programs for the diminution, control and treatment of juvenile delinquency.

CONTINUING OBJECTIVES

FEDERAL AID FOR SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION - The number of classrooms needed for the adequate education of the country's children is estimated at over 300,000. It is known that several million children are attending schools in double or triple sessions, many of them with their desks in garages, chuch basements, or fire-trap buildings. In addition, many schools must be built to accommodate the increasing numbers of children reaching school age in a few years. States are making valiant efforts to meet the problem but the need is still great particularly in certain areas. The APC believes that equalization of educational opportunity is a responsibility of the Federal government. The Federal government has for years helped the states to maintain colleges and to build highways and hospitals. Federal aid for the construction of public schools, administrated through the state agencies for education, avoids any threat of Federal control. It will free state and local money for teachers' salaries and other educational costs. The APC will work for enabling legislation and appropriations adequate to help states to meet the need. It believes in a variable matching formula giving the most aid to states with the lowest per capita income per school age child.

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CHILD WELFARE - The APC will support an increase in the appropriation for the Child Welfare grant-in-aid to help states to strengthen a broadly conceived child welfare program including foster care of neglected and orphaned children.

AID TO DEPENDENT CHILDREN - The present limitations on payments for dependent children in which the Federal Government will share, have not realistically been increased with the rising cost of living. The APC supports liberalization of such payments for Aid to Dependent Children. The APC further believes that the lack of casework services seriously impairs the effectiveness of the program and therefore it will urge that provision be made for appropriate casework services for maintaining sound family living.

ADEQUATE APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE NATIONAL SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAM - More than 10 million school children may now buy a nutritious lunch at reasonable cost, aided by the Federal donations of surplus foods, and by Federal and state appropriations. The proportion of the cash funds put up by the states and local communities is over five times that provided by the Federal government and continues to increase. Sufficient Federal funds continue to be needed so that millions of children will not be undernourished and the country will have a desirable outlet for its surplus commodities.

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- -

The American Parents Committee, Inc.
52 Vanderbilt Avenue
New York 17, New York

I am glad to send you the enclosed contribution of $_____ to help the American Parents Committee achieve its 1956 legislative objectives.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone____ State_____

RECEIVED MAR 5 1956

The American Parents Committee, Inc.

A child welfare organization working for more and better schools, and for adequate health and social welfare services for the nation's 56 million children

Kindly reply to office checked:
☐ WASHINGTON OFFICE: 132 Third St., S. E. – Telephone: LI 6-4526 ☒ NATIONAL OFFICE: 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N. Y. – Telephone: MU 5-4400

March 2, 1956

Attention of: Dr. George S. Mitchell

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE APC BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND NATIONAL COUNCIL:

There will be a luncheon meeting of the American Parents Committee Board of Directors

on Wednesday, March 14 at 12:30
at the Uptown Club, 60 East 42 Street, New York, N. Y.

Members of the APC National Council, if they are in New York on that day, are invited to attend.

The meeting is being held to discuss:

1. Child Health and Welfare Amendments of 1956 (S-3297). The bill embodying these would change the present provision of the Social Security Act which limits the grants-in-aid for Child Welfare Services, to the financing of work in rural areas and areas of special need. Many people have long felt that this limitation hampers the states in developing services throughout the states so that they may be available to children who need them regardless of where they live within the state. The bill also provides for other changes which will be explained and discussed at the meeting. The APC position on this bill should be determined.

2. The Powell Amendment to the School Construction Bill. This would prohibit the granting of Federal funds to states which do not comply with the Supreme Court anti-segregation decision. The APC should take a position on this.

3. 1957 legislative objectives. It is none too early to discuss our tentative legislative objectives for next year. Considerable advance research must be done by Mrs. Stough before we can work effectively on any new legislation. Mrs. Stough has time to do this while Congress is not in session.

We have only two meetings of our Board of Directors each year, and I therefore hope you will make every effort to come. Please advise me whether to reserve a luncheon place for you. Best regards!

GEORGE J. HECHT, Chairman
GJH

FLASH! I just received the encouraging news that as a result of our efforts and those of the Nat'l Ass'n for Retarded Children, the House Appropriations Subcommittee is recommending a $4 million increase in Federal aid for Maternal and Child Health, half to be used for mentally retarded children, and presumably the other half for better health services for school-age children.

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR THE APC'S OFFICERS, BOARD OF DIRECTORS, AND NATIONAL COUNCIL

RECEIVED APR 27 1956

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April 26, 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Since you are a member of the National Council of the American Parents Committee we are wondering if you would be willing to help get action on Senate Bill 3297 which was endorsed at our last Board meeting and which is described on page 3 of the attached Washington Report.

The Bill is now being considered by the Senate Finance Committee of which your Senator Walter F. George is a member. If the Senators on that Committee are convinced that people want these child health and welfare amendments, they will include this Bill as a part of the over-all Social Security Bill which they will report to the Senate.

It would help greatly if you would wire Senator George, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C. asking him to work to get the Finance Committee to approve S.3297 and to report it to the Senate as a part of H.R.7225 amending the Social Security Act.

Time is important. The next session of the Committee is on Tuesday, May 1st. I hope you will want to help and can get a telegram to your Senator before that date.

Sincerely,

Ada Barnett Stough

(Mrs.) Ada Barnett Stough
Executive Director

Enclosure
ABS/agt

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR THE APC'S OFFICERS, BOARD OF DIRECTORS, AND NATIONAL COUNCIL

WASHINGTON REPORT ON LEGISLATION FOR CHILDREN

AND WHAT YOU CAN DO ABOUT IT

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THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, INC.

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Chairman: George J. Hecht, Publisher of Parents' Magazine, New York City
Executive Director: Mrs. Ada B. Stough, Washington, D. C.

March 1956 Issue No. 39

WHAT CONGRESS HAS DONE SO FAR FOR CHILDREN

Business of the 84th Congress seems to be moving along at a fairly rapid rate and a few moves on legislation for children can be recorded.

APPROPRIATIONS

The House passed the appropriation Bill for the Department of Health, Education and Welfare on March 5. The best news about the part of the Bill which relates to children was the increase of the Maternal and Child Health grant-in-aid from the $11,927,700 requested in the budget to $16,000,000. The APC and several other organizations were working for this increase in the Committee and testified to the great need. They were therefore gratified by the language of the report which read:

> "The Committee has increased the budget request for Maternal and Child Health Services, to $16,000,000. There has been no substantial increase in the amount of funds for Maternal and Child Health Services for several years. The amount allowed by the Committee will still fall slightly short of the 1951 appropriation on the basis of the amount per child, due to the much more rapid increase in the child population in the U.S. than in this appropriation. It is the desire of the Committee that approximately half of the increase provided be spent on the very important and much neglected problem of mentally retarded children".

Other funds appropriated for mentally retarded children included $675,000 for research in the field of education for the retarded, $750,000 for continued research by the National Institutes of Health on the medical aspects of the problem, and $80,000 in the salaries and expense item of the Children's Bureau for work with the states and communities.

Other good news is that the House appropriated the full $15 million for the Crippled Children's program, and raised the Child Welfare grant to $8,361,000, an increase of $1,132,100 from last year.

THE BAD NEWS Unfortunately the House did not allow $100,000 of the amount requested in the President's Budget for Salaries and Expenses of the Children's Bureau. About $90,000 of the amount is needed, according to testimony given by the Bureau, for additional staff workers for the small, new Division on Juvenile Delinquency. The additional staff would enable the Division better to answer the calls it has from state and local agencies for help in community planning for the control of juvenile delinquency, juvenile courts and probation, police services, training school and detention care and training of juvenile delinquency workers. The additional amount of the $100,000 cut, is needed for two additional regional specialist to help states which are expanding their foster care program.

The House voted only part of the funds requested by the Office of Education for a 10-point program of cooperative research in education. A total increase of approximately $3 million was asked but only $1,450,000 was voted by the House. Of that amount the House Committee specified that $675,000 was to be spent for research on educational problems of the mentally retarded, and the remaining amount for the problems of research which the Office of Education deems most pressing.

OTHER APPROPRIATIONS The House did not allow the $60,200 asked by the Bureau of Labor Standards for a Survey on Youth Employment (See Washington Report issue No. 38). It did, however, increase the funds for the National Institutes of Health, where much medical research for children is done, by $9 million. The funds for vocational education were also increased by more than $2½ million.

NOTE - The appropriation Bill now goes to the Senate Subcommittee on DHEW Appropriations headed by Senator Lister Hill of Alabama. Those interested in seeing the Bill changed should communicate with their own Senators, and with Senator Hill.

SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION

The Kelley Bill HR 7535 (See issue No. 38) has been bottled up for many weeks in the House Rules Committee. The failure of that Committee to send the Bill to the floor of the House for consideration is attributed to several influences. One of the most potent is the threat of Congressman Adam Powell, of N.Y. to introduce an amendment to the Bill which would prohibit Federal funds for school construction from going to school districts where no beginning has been made toward integration of the races.

Several organizations and many prominent individuals have expressed regret that the important school construction legislation is being obstructed by an amendment which will not bring integration of schools any nearer but will likely defeat the school construction legislation. The implication of the proposed amendment is expressed in the following resolution passed by the American Association of School Administrators, meeting in Atlantic City, Feb. 22, 1956.

> "We deplore the attempts to defeat pending school construction legislation through the addition of extraneous amendments in the name of equality of civil rights. We therefore are against any proposed amendment which not only would imperil the pending school construction legislation but also would jeopardize the continuance of current federal programs such as assistance to schools in federally affected area, the school lunch program and vocational education."

Note-If Congress hears a clear demand from the public for a school construction Bill --such a Bill is expected to be passed. Each individual can help by letting his Congressman know that he expects action.

SCHOOL LUNCH

The APC and several other groups testified before the House Subcommittee on Agricultural Appropriations asking that adequate appropriations be made for the School Lunch Program. There is some hope that an increase in the budget may be voted but the Report will not be forthcoming for several weeks.

OTHER BILLS

SERVICE DEPENDENTS The House on March 2 passed a Bill HR 9429 designed to provide care for the children and other dependents of servicemen. The program includes a Government-paid health insurance plan under which dependents of servicemen would have a choice of medical and hospital care at civilian facilities, or, if available, at military medical facilities. If care is provided at a military facility the patients would be charged with subsistence and in a civilian hospital they would have to pay the first $25 of hospital costs.

This Bill, long sought by the Defense Department, is expected to provide medical care for more than a million dependents of servicemen for whom no medical care whatsoever is now provided. The Bill has not yet been considered in the Senate.

CHILD HEALTH & WELFARE The Senate Finance Committee has before it a Bill S 3297 which would amend and improve the Child Welfare grant-in-aid provision of the Social Security Act. A summary of its provisions follows.

Child-Welfare Grant-in-Aid

Raises Amount - The present law authorizes $10 million (this total amount has never been appropriated). The proposed amendments would raise the authorization to $12 million for the fiscal year 1958 - and to $15 million for each fiscal year thereafter.

The present law does not require matching. The amendments provide matching under an equalization formula which allows larger grants to poorer states. It also provides that states which cannot use all of its grant shall turn it back for reallotment to other states which can use the funds.

Rural Areas The present law specifies that Federal funds shall be used for child welfare work only in "rural areas and areas of special need." This has limited the usefulness of the grant and prevented the states from developing a balanced, well-rounded child welfare plan. Furthermore, the needs of children for welfare services have become greater in the urban centers than in rural areas and the combined resources of voluntary and public welfare agencies have proved inadequate to meet them.

Foster Care & Runaway Children The Bill makes explicit the authority to use Federal funds for the extension and improvement of foster care. It also raises to 18 years the age limit of runaway children who may be returned to their homes under the grant programs.

Special Project Grants for Child Welfare, Crippled Children - and Maternal & Child Health Program

The Bill contains a new provision which would authorize up to 15 percent of the Child Welfare funds to be earmarked for special projects of regional or national significance. There are also provisions which continue to earmark the 12½ percent of grants for maternal and child health and crippled children now reserved for special projects. The Bill would permit making the special project grants of all three pro-

grams available to public and non-profit institutions of higher learning and research as well as to the State agencies administering the plan.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE — This is a Bill to improve the Public Assistance program provided for in the Social Security Act. S 3139 is now before the Senate Finance Committee. It provides for matching for medical assistance to public assistance recipients, allowing an average of $3 a month for each dependent child. It broadens the list of relatives with whom a child can live and still be eligible for ADC payments, and permits the payment of aid to disabled children. There are several other important amendments to parts of the Public Assistance Act other than those relating to dependent children.

SICKENESS SURVEY — A one day hearing has been completed by the Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Public Welfare on S 3076 providing for a periodic National Sickness Survey to discover the extent of illness, disability and related conditions. The last similar survey was made 20 years ago as a WPA project. Since then figures on various illnesses have necessarily been only estimates.

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Contributions are sorely needed to support the work of the American Parents Committee. All contributors are placed on the mailing list to receive the WASHINGTON REPORT.

- -

The American Parents Committee, Inc.
52 Vanderbilt Avenue
New York 17, New York

I am glad to send you the enclosed contribution of $_____ to help the American Parents Committee carry forward the objectives described in this issue of the WASHINGTON REPORT.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____

The American Parents Committee, Inc.

A child welfare organization working for more and better schools, and for adequate health and social welfare services for the nation's 56 million children

Kindly reply to office checked:
☒ WASHINGTON OFFICE: 132 Third St., S. E. – Telephone: LI 6-4526 ☐ NATIONAL OFFICE: 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N. Y. – Telephone: MU 5-4400

RECEIVED MAY 23 1956

May 22, 1956

TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE BOARD AND COUNCIL

Dear Dr. Mitchell

The critical question of Federal Aid for School Construction has a chance of coming to the floor of the House for a vote soon -- providing its supporters are willing to give it one more strong push.

The leadership of the House promises that the Kelley Bill (H.R. 7535) now pending in the Rules Committee will be brought to the floor in June. If there is enough support for parts of the Administration Bill, they could be put in as amendments to the Kelley Bill. The important thing is to get the Bill before the House for debate and vote. The enclosed NEA News carries additional information.

The long delay has caused mail to Congressmen to slacken and some of them interpret this as a waning of public interest in the measure. I am sure each of you is aware of how important it is to get aid to states for classrooms voted this session, and will be willing to do your bit to push it. It will help if you will call, write, or wire your own Congressman immediately.

Address him - House Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Tell him - You are looking to him to help push through satisfactory legislation providing Federal Aid for School Construction.
If you believe the Kelley Bill should be passed without extraneous amendments, tell him so.

If it is convenient, we would like to have a copy of the communication you send.

Sincerely yours,

George J. Hecht

G. J. Hecht
Chairman

Enclosure

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR THE APC'S OFFICERS, BOARD OF DIRECTORS, AND NATIONAL COUNCIL

NEA NEWS

MAY 14, 1956
VOLUME 10, NUMBER 7

NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION, 1201 SIXTEENTH STREET NORTHWEST, WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

Kelley Bill Faces Showdown

Leaders of both parties in Congress, after more than four months of maneuvering, appear ready to move toward a House vote on federal aid for school construction.

All signs point toward a decision early in June—and time now becomes a critical factor in the fate of the Kelley Bill (HR7535) which is still pending before the Rules Committee.

NEA Legislative Commission Meets

"Now is the time for an all-out effort in the states to help bring the Kelley Bill to the floor for a vote," NEA Legislative Commission Chairman Evelyn A. Casey commented May 9 after an emergency meeting of the commission in Washington.

Some 25 state leaders joined the commission in a special conference, followed by a series of personal interviews with key Congressmen. "On the basis of all the information we have received, we expect action in the House by early June," Miss Casey said.

Reliable surveys of House members show that in recent weeks support for the Powell amendment has decreased steadily. The threat of a so-called anti-segregation amendment has been one of the primary obstacles to House action on the Kelley Bill.

Surveys Show Improvement

On May 3, Representative Adam C. Powell (D-N. Y.) wrote to all House members. He implied a threat to "expose" those who voted against his amendment. The result has been a further weakening of his position, reflected in part in news columns and editorials (see inside).

The potential danger of the Powell amendment still looms large for many members of the House. Fortunately there are good, compelling reasons for opposing it, and Congressmen should be thoroly familiarized with them.

Parties Weigh Their Moves

Both parties in Congress have become increasingly aware that the school aid bill could be either a juicy election year plum or a sour grape.

Since January 1956, federal aid for school construction has been proclaimed as a priority legislative goal for both parties. Both want credit for enacting it. Neither wants blame for its defeat.

A favorable vote for the Kelley Bill in the House will require *bipartisan support* such as that demonstrated by the Education and Labor Committee in voting 21-9 to get the bill ready for House action. *Bipartisan action* by the Rules Committee is needed to send HR7535 to the floor.

President Urges Speed

At his May 4 press conference, President Eisenhower said this about the pending legislation:

"The earlier we can get that bill, the earlier we can get to work, and we need the schools, so I would like to do it . . . I am for speed."

"Ain't She a Beaut?"

Courtesy Washington Post Co.

WASHINGTON POST AND TIMES HERALD
March 22, 1956

The Gallup Poll

By George Gallup

Director, American Institute of Public Opinion

PRINCETON, N. J., March 21 By a margin of almost 2-to-1, voters who have been following the proposals in Congress to authorize Federal aid for school construction say they would like to see the bill passed even though some money is given to Southern states where racial segregation is practiced.

Gallup

In a nationwide survey by the Institute, 61 per cent say they favor the bill designed to eliminate the classroom shortage, while 32 per cent say they are opposed if any money goes to states resisting the Supreme Court's anti-segregation ruling.

Many Congressional leaders think that Federal money should not go to states where segregation is practiced and Rep. Adam C. Powell Jr. (D-N.Y.) has announced his intention to introduce an amendment along that line to any legislation which is submitted.

To determine where public opinion stands, the Institute assigned its reporting staff to query an accurate cross-section of voters from Maine to California and from Washington to Florida.

Each person was first asked if he had been following the school aid proposals now before Congress. Six out of every 10 voters said they had.

Those familiar with the proposals were then asked:

"Would you like to see the bill passed if some money is given to communities in the South where white and Negro children are segregated—that is, kept apart?"

Yes, would	61%
No, would not	32
No opinion	7

An Institute survey reported in January found 67 per cent of the public in favor of granting Federal aid to build new public schools even though it would mean higher taxes, while 24 per cent were opposed and 9 per cent expressed no opinion.

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NEW YORK TIMES
April 14, 1956

SCHOOL AID BILL GAINING SUPPORT

Rayburn Confident Measure Will Advance — Powell Backers Held Waning

By JOSEPH A. LOFTUS

Special to The New York Times.

WASHINGTON, April 14 — Backers of Federal aid for school construction saw new hope for their cause this week.

Speaker Sam Rayburn has assured some of them that the Kelley bill, dormant for two months, will clear the Rules Committee in the next few weeks. He has also told them he believes the Powell amendment will be defeated.

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Many northern members
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buster is available.

Some Industrious Lobbying

Nevertheless, they have felt
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association, labor unions,
rs supporting the Kelley

KANSAS CITY STAR
April 21, 1956

HOPE FOR SCHOOL AID?

ONE of the first pupils to report at the opening of the present session of Congress last January was the bill providing federal aid for school construction. Ever since, the measure has been sitting in the legislative corner, wearing a political dunce cap and faced with the threat of still being there long after class is out.

The big cause of delay has been a threatened amendment by Rep. Adam Powell of New York which would deny aid to districts that do not make a start toward desegregation. Now, however, there is some indication that the dunce cap will be removed. Speaker Sam Rayburn says the Kelley bill should be cleared by the rules committee in a few weeks and that enough support has been mustered to defeat the Powell amendment.

The National Education association thinks two factors account for the cooling off on the Powell amendment. One is the submission of a civil rights program not pegged on school aid. The other is the administration position that enforcement of the desegregation decision is a matter for the courts and not for legislative conjecture.

WASHINGTON POST AND TIMES HERALD
May 2, 1956

Powell School Clause *By Roscoe Drummond*

Friends of Construction Endanger Bill

All the votes needed to pass the bill, if it can be acted upon by itself, are clearly visible in both the House and Senate.

Neither party wishes to go before the voters this fall as being to blame for putting our public school system further in jeopardy.

A NUMBER of the Democratic and Republican liberals who instinctively favor the Powell amendment are, I believe, persuadable—persuadable by a public opinion which shows that it wants Federal aid to school construction the only way it can be enacted—without the Powell amendment. The alternative is no aid, fewer schools, no Powell amendment—you can't attach a rider to a dead horse—nothing.

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New York Herald Tribune, Inc.

The NEA News gratefully acknowledges the cooperation of:

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NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN
February 22, 1956

School Aid Comes First

* * *

Segregation is taking its place in the national campaign, but leaders of both parties have taken a gratifying stand that aid for schools ought to be supported on a broad and bipartisan basis.

President Eisenhower has advised against injecting an "extraneous" issue as a threat to the whole school program and Mr. Adlai Stevenson has also taken his stand against such a procedure. In Miami last week, Senator Kefauver declared that, in his opinion, children should not be penalized by having federal aid cut off for any reason.

COLLIER'S
March 2, 1956

First, the Schools

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S emergency school-building program is far too urgent to permit its being sidetracked or sabotaged by anti-segregation riders attached to authorization or appropriation bills.

The President's program was accompanied by his stated belief that provision of educational facilities is basically a local responsibility. But the states alone cannot meet the urgent needs of 1960. For every 71 pupils in the nation's schools in 1945 there are 100 today, and there will be 120 in 1960. In 1945, 6,000 classrooms were built in America; in 1955 that number was multiplied tenfold. But to meet the needs of 1960 an additional 500,000 units must be available. Labor and material shortages of two wars plus a population boom launched by bumper crops of postwar babies have created problems far beyond the capacities of the states.

The provision of adequate educational facilities is a primary obligation upon America at any time. Today it is more than an obligation—it is a practical necessity, a function of survival. . . .

It is unwise to confuse the matter at hand with segregation, an issue already decided by the U.S. Supreme Court. The segregation problem must and will be solved—but the solution can be found only in part in law; the passage of time and the onset of enlightenment must do the rest. How shall the light be provided, unless the basic facilities for enlightenment—public schools—are made available?

WASHINGTON TIDES

The School Emergency

by Ernest K. Lindley

THE plights of the public-school system were clearly set forth once gain last week in the report to the esident from the Committee for the hite House Conference on Educa- n. The conclusions of this Presi- ntial committee are sharper in some pects than those of the White se conference held un- its auspices late last They make it unmis- ly plain that we are onted with a national ency, that it is deep- and that it can be overcome only by a great, concerted effort.

000 new teach- led this year mentary, and Another 125,000 will be ly, as replacements and with the expanding on. No such numbers of re in sight.

8,000 additional class- led now. By 1960, needed. The present on, only about 60,000 whittling the ac- g of shortages.

the public schools l within a decade. should be approxi- f the schools are good teachers in

cy is shaping up The flood of stu- ary and second- begin to reach

was appointed d as conserva- as "stacked" education. Yet members con- that federal aid to school construction in all states is necessary on a temporary emergency basis. Two specifically urge Federal aid for general school operations, and the dimensions of the emergency, as described in the report, suggest that this is likely to be needed to meet the goals set forth.

The President has recommended a start on Federal aid to school construction. A majority, perhaps a large majority, of the Senate and House favor it. But legislation is blocked by the issue of school desegreg Many Northern members in both ties support, or at least don't vote against, the Powell amendme withhold aid from school distr which have not complied with Supreme Court decisions on sch desegregation. At the same time, opponents of Federal aid principle plus the opponen of the Powell amendme have the strength to preva by vote or filibuster.

Neither of the leading contestants for the Democratic Presidential nomination, Adlai Stevenson and Estes Kefauver, has endorsed the Powell amendment. Stevenson has come out strongly against it.

The President also has indicated his opposition to the Powell amendment. His view that enforcement of desegregation should be handled separately from the legislation for aid to school construction is, I think, sound. By order of the Supreme Court, enforcement of its desegregation decision is in the hands of the Federal courts. For the present, at least, it should be left there.

As a practical matter, the possibility of breaking the legislative deadlock and launching a Federally aided school-construction program at this session depends primarily on the President's willingness and capability to exert leadership over his own party in Congress. Some Republicans are irrevocably wedded to the Powell amendment. Others are against Federal aid. But many will follow the President if he asks them to and explains why to the American people in more than a perfunctory way.

THE national shortage of educational facilities and teachers is critical. The Federal contribution which now has wide support in principle is in the form of aid to school construction. It is a reasonable guess that a large majority of citizens want this Federal aid and want it as soon as possible. It should not be delayed by controversy over collateral problems, no matter how important. Compliance with the Supreme Court's desegregation decision will not be promoted by the defeat of school-aid legislation.

Newsweek, April 16, 1956

COLLIER'S
KANSAS CITY STAR
NASHVILLE TENNESSEAN
NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE
NEW YORK TIMES
NEWSWEEK
WASHINGTON POST AND TIMES HERALD

Library Services Bill Passes House by Solid Majority

A different federal aid bill—supported by the American Library Association and by the National Education Association—passed the House last week by a substantial *bipartisan* vote. The rural library services bill, HR2840, was approved by voice vote on May 8. Favorable Senate action is expected shortly.

"This House enactment shows that bipartisan support, encouraged by nationwide backing from national organizations and individuals, can assure the success of federal education legislation," reports J. L. McCaskill, executive secretary of the NEA Legislative Commission.

In some ways the library bill closely resembles the Kelley Bill: 1) it calls for matching, 2) it protects state control and provides a state plan for distribution of funds, and 3) it distributes federal money to all states.

House Passes Highway Bill

The swift passage by the House of a $50 billion federal-aid-to-highways bill last month showed three important things to supporters of the $1.6 billion Kelley Bill:

1. Rep. Powell made no move to attach his so-called anti-segregation amendment.
2. Members voted decisively to retain in the bill the Davis-Bacon minimum wage clause like the one in HR7535.
3. Members did not hestiate to approve the principle of large federal grants to be matched by states and localities, i.e., federal-state sharing of cost and responsibility, as provided in Kelley Bill.

You are one of 100,000 NEA leaders receiving this special issue of the NEA News. Will you write your Congressman in support of the Kelley Bill? If you have already written him, will you ask one of your colleagues to write? One letter written for each copy of the News will bring an average of more than 200 letters to each member of Congress over the next three weeks. **The cause of good school buildings is at the tip of your pen.**

How To Help HR7535:

1. Your Congressman needs to get letters and telegrams every day until the issue is decided.
2. This mail should stress support of Kelley Bill without extraneous amendments.
3. Individuals, associations, and groups should write brief factual letters and send similar telegrams.

Who Supports the Kelley Bill?

The following national organizations are on record as supporting the principle of federal aid for school construction, embodied in HR7535:

American Association of Social Workers
American Association of University Women
Americans for Democratic Action
AFL-CIO
American Federation of Teachers
American Home Economics Association
American Institute of Architects
American Jewish Congress
American Library Association
American Parents Committee, Inc.
American Veterans of World War II (AMVETS)
American Vocational Association, Inc.
Association for Childhood Education International
Brotherhood of Maintenance of Way Employees
Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen
Council of Chief State School Officers
Delta Kappa Gamma Society
Friends Committee on National Legislation
International Association of Machinists
Jewish War Veterans of the United States
National Child Labor Committee
National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers
National Congress of Parents and Teachers
National Council of Jewish Women
National Council on Schoolhouse Construction
National Farmers' Union
National Jewish Welfare Board
National School Boards Association
Order of Railway Conductors and Brakemen
Spokesmen for Children
Textile Workers Union of America
United Auto Workers
United Mine Workers of America

NEA NEWS

National Education Association
of the United States
1201 16th St. N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.
Vol. 10, No. 7

November 19, 1956

Mr. George J. Hecht
American Parents Committee
52 Vanderbilt Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hecht:

For a number of years I have enjoyed the honor of membership on the National Council of the American Parents Committee.

I am shortly to be moving to Scotland, for good; and therefore find it needful to resign my place, effective at the ready convenience of the American Parents Committee.

I have been grateful for the association, and for the valuable information which went along with this privilege.

Appreciatively,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

The American Parents Committee, Inc.

A child welfare organization working for more and better schools, and for adequate health and social welfare services for the nation's 56 million children

Kindly reply to office checked:
☐ WASHINGTON OFFICE: 132 Third St., S. E. – Telephone: LI 6-4526 ☒ NATIONAL OFFICE: 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N.Y. – Telephone: MU 5-4400

RECEIVED OCT 18 1956

October 16, 1956

Attention of: Dr. George S. Mitchell

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE APC BOARD OF DIRECTORS AND NATIONAL COUNCIL:

There will be a luncheon meeting of the Board of Directors (to which members of our National Council are also invited)

on Wednesday, November 14th, at 12:30
in private room No. 5 at the Uptown Club
60 East 42nd Street, New York, N.Y.

The object of this meeting is to discuss and adopt our 1957 legislative objectives. A draft of these objectives is enclosed, and I hope you will be able to read and think them over carefully before the meeting.

At the meeting also Mrs. Stough, our Executive Director in Washington, will report on the prospects for legislation affecting children in the coming session of Congress.

We hold, as you know, only two meetings of the APC Board a year, and I hope you will make every effort to come. Please advise us on the enclosed postal card whether to order luncheon for you.

Cordially yours,

George J. Hecht

GEORGE J. HECHT
Chairman

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR THE APC'S OFFICERS, BOARD OF DIRECTORS, AND NATIONAL COUNCIL

Second Draft of Proposed

1957 LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM

A M E R I C A N P A R E N T S C O M M I T T E E

SPECIAL 1957 OBJECTIVES

LEGISLATION ESTABLISHING GRANTS-IN-AID TO STATES FOR THE DIMINUTION, TREATMENT AND CONTROL OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY.

Juvenile delinquency continues to be a serious problem which impedes the development of youth and saps the strength of the nation. Control and treatment of the problem must, of course, rest in the local community, but it is evident that its proportions have outgrown the facilities and resources of most localities. A bill passed the Senate in 1956 providing grants to states to help them provide expert guidance to communities and to set up statewide programs. The bill also carried authorization for Federal funds to provide training for needed personnel, and for special projects and demonstrations. The APC will work for similar legislation in the 85th Congress.

INCREASED APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE CHILD WELFARE GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAM.

The 84th Congress raised the authorization for this program from $10 million to $12 million. The amount appropriated for fiscal year 1957, however, was only $8,361,000. The states need increased financial help to carry on needed foster care for homeless and neglected children, better work in adoption, and for the many other problems that affect the welfare of children.

INCREASED APPROPRIATIONS FOR THE U.S. OFFICE OF EDUCATION. Increased funds are needed for two reasons:

(1) More money is needed for the operation of the Office so that it may carry on experimental projects and programs and may provide the needed consultants to help state and local schools to develop the potentials of exceptional children.

(2) More money is needed for educational research. We spend over $2 billion a year on research connected with our national security, $185 million for medical research and $100 million on agricultural research. Yet, less than $2 million was appropriated last year for cooperative research in the Office of Education.

CONTINUING OBJECTIVES

ADEQUATE APPROPRIATIONS FOR CHILDREN'S SERVICES

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It is estimated that by 1960 there will be a shortage of approximately one-half million classrooms in the country. To build these classrooms will take approximately $17½ billion. States are making great efforts to meet the problem but the backlog of need seems too great for the financial resources of many states and localities. In the meantime thousands of children are going to school in double sessions or in basements, garages, or firetrap buildings. Crowded and makeshift classrooms are not conducive to the maximum intellectual development of the country's youth. Children must have the classrooms needed for their proper education. The Federal Government collects three-fourths of the country's tax money; it should share in the expense of meeting the country's emergency shortage of classrooms. The APC deplores the defeat of the school construction bills in the 84th Congress and believes that the future of the country demands adequate school construction legislation in 1957.

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AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, INC.

New York Office:
52 Vanderbilt Avenue
New York 17, N. Y.

Washington, D.C. Office:
132 Third Street, S.E.
Washington 3, D.C.

December 3, 1956

Mr. George J. Hecht
Chairman
The American Parents Committee, Inc.
52 Vanderbilt Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hecht:

I talked with Harold Fleming about keeping up a link between SRC and the American Parents Committee. He thinks that for a while just after he takes over he had best be on that one job solely. But if you should care to write him again about a year from now I should think he would be disposed to reconsider.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

The American Parents Committee, Inc.

A child welfare organization working for more and better schools, and for adequate health and social welfare services for the nation's 56 million children

Kindly reply to office checked:
☐ WASHINGTON OFFICE: 132 Third St., S. E. – Telephone: LI 6-4526 ☒ NATIONAL OFFICE: 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N. Y. – Telephone: MU 5-4400

November 21, 1956

Mr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

RECEIVED NOV 26 1956

Dear Mr. Mitchell:

I have your letter of November 19th in which you resign from the National Council of the American Parents Committee. I know there is nothing else for me to do but accept your resignation and I want to thank you for your help to us over the years.

May I wish you personally a happy, healthy life in Scotland.

We would very much like to have a continuing association with the Southern Regional Council whose work we think is so useful. Would you tell me who is your successor and when he takes office. If he is already working in your office, would you tell him about the American Parents Committee and ask him whether he will serve in your stead. If you will write me concerning this I will write him a formal letter of invitation.

I am enclosing herewith our Legislative Program for 1957.

Sincerely yours,

George J. Hecht

GEORGE J. HECHT
Chairman

SEE REVERSE SIDE FOR THE APC'S OFFICERS, BOARD OF DIRECTORS, AND NATIONAL COUNCIL

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November 1956 Issue No. 43

1957 LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM OF

THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE

The following was adopted unanimously by the American Parents Committee Board of Directors at its meeting on November 14, 1956.

SPECIAL 1957 OBJECTIVES

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Juvenile delinquency continues to be a serious problem which impedes the development of youth and saps the strength of the nation. Control and treatment of the problem must, of course, rest in the local community, but it is evident that its proportions have outgrown the facilities and resources of most localities. A bill passed the Senate in 1956 providing grants to states to help them provide expert guidance to communities and to set up statewide programs. The bill also carried authorization for Federal funds to provide training for needed personnel, and for special projects and demonstrations. The APC will work for similar legislation in the 85th Congress.

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The 84th Congress raised the authorization for this program from $10 million to $12 million. The amount appropriated for fiscal year 1957, however, was only $8,361,000. The states need increased financial help to carry on needed foster care for homeless and neglected children, better work in adoption, and for the many other problems that affect the welfare of children. The APC will work for appropriation of the full $12 million authorized.

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June 26, 1957

Mr. George J. Hecht, Chairman
The American Parents Committee, Inc.
52 Vanderbilt Avenue
New York 17, New York

Dear Mr. Hecht:

Thank you for your letter of June 14th and the kind invitation it conveys. I know of George Mitchell's interest in the American Parents Committee, of course, and have read your Washington report for a long time.

Therefore, it is with genuine regret that I must decline membership on your National Council. Since George left, we have not only undertaken the impossible task of filling the gap he left but are also seeking to re-organize and expand the activities of the Southern Regional Council. The demands posed by these developments and the Southern situation generally are so great that I have pledged myself not to accept any further responsibilities, however worthy and modest in their claims.

I am honored by your invitation to serve and am deeply sorry that I cannot conscientiously accept.

With good wishes,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

RECEIVED JUN 17 1957

The American Parents Committee, Inc.

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Kindly reply to office checked:
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June 14, 1957

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

When George Mitchell left the Southern Regional Council last year, I hoped that you would be willing to replace him as a member of the National Council of the American Parents Committee. He told us, however, that at the time, you preferred not to take on any outside activities.

Now that you are well established in your new position, I hope you feel ready and willing to join our National Council. There are no meetings to attend, although if you should happen to be in New York on the one or two occasions a year when the Board of Directors meets, you would be more than welcome to come. Nor is there any obligation to contribute financially to the organization.

The only thing we ask of our National Council members is that if they agree with the APC position on proposed legislation, that they write to members of Congress on occasion when we request it to express their views on legislation affecting children.

As a member of our National Council, you would be invited to express an opinion on the proposed annual legislative objectives, which opinion will be presented to the Board of Directors before it adopts the legislative objectives each year. I am enclosing a copy of our 1957 objectives, as well as several recent copies of the WASHINGTON REPORT ON LEGISLATION FOR CHILDREN, which we send regularly to all members to keep them informed.

I would be delighted to receive your acceptance, and I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely yours,

George J. Hecht

GEORGE J. HECHT
Chairman

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January 1957 Issue No. 44

FEDERAL FUNDS APPORTIONED TO THE STATES

UNDER THE MAJOR FEDERAL GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAMS

This issue of the Washington Report is published to supplement and bring up to date some of the information in "The Handbook on Federal Grants-in-Aids," published by the American Parents Committee, Inc., December 1953. The data below indicates the estimated total allotments to all the states for fiscal 1956 and fiscal 1957 under the various current grant-in-aid programs, as well as the allotments under new programs voted by the 84th Congress. For description and history of each grant-in-aid, see "The Handbook on Federal Grants-in-Aid." (a)

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE	Fiscal 1957 July 56 thru June 57	Fiscal 1956 July 55 thru June 56
Bureau of Public Roads		
Under Act of 1954	$ 875,000,000	$ 859,685,500
Under Act of 1956	1,125,000,000(b)	
	2,000,000,000	
Federal Aid Airport Program	63,000,000	62,500,000
DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE		
National School Lunch Program	$ 83,600,000(c)	$ 81,940,000
Special Milk Program	50,584,937(d)	50,000,000

(a) Copies are still available at $1.50 postpaid from the American Parents Committee, Inc., 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

(b) Public Law 966 - passed by 84th Congress - a long term highway program under which approximately $30 billion will go to states in the next 12 years to help them to build roads and super highways.

(c) In addition approximately $16,400,000 of Federal funds will be spent for the direct purchase of agricultural commodities for distribution to participating schools.

(d) see following page.

DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE (Continued)

(d) Congress voted that $75 million of the funds of the Commodity Credit Corporation could be used in fiscal 1957 to increase the consumption of fluid milk by children in schools. The amount shown represents the initial allotment of funds. Additional allotments to the states will be contingent upon justification of need and availability of funds.

	Fiscal 1957	Fiscal 1956
Cooperative Agricultural Extension Work	$ 48,370,000	$ 45,475,000
Agricultural Experiment Program	28,350,208	24,242,708
Forest Fire Control	11,226,012	10,497,092
Cooperative Projects in Marketing	3,155,000	1,000,000
DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE		
OFFICE OF EDUCATION		
Maintenance & Operation of Schools in Federally-Impacted Areas	$ 113,050,000	$ 65,000,000
Construction of Schools in Federally-Impacted Areas	108,500,000	89,176,815
Cooperative Vocational Education	38,580,412	33,638,330
Colleges for Agriculture and the Mechanic Arts	5,051,500	5,051,500
Rural Library Services	2,050,000(c)	
OFFICE OF VOCATIONAL REHABILITATION	47,000,000	37,500,000
PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES		
Hospital Construction	123,000,000	109,800,000
Federal Water Pollution Control	52,000,000(d)	
General Health	12,000,000	11,363,000
Tuberculosis Control	4,500,000	4,500,000
Mental Health	4,000,000	3,000,000
Cancer Control	2,250,000	2,250,000
Heart Disease Control	2,125,000	1,125,000
Venereal Disease Control	1,700,000	1,187,906
SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION		
Old Age Assistance	823,600,000	897,078,000
Aid to Dependent Children	350,800,000	373,703,000
Aid to Permanently and Totally Disabled	90,100,000	92,219,000
Aid to Blind	35,500,000	37,000,000

SOCIAL SECURITY ADMINISTRATION (Continued)	Fiscal 1957	Fiscal 1956
Maternal and Child Health	$ 16,000,000	$ 11,927,000
Crippled Children	15,000,000	15,000,000
Child Welfare Services	8,361,000	7,228,900

(c) Public Law 597 - passed by 84th Congress

(d) Public Law 660 - passed by 84th Congress to amend and supersede Water Pollution Control Act of 1948

DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR		
Wildlife Restoration	$ 16,380,000	$ 11,730,000
Fish Restoration	4,946,000	5,047,400
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR		
Unemployment Insurance and Employment Security Administration	228,613,902	229,354,154
VETERANS ADMINISTRATION		
Care of Certain Disabled War Veterans in State Homes	5,881,216	5,501,424
Approval and Supervision of Training Facilities	2,600,000	2,559,853
FEDERAL CIVIL DEFENSE ADMINISTRATION		
Project Applications	no estimate for 1957(e)	13,113,641
TOTAL OF LISTED GRANT-IN-AID PROGRAMS	$ 4,414,988,828(f)	$ 3,200,395,923

(e) Will not be allocated to specific states. Regional Director has opportunity to approve applications from various states as their programs are developed.

(f) This includes Federal Civil Defense grants at the assumed same amount as during the previous year.

DISCONTINUED PROGRAMS: Eighteen programs of Federal Grants-in-Aid have been discontinued during the past 13 years.

- -

The American Parents Committee, Inc.
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York 17, New York

I am glad to send you the enclosed contribution of $_____ to help the American Parents Committee carry forward its objectives on behalf of children.

Name _____

Address

City _____ Zone ____ State _____

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February 1957 Issue No. 45

The 85th Congress is about a month old. It has completed its organization, heard several messages from the President, received the requested Budget for fiscal 1958, and opened up its yawning legislative hopper to several thousand Bills. The important question of the relation of the United States to the Middle East took the spotlight and it may be some time before domestic legislation comes up for serious consideration. Two of the subjects on the legislative program of this organization were on the President's "must" list when he conferred with the Republican leaders of Congress on New Year's Day. They were (1) Federal Aid for School Construction and (2) Federal grants to states to help them cope with the problem of juvenile delinquency.

SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION BILLS PILE UP

H.R. #1, the first Bill to be introduced in the House, was by Augustine B. Kelley, (Dem.) of Pa. providing Federal assistance to states and local communities for school construction. It is almost identical with the so-called Kelley Bill which was defeated on the floor of the House last July (see Washington Report No. 38). Many other school construction bills have also been introduced, and are reposing in the House Committee on Education and Labor.

The President sent his proposal for emergency legislation to overcome the shortage of classrooms to the Congress on January 28. He urged Congress to act quickly on his proposal which contained the following provisions:

1. A total of $1.3 billion would be authorized for Federal grants to the states at the rate of $325 million annually for 4 years, to assist in the construction of public schools in financially needy school districts.

2. A total of $750 million would be authorized over a 4-year period for the Federal purchase of bonds which local school districts have sought unsuccessfully to market at reasonable rates of interest.

3. Federal advances would be authorized to assist states to support bonds issued by state school-financing agencies to finance school construction. A request for $20 million for this purpose is in the President's Budget for 1958.

4. A total of $20 million over a 4-year period would be available to the states to help them develop programs for financing and building needed classrooms.

The President specifically asked that the school construction legislation be enacted on its own merits, uncomplicated by provisions dealing with the complex problems of the integration of schools.

Although both political parties in Congress seem committed to legislation to alleviate the classroom shortage, the passage of a school construction bill is by no means assured. It will take lots of vocal support from parents all over the country to get such legislation. HAVE YOU WRITTEN YOUR OWN CONGRESSMAN?

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY LEGISLATION GETS STARTED

Several Juvenile Delinquency Bills have been introduced. Two in the Senate: S.431 by Senators Kefauver, Hennings, and Langer, and S.867 by Senator Humphrey of Minnesota; and five in the House by Congressmen Green of Oregon, Bennett of Florida, Roosevelt of California, Teller of New York, and Perkins of Kentucky, (H.R.652, H.R.1053, H.R.2495, H.R.3112 and H.R.3859). All of these bills are identical with the Lehman Subcommittee Bill (S.4267) which passed the Senate last July but which got no attention in the House. Briefly, its provisions are:

1. Grants to the states to strengthen and improve programs. First year $5 million; second year, $7,500,000; third year $10 million. Succeeding years as Congress may determine.

2. Grants for Training Personnel. These are available to the states and to approved non-profit institutions of higher learning. The amount set in the bill for the first year was $5 million. For each of the following seven years such sums as Congress may determine.

3. Grants for Special Projects. $1 million for first year. Later as Congress may determine.

The President's proposal on Juvenile Delinquency has not yet been sent to the Congress. Mr. Folsom, Secretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, has publicly reiterated the need for legislation which will help the states in the diminution, treatment, and control of a problem which impedes the development of youth and saps the strength of the nation.

The President's Budget Message has this to say: "The Congress is urged to enact a new program of grants to the States to help fight juvenile delinquency." The first step citizens can take is to urge their Congressmen to press for hearings in the House Committee on Education and Labor.

OTHER BILLS

There have been many different Bills introduced to provide either Federal scholarships or loans to students in higher education, and several to provide credit against the individual income tax for amounts paid as tuition in institutes of higher learning. No hearings have been scheduled, nor are there likely to be any unless considerable support is registered with Members of Congress.

PRESIDENT REQUESTS FUNDS TO RUN PROGRAMS

The President's annual Budget Message to the Congress was accompanied by a document weighing some 12 pounds which contains detailed dollar-and-cent itemizations of the estimated costs of running the Government during the coming fiscal year. It reveals the Administration's ideas about what new programs should be voted and what they should cost, as well as its estimates on the cost of current programs. The Budget requests for programs in which the American Parents Committe is especially interested are as follows:-

PROGRAM	FISCAL 1957	FISCAL 1958
SCHOOL LUNCH	$ 100,000,000	$ 100,000,000
CHILDREN'S BUREAU		
Salaries and expenses	1,822,000	2,154,000*
Maternal and Child Health	16,000,000	16,500,000
Child Welfare	8,361,000	10,000,000**
Crippled Children	15,000,000	15,000,000
OFFICE OF EDUCATION		
Salaries and Expenses	5,000,000	7,500,000***

Note:

* The largest increases in this item are $97,520 additional for research in child life and over $16,000 additional for the Division of Juvenile Delinquency.

** This is $2 million short of the $12 million authorized for this purpose in the last Congress. The APC is working to get the appropriation increased to the full $12 million authorized.

*** $1.3 million of this increase is for research on pressing educational problems.

In addition to the above, the new Budget contains a request for $451 million to be the cost of the School Construction Program asked by the President.

NEW CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEES ARE APPOINTED

The beginning of a new Congress is the time for the appointment of Committees. Those which deal with matters of interest to the American Parents Committee are the Education and Labor Committee in the House, the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare in the Senate, and the subcommittees on Appropriations in both the House and Senate. The names of the members of these Committees are listed below:

HOUSE EDUCATION AND LABOR COMMITTEE

Democrats	Republicans
Graham A. Barden, Chairman, New Bern, N.C.	Samuel K. McConnell, Jr., Wynnewood,Pa.
Augustine B. Kelley, Greensberg, Pa.	Ralph W. Gwinn, Bronxville, N. Y.
Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., New York, N.Y.	Carroll D. Kearns, Farrell, Pa.
Cleveland M. Bailey, Clarksburg, West Va.	Clare E. Hoffman, Allegan, Mich.
Carl D. Perkins, Hindman, Ky.	Albert H. Bosch, Richmond Hill, N. Y.
Roy W. Wier, Minneapolis, Minn.	Joe Holt, Van Nuys, Calif.
Carl Elliott, Jasper, Ala.	John J. Rhodes, Mesa, Ariz.
Phil M. Landrum, Jasper, Ga.	Stuyvesant Wainwright, East Hampton,N.Y.
Lee Metcalf, Helena, Mont.	Peter Frelinghuysen,Jr., Morristown,N.J.
Edith Green, Portland, Oreg.	Donald W. Nicholson, Wareham, Mass.
James Roosevelt, Los Angeles, Cal.	William H. Ayres, Akron, Ohio
Herbert Zelenko, New York, N. Y.	Robert P. Griffin, Detroit, Mich.
Frank Thompson, Jr., Trenton, N. J.	Harry G. Haskell, Jr., Wilmington, Del.
Stewart L. Udall, Tucson, Ariz.	
Elmer J. Holland, Pittsburgh, Pa.	
Ludwig Teller, New York, N. Y.	
George S. McGovern, Mitchell, S. D.	

SENATE LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE COMMITTEE

Democrats	Republicans
Lister Hill, Chairman, Alabama	H. Alexander Smith, New Jersey
James E. Murray, Montana	Irving M. Ives, New York
Matthew M. Neely, West Virginia	William A. Purtell, Connecticut
John F. Kennedy, Massachusetts	Barry Goldwater, Arizona
Pat McNamara, Michigan	Gordon Allott, Colorado
Wayne Morse, Oregon	J. Sherman Cooper, Kentucky
Strom Thurmond, South Carolina	

HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS FOR HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND LABOR

Democrats	Republicans
John E. Fogarty, Chairman, Rhode Island	Melvin R. Laird, Marshfield, Wisc.
Henderson Lanham, Rome, Georgia	John Taber, Auburn, New York
Winfield K. Denton, Evansville, Indiana	

SENATE SUBCOMMITTEE ON APPROPRIATIONS FOR HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Chairman, Lister H. Hill, (Dem.) Alabama. The membership of the full Subcommittee has not yet been decided. Names will appear in the next issue.

****

Contributions are sorely needed to support the work of the American Parents Committee. All contributors are placed on the mailing list to receive the WASHINGTON REPORT.

- -

The American Parents Committee, Inc.
52 Vanderbilt Avenue
New York 17, New York

I am glad to send you the enclosed contribution of $_____ to help the American Parents Committee carry forward the objectives described in this issue of the WASHINGTON REPORT.

Name_____

Address_____

City_____ Zone____ State_____

REPORT CARD ON WHAT I DID TO HELP THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE'S LEGISLATIVE EFFORTS ON BEHALF OF CHILDREN

Name.....

Postage will be paid by Addressee

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THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, INC.

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IMPORTANT

FOR THE WELFARE OF CHILDREN!
THIS REQUIRES PROMPT ACTION!

Will you please write your Congressman ~~or Senator~~ AT ONCE?

A BULLETIN from THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, 132 THIRD STREET, N.E., WASHINGTON 3, D. C.

HOUSE TO VOTE SOON ON FEDERAL AID FOR SCHOOL CONSTRUCTION BILL

The shift of a few votes may pass the Bill!

In the summer of 1956 the Federal Aid for School Construction Bill failed to pass the House of Representatives by a few votes. The shift of a few Congressmen would have passed the bill. Somewhat the same situation prevails today.

H.R.#1- the new School Construction Bill is now expected to reach the floor of the House for debate and vote very soon. Some work on your part could produce one of the few extra votes needed to pass it.

This Bill provides grants to the states of $1½ billion to aid them in the construction of their schools. It stipulates that there should be no Federal control of what is taught. It also provides loans to the schools that cannot sell school bonds except at extremely high interest rates.

This year's Bill has strong support from both parties. President Eisenhower strongly advocates the passage of the Bill. Governor Stevenson in his campaign and the Democratic platform endorsed Federal Aid for School Construction. The White House Conference on Education voted 2 to 1 in favor of Federal Aid to School Construction. The passage of H.R.#1 is endorsed by the National Education Association, the AFL-CIO, and some 50 other national voluntary agencies concerned with the education of children. Naturally the American Parents Committee is vigorous in the support of this Bill. The U. S. Chamber of Commerce has been working in opposition, and many letters have come to Congressmen against the Bill. Congressmen say they need more evidence of public support of it. Now is the time to write! A few letters at this time may help pass it.

Please write your own Congressman and any other Congressman that you know. Their address is c/o House Office Building, Washington 25, D. C.

We suggest that you ask your Congressman two things:-

(1) To vote for the Federal Aid for School Construction Bill, (H.R.#1).

(2) To vote against any anti-segregation amendment which might be offered to the Bill. Such an amendment will not further needed integration in the schools, which is a matter for court action. President Eisenhower, the National Education Association, and the AFL-CIO share this view. If this Bill is passed it will help children of all races, but an anti-segregation amendment could mean its defeat!

If for any reason you don't wish to discuss point #2 in your letter to your Congressman, nevertheless please write urging the passage of the Bill.

Please do it now while you are thinking about it. A letter, - a telegram, - or even a post card from you may help get it passed. And kindly let us know if you do it.

Will you kindly mail us the attached "Report Card" so that we may know that you have done this. It needs no stamp.

SCHOOL LUNCH NEED SET AT $100,000,000

New Yorker Urges That Goal in Capital Strategy Parley Looking to Next Budget

By BESS FURMAN

Special to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 21 — Dr. Harold W. McCormick of the New York City Board of Education, urged a $100,000,000 school lunch program today for the next Federal fiscal year. He spoke at a conference called in order to get a seven-month start on meeting the next annual school lunch crisis.

Dr. McCormick was one of a dozen speakers called here by the new American Parents Committee, of which George J. Hecht, publisher of Parents Magazine, is chairman, to make suggestions on strategy to about forty national organizations which favor school lunches.

The speakers told how the temporary school lunch program, first a relief measure, later a war measure, managed to squeak through Congress year after year, winning grass-roots strength until it was at last made permanent—only to be almost negated by the House Appropriations Committee, backed by the House Rules Committee. The program, cut from $75,000,000 to $65,000,000, was saved by strong Senate backing.

Warning to States Cited

Speakers referred to the notice served on the states by the Senate-House conference committee when the last school lunch appropriation was passed, that unless they appropriated matching sums further Federal funds would be withheld. Only six Legislatures are meeting next year. The big bulk of the support comes from communities, not states, and such a policy would kill the program, the speakers emphasized.

Mrs. Ella McNaughton of the American Home Economics Association pointed out that this year the Federal Government was giving $65,000,000 and that local funds totaled $163,000,000, of which $127,000,000 came from sale of lunches to school children whose parents could afford to pay for them $25,000,000 came from gifts in cash and in kind, and only $11,000,000 in actual legislative appropriations.

Senator George D. Aiken, Republican, of Vermont, said that only the State of Utah could have qualified under the formula the House set.

Mrs. McNaughton urged that the groups strive: (1) to encourage local communities to contribute much more than they did last year, and (2) to "convince Congress that the warning issued by the conferees on the Department of Agriculture appropriation bill on the school-lunch program should not prevail as the policy of Congress."

10 Million Deletion Recalled

Mrs. J. L. Taylor of the National Cooperative Milk Producers Federation said that this year's $10,000,000 appropriation for school lunch equipment had been deleted by the House Appropriations Committee by writing legislation into an appropriations bill.

This step not only could have been objected to by any member on a point of order except that the Rules Committee had ruled out that procedure, she said, adding that the same strategy could be used to rule out the matching of Federal funds with local community funds. She suggested that citizens interested in keeping the school lunch program write to the Rules Committee.

Norris E. Dodd, Under-Secretary of Agriculture, said that the department had sent copies of the conferee's report to all states, adding: "It is squarely up to the states to see that funds are available." He said that only 6,000,000 of the 29,000,000 children of public school age got hot lunches.

Representative Clarence Cannon, Democrat, of Missouri, who led last year's fight in the House to save the program, said:

"The campaign must be carried to the men on Capitol Hill. They are not impressed by what they hear in Washington. They are unmoved by briefs. When they hear from home, that is the one thing that counts. Make the people at home articulate."

Walter Mason of the American Federation of Labor said this country had lent to England the money with which to carry on a $300,000,000 school-lunch program and that Congress ought to face up to the problem of our own children's nutrition. Kermit Eby of the CIO urged a strong election-year campaign for the appropriation.

From The NEW YORK TIMES
Nov. 22, 1947

FUND - RAISING SUGGESTIONS

For APC Chapters and APC Affiliates and for Other Clubs and Parent Groups

25¢ to Non-Members

Free to APC Members and Affiliates

AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE

Incorporated as a membership, non-profit, public-service association working for better conditions for children locally and nationally

52 VANDERBILT AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

FUND-RAISING SUGGESTIONS
For Local APC Chapters
APC Affiliates and Other Parents Groups

To raise money you must have a truly deserving cause. Your desire to create a safer, happier, fuller life for the children of your community is one that will appeal to parents, because their children will benefit; and to others because children represent the community's investment in the future.

How to Begin. The first step is to put on paper a cleancut statement of your purpose. Your statement should explain (1) why you feel your organization is necessary; (2) how you propose to do the job; and (3) who will be in charge. (4) Include a budget.

Don't be afraid to set your goal high! Be sure to announce the amount you intend to raise. If your goal is too low you may not get any substantial gifts. Match your goal to your need, even if you see little hope of meeting it. You may do better than you think you will at first. There are many different ways to make money. Suggested here are a few. Choose those that you think will be most successful in your community.

Don't expect to get money from non-members of your group unless your group members themselves give as much as they can afford.

Appoint a Membership Committee and a Finance Committee. Get energetic, enthusiastic people on these committees. Put your wealthiest and best connected members on your Finance Committee. These committees should be given both responsibility and freedom to act, but the officers of your group should not shirk their obligation to help in raising money and increasing your membership. Usually the chairman of the group and the committee chairman must do most of the work. But try to get as many men as possible to be active.

PAGINATION INCORRECT

Annual Dues of Membership and Social Gathering Admissions. Set your annual dues so as to produce the maximum possible revenue. But don't keep members out by setting the dues too high! You want as many members as possible! If dues are $2, $3, $5 or more, offer the privilege of paying them in semi-annual or quarterly installments. Remember you can charge extra for social gatherings or meetings at which refreshments are served. 25¢ and 50¢ admissions are easy to collect and it's surprising how much extra revenue they bring in.

Increase Your Membership! One of the easiest and best ways to raise money is to enroll more members who will pay dues and help you with your activities. While your membership committee should be active the year round in getting new members, we suggest that you have a special annual drive for new members. Select a month or a fortnight in which to concentrate your membership campaign. Get as many people working as possible.

Publicity is a Great Help! Newspaper and radio publicity is a great help in encouraging and rewarding the activity of your own members, in enrolling new members, and in getting contributions from others. Appoint a Publicity Committee. Include on it someone from a newspaper, a writer, an advertising man and someone who has time to visit the local newspaper editors and program directors of local radio studios. There are several books on how to get publicity. A good example is "How to Interpret Social Welfare", by Helen Cody Baker and Margaret Routzahn. Others are listed in the Social Work Yearbook which you will probably find in your library. Several pamphlets on special phases of the subject have been published by the National Publicity Council for Health and Welfare Services, Inc., 130 East 22nd Street, New York 10, N. Y.

Publicity Via Schools. Go to see the principals of the schools in your neighborhood; if yours is a large community, see the superintendent of schools. Ask

whether mimeographed bulletins or announcements of your meetings may be given to all pupils to be brought home to their parents. And ask them to post announcements on all school bulletin boards. Perhaps you can get art teachers to have art students produce posters for you for use on school bulletin boards and in store windows.

If you cannot raise all the money you need for your projects from within your own group, there are many ways of obtaining money from others, as well as getting some of your members to give additional support.

The Best Way to Raise Money is to Ask People for Money! Don't be afraid to ask. You are not asking for yourself. You are seeking support for a worthy cause. Remember nothing is as contagious as enthusiasm. Unless you are enthusiastic about the cause yourself, your co-workers will not be enthusiastic. And your co-workers will have to be enthusiastic to persuade your prospective contributors to give. Therefore, at all times when you are talking about your projects evidence the maximum of enthusiasm and emphasize to your co-workers that they must do so, too.

Ask a Small Number of Wealthy People for Substantial Contributions. Put your story in printed or mimeographed form. You'll doubtless have to leave something with a good proportion of your prospects. They'll want to think it over. Your presentation should cover at least the four parts enumerated above. Make a list of prospects. Try to get them together at a meeting, or go to them. If you try to get them to a meeting, have a wealthy, influential person call it for his or her home or office. Many of your best prospects will not come to a meeting; they should be visited. It is important to select with great care the people who will make the personal solicitations for money. It's more impressive if two people make the solicitation than if one person goes alone. If you plan a meeting, have an interesting speaker to present the need. The appeal for funds should be made then and there--appeals made on subsequent days by means of letters are rarely successful.

Call Together at a Large Meeting People of Varying Income Levels. Arrange a luncheon, dinner or meeting at a suitable location. Check with the community social calendar to prevent conflicts with other events which might "steal" your crowd. Get a few well-known speakers whom people will want to hear. Get out your invitations well in advance. Invitations should bear the names of an impressive list of prominent sponsors. Use the telephone, especially during the last few days before the event, to persuade people to come, dividing the names of those who are to be called among your committee. Work hard on advance publicity for the event. Get your group to agree to take tables and to bring friends. Make a direct appeal for funds at the meeting. Have pledge cards. Do not rely on mail follow-up appeals. Get your pledges while you have your people together and while they are enthusiastic. Spot people in the audience who have agreed to contribute and have them respond with their pledges to get the ball rolling.

Direct Mail to Large Lists of People. In some cases letters of appeal to large lists of people do not bring back the cost of postage and printed matter. So don't send out letters to large lists without first making small tests of the effectiveness of such mailings. Your list of prospects may not be a good one. Some letters of appeal are more effective than others. Various letters should be tested on small, typical portions of various lists to see what results they produce compared to the cost of mailing. Nearly everybody thinks he can write a good letter of appeal -- but it is more difficult than it appears. Get a direct-mail expert to assist you. Look him up in your Classified Telephone Directory under "Advertising - Direct Mail", or "Letter Services." Remember most people get lots of letters. To get itself read and to cause the writing of a check, a letter of appeal must (1) be neat and attractive in appearance; (2) must have an attention-attracting fresh substance; (3) must be interesting; (4) must ask for individual action; (5) must be hand signed -- if possible with the name of a person of prestige in the

community. There must be enclosed a folder describing the project, a contribution blank, and a return envelope. Use only first class postage as little attention is paid to third class mail.

Tag Days. Consult the Chief of Police as to whether these are permitted. If they are, it is essential to have advance newspaper and radio publicity. Have plenty of attractive women at good locations selling tags.

Hats or "Collection Cans" at Meetings. Ask for contributions at every suitable occasion. The "collection can" method is often used to defray costs of meeting plans and refreshments. There should be no compulsion to give.

Door Prizes. One proven method is to sell numbered tickets for 25¢ or less as people enter. You can buy duplicate numbered tickets.(hat-check tickets) At the end of the meeting have all the duplicates of the numbers sold put in a hat and draw one for a prize. But be sure to choose a prize which will leave you a substantial amount for your organization's treasury. Prizes will often be donated by members or friends, or offered at wholesale prices by local merchants.

Parties and Other Social Affairs. Dances, cocktail parties, picnics, clambakes, musicals are all good ways to raise money. Expenses must be kept down and ticket sales up. Assign definite members to the responsibility of securing the place, the music, (canned or live), tickets, decorations, publicity, and, most important of all, the selling of the tickets. Sell tickets in advance. All monies received and spent should go through the treasurer. Get as many people working on selling tickets as possible.

Bazaars and Rummage Sales. Have a campaign for contributions of articles of clothing, ornaments, books, etc. Everyone has certain things around the house that they are not going to use and which they will be glad to

give to you for a bazaar or a rummage sale. Perhaps you may wish to give the sale an unusual name such as "Grandma's Attic Sale." Select a place, well-located, for the sale and get advance publicity for it. Have everything that you propose to sell marked and priced by a committee.

Raffles. Try to get one or more prizes donated by a local merchant. Give them ample publicity in return for their donations. Postal regulations prohibit the sale or delivery of raffle tickets by mail, and in some states all raffles are illegal. Obtain approval from your local police officials for raffles.

Sale of Blood to Local Blood Banks. For information on the sale of blood to local blood banks by persons who will turn the proceeds over to your organization, get in touch with your local Red Cross Chapter or hospitals. They usually are ready to pay for each blood donation. People got used to giving blood during the war and realize that it is painless and harmless. In every community there is a definite need for blood donations.

Theatre Benefits. Arrange with your local motion picture theater manager or the sponsor of a play or sport event to take over all or part of one performance. Your group should receive at least 25% of the proceeds from the tickets sold by your members. Avoid committing your group to a guarantee of the number of tickets you will sell.

Souvenir Programs. In connection with your annual meeting, dance, convention, or theatre party, arrange for a special program book. Appoint a committee to sell advertisements to local merchants. Many local merchants are glad to advertise or present their "greetings" and thus get the goodwill or appreciation of members of the organization.

Bingo Games and Bridge Parties. Such affairs are extremely popular. Be sure, however, that there is no law

in your community against bingo games. Have some experienced person in charge of running the affair. On bingo games the general admission charge should be fairly low, with admission including a certain number of cards. Additional cards for games should be sold at 10¢ or 25¢ each. Have a suitable prize for each card or give the winners money prizes (which are the most popular). Be sure, however, that there is plenty of profit in it for your organization. For bridge parties charge $1.00 or more for the privilege of playing. Make inquiry locally as to whether you must add an amusement tax to the admission price, even though it is for charity. Be sure to get plenty of advance publicity for such bingo and card parties. Get as many people as possible out selling tickets to them.

Magazine Subscriptions. Magazine publishers will pay your organization liberal commissions for the sale of subscriptions. Sell subscriptions to Parents' Magazine and other Parents' Institute publications: Calling All Girls (teen-age girls), Varsity Magazine (for high school and college men), Polly Pigtails (for girls 8 years to 10 years), True Comics; Jack Armstrong, Calling All Kids. (The last three are superior type comics.) Subscription blanks will be furnished free, imprinted with the name and address of your group. Write to the Group Service Bureau, Parents' Institute, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York 17, N. Y. Many of the other leading magazine companies also make attractive commission arrangements for local groups. Write to School Division of the Curtis Publishing Company, Independence Square, Philadelphia, Pa.; to the Crowell-Collier Company, 250 Park Avenue, New York, N. Y.; to Reader's Digest, Pleasantville, N. Y.; to the McCall Company, Dayton, Ohio; and to Time, Inc., 540 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago 1, Illinois.

Conduct a Lecture Series or Institute. If you can get a suitable hall free or at low cost and if qualified, interesting speakers can be secured without remuneration, perhaps you can arrange a Lecture Series or

Institute and sell tickets to yield a substantial profit. The most interesting subjects are Child Rearing, Family Problems and National Affairs. For a series of from 4 to 10 lectures a charge of from $5 to $10 may be asked. It is vital to get all your members to sell tickets energetically to their friends and neighbors and, of course, to buy them themselves.

Promotion Is Important. No matter what specific activity you may choose, good planning, wide publicity, strong promotion, and smooth, efficient conduct of the affair are all essential. Use every publicity media. Get advance publicity out in time to fire the enthusiasm of your workers. Keep it rolling to soften prospects for their approach. Use it to keep workers and others informed of your progress. "Sell" your editors and radio program managers on the value of your project and they will help you. You can earn their cooperation by remembering that "Names are news."

Other APC Publications

Suggested Community Activities for APC Chapters and other Parents Groups (free to APC Members and Affiliates - 25¢ to others.)

The American Parents Committee Bulletin for those taking an active interest in federal legislation affecting the welfare of the nation's children. (One issue - free on request. Sent regularly to APC Members and Affiliates.)

How to Organize an APC Chapter (free)

How Local Parents Organizations Can Become APC Affiliates and Why (free)

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SUGGESTED COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

For APC Chapters and APC Affiliates and for Other Clubs and Parents Groups

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SUGGESTED COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES
For APC Chapters and APC Affiliates and for Other Clubs and Parent Groups

There is so much that needs to be done for children -- locally and nationally -- that it's hard to know where to begin!

This booklet suggests a great variety of useful activities from which local APC Chapters and Affiliates and other local groups of parents can choose one or more which they wish to undertake. The choice depends on (1) the needs of the community (2) the size and financial resources of the group and (3) the quality of leadership available. The latter is the most important. There is hardly any limit to the activities that even one good leader can organize and direct. One energetic leader can seek out and encourage other leaders and can build up the size and strength and resources of the group. To get things going there is required one able, genuinely public-spirited person, with sufficient time to do the job, and enthusiasm. If a person isn't enthusiastic himself he can't make others enthusiastic. There is nothing as contagious as enthusiasm!

The activities suggested in this booklet are practical. Thet are being carried out successfully all over the country. YOU can succeed with them too!

Most problems relating to children have to be solved locally. While local APC Chapters and Affiliates will, it is hoped, cooperate with the national APC organization in working out its program of federal legislation on behalf of children, nevertheless your first obligation is to do whatever is possible to improve the conditions of children in your own neighborhood; in the school which your children attend, in the playgrounds and in the homes of your community. Charity and child welfare begin -- but do not end -- in your own home town!

FIRST: Consider all the suggested activities in this booklet and make a list of other activities that you think are needed or that other members of your group have suggested. Then decide which activity will be of the most immediate benefit to your community giving due consideration to your group's capacity to carry it out successfully. A discussion of the relative need for the various activities and the practicality of your group undertaking one or more of them will ensure a lively, interesting meeting.

SECOND: Don't definitely decide to undertake any activity until a thorough study of the project is made. Make a careful estimate of how much the activity will cost. Where is the necessary money to come from? Read the booklet published by the APC entitled "Fund-Raising Suggestions for APC Chapters and APC Affiliates". Make sure your group has the strength and facilities to do the job. Don't try to do too many things at one time, but do each job well. Concentrate on something that you think you can achieve. Remember - that nothing succeeds like success!

THIRD: Whenever you see things that are wrong, adopt the positive constructive approach. Make practical suggestions for the improvement of conditions. Criticism creates ill will. Protests should be made only as a last resort and should always be accompanied with positive recommendations.

FOURTH: Special committees should be appointed to carry out the activities decided upon. Divide the work so as to get as many people as possible interested and participating. Place responsibility on the committees but encourage the assistance of your whole membership. Use your activities as a means of recruiting new members.

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Here is a check list of suggested activities for APC Chapters, APC Affiliates and other groups or clubs of parents and public-spirited citizens which the APC recommends for your group's consideration and ultimate choice.

Better Salaries for Teachers: 350,000 out of 850,000 teachers have left teaching since 1941 in addition to the normal turnover. There's a particularly alarming loss of men teachers. 109,000 teachers today are "sub-standard" holding only emergency teaching permits because they have not the necessary qualifications. 70,000 teaching positions are vacant. Fewer college students are entering teaching than before the war. This is largely because teachers' salaries, far too low even before the war, are still less attractive now. They have lagged behind the increases of wages and salaries in other fields. The steadily mounting cost of living has cancelled even recently granted increases in teachers' salaries in some communities. "How Parents Groups can Work to Up Teachers' Salaries" is told in an article with that title by Dr. Frank W. Hubbard of the National Education Association which has been reprinted from Parents' Magazine by the American Parents Committee, 52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N.Y. Send 10¢ stamps or coins to cover the cost of the reprint, the postage and handling.

Better Schools: Many schools are antiquated, inadequate and some are even unsafe. Textbooks are out-of-date and dirty. Many schools are shockingly over-crowded. Furthermore, the sharp increase in the birth-rate just before, during and since the war means that within a relatively few years there will be a great increase in the number of children who will need schooling. The schools of today are not big enough, nor adequately staffed and equipped to accomodate this influx of "war Babies". A most helpful article entitled "A Check List for Parents on Rating Schools" by N. L. Engelhardt, Associate Superintendent of Schools of New York City, has appeared in Parents' Magazine. "The Atlantic Magazine" and the General Federation of Women's Clubs recently offered a prize in a contest for the best articles "The Schools I Want and How to Get Them". The American Parents Committee, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York 17, N. Y. has reprinted the two prize-winning articles from the "Atlantic" and the "Parents' Magazine" article, and these

will be mailed to anyone sending 10¢ in stamps or coin to cover the cost of the reprints, the postage and handling. They are full of ideas that will help you to work for better schools in your community.

Motion Picture Machines for Schools: Why not use in our schools the successful methods of teaching that were developed by our Army and Navy during the past war? By means of sound motion pictures and slide films our Armed Forces Training Programs found that learning time could be shortened between 35% and 55% with a corresponding increase in the length of time the material was remembered. Every school should have access to teaching films and a sound motion picture projector and a slide film projector. The use of teaching films is actually an economy. Children learn faster and remember more. In many schools there are not funds enough to buy motion picture or slide film equipment nor to rent films. Local parents groups might raise money to donate such useful equipment to the schools in their community. The money can be raised by means of a drive or a dance or in other ways suggested in the pamphlet, "Fund-Raising Suggestions for Parents Groups", published by the American Parents Committee.

Better Lunchroom Facilities: Often school authorities need the volunteer service of a number of mothers to help in the school lunchroom. Your group may be able to render this service. In some cases better kitchen or lunch room equipment is needed. Perhaps your group could donate it.

Your Schools May Need Teachers' Aides: Many communities are helping to meet the teacher shortage by means of volunteer teachers' aides. Women in the community are giving one or two hours a day to the work which consists of clerical assistance of all kinds, such as keeping records, recording grades, collecting and counting lunchroom money, assisting with children on trips and excursions, helping with supplies and materials, assisting in the school library and in the lunchroom. Members of the community who serve in this way will

develop a greater appreciation of what the schools are doing, their problems and achievements and needs.

Child Guidance Clinics: Frequently parents and school authorities are unable to cope with behavior problems presented by children. Every community needs a mental hygiene clinic (often called a child guidance clinic) to which parents, children and others who need guidance concerning children may go for counsel. It is, of course, vital that such clinics be in charge of trained, competent persons. The National Committee for Mental Hygiene Inc., 1790 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y. publishes a pamphlet list of nearly 100 pamphlets that can be obtained for a small charge dealing with mental hygiene problems and ways to handle them. One of these pamphlets, entitled, "The Organization and Function of the Child Guidance Clinic" may be obtained for 25¢. There are many other pamphlets listed.

Better Intercultural Relations: Prejudice against foreigners, against Jews, Catholics and people of different color is having increasingly serious and disastrous effects in many communities. There are many things that can be done to promote better intercultural relations and understanding. A list of pamphlets on this subject will be sent free on request by the Bureau of Intercultural Education, 109 W. 57th Street, New York 19, N. Y.

Parent Education: Most mothers and fathers want to be better parents and will profit greatly from the study and discussion of child rearing problems and methods. Parents' Magazine, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York 17, N.Y. will send you free on request study programs based on articles in this magazine on preschool children and study programs devoted to the problems of the school child.

A Clothing Exchange: Children outgrow at an astonishing rate their clothing, including shoes and rubbers, also skates and other play equipment. In many schools, through the help of parents groups, clothing exchanges have been set up.

Scholarships and Loan Funds: In every community there are promising students who need financial assistance. A group can make such aid possible.

Vocational Counseling: It is a most distressing fact that many boys and girls have no idea how they are going to earn their living after they get out of school; they don't know what they want to do and are not preparing themselves for any field of work. A vocational guidance bureau can be extremely useful. It should provide reading matter concerning the opportunities and qualifications needed in various fields of work. Perhaps aptitude tests can be provided and vocational guidance be given by a qualified person. For assistance in such matters write to the Vocational Guidance for Juniors, 95 Madison Ave., New York, N. Y. and to the National Vocational Guidance Association, 82 Beaver Street, New York, N. Y.

Sport and Social Activities for Young Folks: In many communities all it takes to get a good recreation program started is the initiative of an enthusiastic parents groups. Basketball, baseball, tennis competitions, dances and parties for young folks are not hard to organize. If there is a lack of such sport and social activities in your town, why not consider taking the initiative, remembering always to get the young people themselves to take an active part in planning and carrying out such projects?

Better Recreational Facilities for Your Community: Many communities need better recreational facilities for children and particularly teen-agers. Does your neighborhood or school need a playground -- or a better playground with more equipment for young children and provisions for sports of all kinds? Does the playground need a supervisor and a play-leader? Volunteers frequently can help. There is much that local parents groups can do to help. The National Recreation Association, 315 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y. publishes a large number of booklets to help community groups in working for better recreation facilities. A catalogue of all their booklets will gladly be sent free on request. Some of their most useful booklets and their prices are as follows: "Know Your Community" a guide

to make it easy to serve your community's recreation need -- 25¢; "Organized Recreation in a Small Community" - 10¢; "Rural Recreation" - 75¢; "What Can We Do In Our Town", the organization and promotion of a leisure time program for a town or small city - 15¢; "Planning a Community Recreation Building" - 25¢; "88 Successful Play Activities" - 60¢.

Teen-Age Centers: In many communities the teenagers are the "Forgotten People". Much juvenile delinquency results from the lack of attractive and decent recreational facilities for young people. The National Recreation Association, 315 Fourth Avenue, New York 10, N.Y. publishes a number of pamphlets which will be helpful to parent groups in doing something about this matter. Among these are: "Got A Date Tonight?" -- the experiences of a number of cities in providing youth recreation programs - 15¢; "Suggestions for Youth Recreation Programs" - 10¢; "Teen Age Centers: - 10¢; "Teen Trouble" - 10¢; "Youth Out-of-Doors" - 10¢. The Nehi Corporation, Columbus, Georgia, who are the bottlers of Royal Crown Cola, publish a very helpful booklet, "How to Organize A Teen Age Night Club", which tells exactly how to proceed and which contains a fine bibliography of books on recreational activities. This booklet will be sent free on request.

Doing Something About Juvenile Delinquency: If delinquency is making a black mark against your community there are many other things that can be done in addition to those referred to above. An excellent pamphlet on this subject. "The Whole Town's Talking" may be obtained for 10¢ from the Youth Division of the National Social Welfare Assembly, 134 East 56th Street, New York 22, N.Y.

Stimulating Youth Activities: Youth can be encouraged to participate in neighborhood affairs and build a program of post-school education for themselves. A helpful pamphlet entitled "Youth United for A Better Home Town" can be obtained for 20¢ from the Youth Division of the National Social Welfare Assembly, 134 East 56th Street, New York, N.Y.

Child Care Centers and Play Schools: Many working mothers must have a place to leave their young children not yet in school or older children after school hours, or all day during the Summer. Children of non-working mothers often need better recreational opportunity under good supervision. Advice on organizing nurseries and play school groups may be obtained from the Child Welfare League of America, 130 E. 22nd Street, New York, N. Y. and the Play Schools Associations, Inc., 119 W. 57th Street, New York, N. Y.

Juvenile Offenders: To help young people released from penal institutions to secure employment and to make readjustments is something that may be needed in your community. The Osborne Association, 114 E. 30th Street, New York 16, N. Y. publishes many books and pamphlets with helpful information on this subject.

Children in Jails: Surprising as it may seem many children who are orphaned or deserted are placed in jails because many communities have no other place to house them. Does this happen in your community? The American Prison Association, 135 E. 15th Street, New York 3, N.Y. can give helpful counsel if you have such a local problem.

Dental Hygiene: Three-quarters of all American school children have dental defects. A great many parents do not have enough money to pay for dental service and free dental services throughout the United States for those who are unable to pay is shockingly insufficient. A dental clinic for children in your town may be needed. The dentists in your community may be willing to volunteer part-time service or a full-time dentist may be employed.

Health & Welfare Planning: A group of public-spirited parents can render splendid service meeting the health and welfare problems of their communities if they make a determined and intelligent effort to do so. A helpful pamphlet entitled, "Health and Welfare Planning in

Small Communities" may be obtained for 25¢ from Community Chests & Councils, Inc., 155 E. 44th St., New York 17, N.Y.

Better Local Government: Communities prosper as a result of an informed and interested citizenry. The National League of Women Voters, 726 Jackson Place, Washington 6, D. C. issues a number of helpful pamphlets: "Is Politics Your Job?" - 10¢; "Election Handbook" - 10¢; "Know Your Town's Future" - 25¢; "Know Your Country" - 25¢; "Local Tax Study" - 6¢. Parents groups can be active in working for the installation of voting machines, the elimination of poll taxes, the removal of all Jim Crow practices at elections, intelligent redistricting, getting out the vote, etc. The National Muncipal League, 299 Broadway, New York, N.Y. and the National Civil Service League, 65 W 44th Street, New York, N.Y. publish pamphlets which are helpful to those concerned with better local government.

Fire Prevention: The loss of homes from needless and preventable fires runs into the hundreds of millions of dollars. During an average year fires take in the U.S. 10,000 lives, burn 40,000 persons, destroy 350,000 homes, 2,600 schools, 2,700 churches, and burn forest lands equal to an area the size of Kentucky. Information on how to conduct a Fire Prevention Drive, may be obtained from the National Board of Fire Underwriters, 85 John Street, New York, N. Y.

Make Your Town Safe: A large percentage of traffic accidents and home accidents occur to children. School safety is a must. Local parent groups can put on a community, school and home safety campaign. A helpful booklet entitled, "Make Your Town Safe" deals with all these problems and can be obtained for 20¢ from the Public Affairs Committee, 22 E. 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y.

Community Fund Raising: Your local organization as a group or as individual members should be encouraged to assist your local Community Chest, the Red Cross, and

other welfare agencies in their annual campaigns for funds.

Planned Parenthood: Many married couples want children and are not able to have them. Others wish counsel on child spacing. A Planned Parenthood Clinic in your community may be extremely useful. The Planned Parenthood Federation of America Inc. 501 Madison Avenue, New York 22, N.Y. stands ready to give counsel and assistance.

Marriage Counseling Service: Both young people about to marry and married couples who are having difficulty frequently need to talk their problems over with a qualified counselor. A marriage counseling service in your community might become established and become self-sustaining. Information on how to establish a marriage counseling service can be obtained from the Institute of Family Relations, 5287 Sunset Blvd., Los Angeles 27, California, American Association of Marriage Counselors, 563 Park Ave., New York City 21, N.Y., and the National Council on Family Living, 1126 E. 59th St., Chicago 37, Ill.

Jobs for Disabled Veterans and Other Handicapped Persons: Many business firms can be persuaded to employ disabled veterans and other handicapped persons if they are approached personally. This is not only a patriotic and public service but it is also good business. Many employers have observed that as a group these veterans and handicapped persons have equal or better production records, with less absenteeism, fewer accidents, and less labor turnover than able-bodied employees. Furthermore, the U. S. Veterans Administration provides on-the-job training for veterans and frequently supplements their salaries if they cannot earn the prevailing wage. Get in touch with the nearest office of the U.S. Veterans Administration and find out whether the employment of disabled veterans is a problem in your community. If it is, form a committee to canvass personally the big employers of labor, urging them to employ a number of disabled veterans and handicapped persons. The Veterans Administration maintains files of the classifications of

disabled veterans seeking employment.

Rehabilitation of Handicapped Persons: Physically handicapped children can often be saved from lives of uselessness and frustration if their communities provide them adequate help. Special job training, provision of crutches, artificial limbs, etc., or establishment of an employment agency may be all that is needed to turn a family and community burden into a self-respecting citizen. The National Society for Crippled Children and Adults, 11 South La Salle St., Chicago, Ill., can put you in touch with communities that have gone a long way toward solving these problems.

Adult Education Classes: In many communities, men and women are finding new interests and getting a lot more fun out of living, besides making friends, by attending adult education groups. In some communities, everything from social dancing to courses in sociology and economics are offered adults. A community meeting will launch the idea and from the audience you will get suggestions of what the grownups in your town or city are interested to learn. The adult classes meet in a school building and teachers, health workers, various professional people and others will make up the teaching staff. For help in getting such a project organized, get in touch with the American Association for Adult Education, 60 E. 42nd St., New York, N. Y.

Establish a Pinch-Hit Mothers Service: When a mother is ill at home, or hospitalized, there is often need for a homemaker to come in and take over. Many communities have established a helpful service guidance in 24 states. You can take steps to initiate this service in your community. For help in doing so, ask for booklet on Supervised Homemaker Service from the U.S. Children's Bureau, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D. C.

Baby Sitters Bureau: Many parents need someone to stay with their children when they wish to go out. And there are doubtless in your community many mothers and young

people who would like to earn extra money by rendering such service. Establishing a Baby Sitters Bureau is a useful activity and can be made to be more than self-supporting. The Bureau can properly retain from 10% to 20% of the fees charged for service. The Bureau should recommend only sitters who are reliable. The U. S. Children's Bureau, Federal Security Agency, Washington, D. C. will on request send a pamphlet which will be helpful although not specifically on the subject.

Does Your Hospital Need Nurses' Aides? Practically every hospital in the country is understaffed. One way to supplement the nursing care in your community and to bring the hospitals much-needed help is for a group to stimulate interest in volunteer work as nurses' aides. Many women can give two or three hours a day to such rewarding work and high school girls can also make a valuable contribution.

Have You an Efficient County Nursing Service? If you want more Better-Baby Clinics, better prenatal and postnatal care for mothers, follow-up care for tubercular cases, visiting nurse service, constructive health education, and many other needed health services, why not work to secure a strong, vigorous County Nursing Service? Ask your State Health Department for help in organizing to secure the health services you want and need.

Movies Suitable for Children: A number of parents associations have worked with theatre managers to bring good movies to their communities. In some towns arrangements have been made for special performances; in others theatre managers have given special promotions to movies which receive high ratings in the Parents' Magazine movie reviews. Parents' Magazine subscriptions are $2.50 a year. Special group rates are available. Address: 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.

Library Service for Children: Does your community have an attractive library, reading room, good books in good condition, and a librarian who takes a genuine interest in children? The right kind of library facilities can contribute in many ways to the mental and spiritual development of the child. For advice in planning improvement of your library write the American Library Association, 520 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

Musical Opportunities: Many children, young people, and grownups as well, who are not interested in solo instrument performance become ardent members of a community orchestra or chorus. In almost every community there is a musician who would become an enthusiastic director of music activities if he were given a little help with organization. Write the National Association of Music Merchants, Inc., 28 East Jackson Boulevard, Chicago 4, Illinois, for suggestions and reference material. Music education and enjoyment for every child is another rewarding project. A state which has done outstanding work in this respect is North Carolina. For help and suggestions, address North Carolina Symphony Society, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Conduct an Institute on Marriage and Family Living: Parents are interested in hearing discussions of the various problems of marriage, delinquency, divorce, child rearing and other marriage and family living problems. A pamphlet of "How to Conduct an Institute" of this kind is available for 10¢ from the National Council on Family Relations, 1126 E. 59th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois.

Help for War-Torn Lands: Many local groups are sending books, food and dollars overseas. A handbook listing 174 organizations through which such donations may be made is published by the Commission for International Educational Reconstruction, 744 Jackson Place, N. W., Washington, D.C. In sending food packages to Europe, the best agency is "Care" which is the Cooperative for American Remittances to Europe Inc., 50 Broad Street New York 4, N. Y. This organization is a non-profit organization and has branches throughout the country.

Taking An Active Interest in City, State & Federal Legislation Affecting Children: The education, health and welfare of children is very largely dependent on governmental appropriations and action. Such matters should not be left exclusively to legislators, government officials and politicians. Parents groups can be extremely influential. Legislators are impressed by the interest of the public in educational, health and welfare matters. Groups can send speakers to appear at public hearings on city budgets and on proposed legislation. Groups can keep in touch with proposed local legislation through a careful reading of the newspapers. In many states non-partisan organizations issue a bulletin on welfare legislation. To keep abreast with proposed federal legislation concerning education, health, housing and child welfare there is an excellent impartial weekly bulletin issued by the Social Legislation Information Service, Inc., 930 F Street, N.W., Washington 4, D.C.

Current Affairs Discussions: If your group wishes to discuss national, international and social problems, several magazines will provide discussion outlines. Among them are Newsweek, 152 West 42 St., New York 18, N. Y. and the Reader's Digest, Pleasantville, N. Y.

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JOT DOWN OTHER SUGGESTED ACTIVITIES

Other APC Publications

Fund-Raising Suggestions for APC Chapters and other Parents Groups (*free* to APC Members and Affiliates - 25¢ to others.)

The American Parents Committee Bulletin for those taking an active interest in federal legislation affecting the welfare of the nation's children. (*One issue - free on request.* Sent regularly to APC Members and Affiliates.)

How to Organize an APC Chapter (*free*)

How Existing Local Organizations Can Become APC Affiliates and Why (*free*)

AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE

A membership, non-profit, public-service association working for better conditions - locally and nationally

52 VANDERBILT AVENUE, NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

HOW TO ORGANIZE A LOCAL CHAPTER OF THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE

Other APC Booklets

Suggested Community Activities for APC Chapters and other Parents Groups (free to APC Members and Affiliates - 25¢ to others.)

Fund-Raising Suggestions for APC Chapters and APC Affiliates and other Clubs and Parent Groups (free to APC Members and Affiliates - 25¢ to others.)

The American Parents Committee Bulletin for those taking an active interest in federal legislation affecting the welfare of the nation's children (One issue - free on request. Sent regularly to APC Members and Affiliates.)

How Local Parents Organizations Can Become APC Affiliates and Why (free)

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HOW TO ORGANIZE A LOCAL CHAPTER OF THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE

Mothers and fathers like to talk over their child rearing problems with other parents who have similar experiences. They like to study and discuss the best methods of child rearing. They are interested in bettering the school to which their children go, and in bettering the neighborhood in which their children are growing up; and they realize that they cannot do this job alone.

For results, parents need to join forces. Furthermore , they get satisfaction, help, comfort, and pleasure from membership in an organization.

One parent with ability and enthusiasm can do much to build an organization. You can do it! You can quickly enlist the assistance of others if you are enthusiastic yourself. Nothing is as contagious as enthusiasm.

1. *Write in for Organizational Helps:* Write to the American Parents Committee, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York 17, N.Y. and ask for the following pamphlets that are available to you without charge: "The Objectives and Organization of the APC," "Community Activities for APC Chapters," "Fund-Raising Suggestions for APC Chapters," "The American Parents Committee Bulletin for Those Taking an Active Interest in Federal Legislation Affecting the Welfare of the Nation's Children."

2. *Get a Small Group of Parents Together as a Nucleus:* Try to get six or ten people together as a nucleus. Have them meet in your own home or in your club or in the school building. Tell them what you have in mind. Invite them to be your organization committee. Try to get someone on this organization committee who is connected with a local newspaper or radio station or who has had some previous writing or organization experience. Suggest various activities for your group. These can be taken from the APC pamphlet on "Suggested Community Activities."

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3. *Select a Name:* Your local organization can have any name it wishes. It is the preference of the APC, however, that the name of your town, neighborhood, district, church, school, YWCA or club, followed by the words, "Parents Committee" be used. It is believed that a name such as the "Bronxville Parents Committee" or the "Yorkville District Parents Committee" or the "Smithtown School Parents Committee" is the most suitable type of name that can be selected.

4. *Call a Big Organization Meeting.* (a) Decide on your meeting place. You can usually get space in either a school, YMCA, Union Hall, Club or Church.

(b) *Get a Good and Prominent Speaker.* Get a good and prominent speaker for the meeting and put his name in the announcement. Ask the superintendent of schools or a school principal to talk on school problems; the commissioner of health to talk on child health; the chief of police or a judge to talk on juvenile delinquency.

(c) *Prepare Your Program With Great Care.* Some member of your Organization Committee should act as chairman. The introductory remarks should be brief. They should state that the object of this meeting is to discuss the organization of a chapter of the American Parents Committee, which is working for the better conditions of children locally and nationally. In the introductory remarks it should be said that the objectives of the American Parents Committee and the new local chapter being organized will be explained after the main speaker. Do not permit your main speaker to talk for more than 20 minutes. Then, have the presiding officer or someone else on the organization committee explain that the national objective of the American Parents Committee is to work for federal legislation on behalf of children. Present the main point in the pamphlet on the objectives and importance of the American Parents Committee and tell of some of the legislation for which the APC is working. At this point, the chairman or someone else on the Organization Committee should describe the activities which are being considered for

the local APC Chapter. Explain that the Board of Directors of the Chapter will definitely decide which activities will be undertaken. Ask the other members of the Organization Committee to present their views and ideas and invite discussion from the floor. Finally, the chairman should ask for nominations for an Organization and Planning Committee which will go into the matter further and report at the next meeting. Doubtless it could be arranged in advance that most of those who took the initiative in starting the chapter would be nominated to this Organization Committee.

(d) *Get Out Annoucements for the Meeting.* These can be mimeographed. The principal of your school may give copies to all the children in the school and ask them to bring them home. Also mail them to people you think should be especially interested. YMCA's, church groups, etc. will often help with such mailings.

(e) *Advance Publicity.* Give your newspaper editors an advance story. Perhaps you can have the meeting announced in advance over your local radio station. Get all the members of the organizational committee to ask their personal friends. Remind the newspapers of the meeting so they can send reporters or arrange to get a story from a member of the Organization Committee.

(f) *Registration.* Ask everyone who comes to the meeting to write his name and address on a 3" by 5" card as he enters. Have a number of people at the door with cards and pencils to get a complete registration of those present.

5. *Hold a Meeting of the Organization and Planning Committee.* At this meeting definite plans for the organization should be formulated. The slate of officers should be nominated as well as a Board of Directors. Make plans at this committee meeting for a second general meeting at which the Organization and Planning Committee can make their report and present their nominations for the Board of Directors.

6. *Sample Constitution and By-laws.* On the past

few pages of this folder there is a sample constitution and by-laws. These are merely by way of suggestion. They, of course, may be changed as your local group sees fit.

7. *Hold a Second Large Meeting.* In planning for this meeting follow the same pattern as suggested for the first meeting. Secure one prominent speaker as a drawing card. Have the chairman of the Organization and Planning Committee present the Committee's report. After inviting discussion on the report ask for a resolution approving the recommendations (as amended, if changes have been suggested.) Then the nominations for officers and Board of Directors of the organization should be presented. Put this to vote.

8. *Apply to the APC for an Official Charter for Your Chapter.* Attached is an application blank that should be filled out and mailed in.

9. *Dues.* The Board of Directors should determine the annual dues that are to be paid by members. The ammount of the annual dues should depend on the wealth of the prospective members. While the dues should be high enough to provide the maximum annual revenue, nevertheless, they should not be high enough to keep out any considerable portion of those who wish to join. The important thing is to get a large membership. If dues are set as high as $2, $3, or $5 or more, offer the privilege of paying them in semi-annual, quarterly or monthly installments. Remember, if the annual dues are low, you can charge extra for social gatherings at which refreshments are served. 25¢ or 50¢ admissions are easy to collect for social gatherings.

Of the annual dues collected it is expected that 20 per cent will be sent in to the National Office of the APC, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York 17, N.Y. The National Office must, in order to exist, obtain substantial revenue from its local chapters and, of course, the National Office will render its local chapters considerable service in return for the 20 per cent of the chapter dues. A bulletin to keep your members informed

on federal legislation will be sent regularly, as well as the various service bulletins of the APC.

10. *Enroll as Many Fathers as Possible.* Many parents organizations are made up largely of women. Fathers are parents, too. Encourage mothers and fathers to come together to your meetings. Get fathers to speak at meetings. Be sure to appoint them on committees.

11. *Spread the Work.* Don't let just a few people do all the work. Divide the responsibility among many members. If possible, have everyone on some committee. By placing responsibility on people you stimulate their interest.

12. *Get as Much Publicity as Possible.* Appoint a Publicity Committee. If possible, get people with newspaper, radio and advertising experience on the committee. Publicity in your local newspaper will not only help you get new members but will also stimulate the interest of those who have already enrolled. Publicity will help you attain your goals.

13. *Send Out Frequent Mimeographed Bulletins.* Your members must be kept informed if they are to be kept interested and working. The use of mimeograph machines can easily be obtained from schools, YMCA's, churches, union offices. Whenever you have any news, prepare a letter or bulletin for your members. If your chapter is associated with a church or union, it may be possible to work out ways to distribute your bulletin without having to pay postage.

14. *Nothing Succeeds Like Success.* Try to make your first objective one that you can accomplish with reasonable speed. If you can show results, your own members will become more interested, and you will find it easier to get new members.

15. *If You Need Money.* Ask for the bulletin on "Fund-Raising Suggestions" issued by the American Parents Committee, 52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York 17, N.Y. It contains specific suggestions and procedures.

16. *No Local Chapter May Use the Name of the American Parents Committee Without Permission.* All local activities

must be conducted under the name of the local chapter. The name of the American Parents Committee may be used only in taking a position on federal legislation which has been authorized by the APC's Executive Committee. Violation of this rule, or any other action against the interests and program of the American Parents Committee, can result at any time in revocation of the charter of the chapter.

SAMPLE CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS

This is merely by way of suggestion. Your local constitution and By-Laws can be written as you see fit.

ARTICLE I: Name

Section 1: The organization shall be known as The ..... Parents Committee

ARTICLE II: Purpose

Section 1: The purpose of the organization shall be to work for better conditions for children locally and nationally. (If you wish you can expand this statement of objectives.)

ARTICLE III: Membership

Section 1: Any person interested in furthering the purposes of the organization, who is elected by the Board of Directors or the Membership Committee appointed by it, and who pays the prescribed dues, shall be considered a member of the organization.

ARTICLE IV: Board of Directors

Section 1: There shall be a Board of Directors of ____members, including the officers ex officio. (The number of members should vary with the size of the chapter.)

ARTICLE V: Officers

Section 1: The officers shall be a Chairman, a Vice Chairman, Secretary and Treasurer. (Additional officers can be provided for if it seems advisable.)

Section 2: The members of the Board of Directors and officers shall be elected in the manner prescribed in the By-Laws and shall hold office until the next annual meeting.

Section 3: Vacancies occurring in the Board of Directors or among the officers shall be filled by the Board of Directors at their next regular meeting.

* * * * * * * * *

BY-LAWS

ARTICLE I Dues

Section 1: The annual dues for members shall be $_____. (If it seems desirable, provision can be made for dues to be paid in installments; semi-annually, quarterly or monthly.)

ARTICLE II Meetings

Section 1: The annual meeting for the election of the members of the Board of Directors and officers shall be held during _____(insert month).

Section 2: Regular meetings of the Board of Directors shall be held _____. (Enumerate the number of times a year, monthly, or the specific months that it seems desirable to have the meetings.)

Section 3: Meetings of the entire membership shall be held on the call of the Chairman or on the call of the Board of Directors.

ARTICLE III Committees

Section 1: The Board of Directors shall appoint the following regular committees: Membership Committee, Publicity Committee, Finance Committee, and a Committee on Meetings (an Executive Committee can be provided for if desired.) The Board of Directors shall also appoint committees to be in charge of all special activities of the organization. If desired, the Board of Directors shall also appoint chairmen and if necessary, also appoint vice-chairmen to each of these committees.

Section 2: The chairmen and vice-chairmen of the organization shall be ex-officio members of all committees.

ARTICLE IV Amendments

Section 1: The By-laws may be amended by a majority vote of the members present at any regular or special meeting, provided written notice of the proposed amendment has been sent to each member at least ten days prior therto.

CHAPTER APPLICATION BLANK

_____
(date)

National Administrative Committee
AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

At a meeting held on _____, at _____ the undersigned voted to apply for a Charter and permission to operate as a duly constituted Chapter of the American Parents Committee, to be known as:

Name: _____

The following are officers of the organization until further notice:

(Please Print)

	Name	Address	City
Chairman:	_____	_____	_____
Vice Chairman:	_____	_____	_____
Secretary:	_____	_____	_____
Treasurer:	_____	_____	_____

We have about ____ people who are interested in being members of the chapter. We think there is a good chance that we can build our membership up to enrollment of ____.

(con't on reverse page)

CHAPTER APPLICATION BLANK (continued)

The first local objectives for which our chapter expects to work are:

_____

_____

_____

_____

Very truly yours,

Name *(Please Print)*_____

_____

Street Address_____

_____

City & State_____

_____

(Please advise us below of any school, organization, or business connections which you have)

the American Parents Committee

Incorporated as a membership, non-profit, public-service association

Working for Better Conditions for Children - Locally and Nationally

Chairman
GEORGE J. HECHT
Publisher, Parents' Magazine

Temporary Office: c/o Parents' Magazine
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.
Permanent office to be in Washington, D. C.

THE OBJECTIVES AND ORGANIZATION, ETC. OF THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE (APC)

Shocking conditions for the correction of which the APC is working: Millions of American children are being neglected! Two million U.S. school-age children do not attend school at all, either because there are no schools to go to or because of laxly enforced school laws. Thousands of schools are unbelievably overcrowded, lack proper equipment, and do not even have enough textbooks. 109,000 teachers are "sub-standard" holding only emergency teaching permits. Seventy-five percent of American children need dental care; 10,000,000 children have defects in vision; 1,000,000 have hearing defects; 500,000 have orthopedic and plastic defects. Child labor laws are not being enforced! Juvenile delinquency is on the increase! Such shocking conditions should not be permitted to continue!

The need for more equitable distribution of educational, child health and child welfare services: Federal laws and federal grants-in-aid are needed to help correct some of the great injustices being done to children particularly in the poorer states. Some states have twice as many children per 1000 population as other states have. The people of the richest state have five times as much income per child as people of the poorest state. Relatively, the largest number of children are in the poorer states where there isn't wealth enough that can be taxed to provide the necessary education, child health, and child welfare services that the large numbers of children in these states sorely need. The children of the poorer states will never have anywhere near equality of education, child health and child welfare opportunities unless the federal government helps.

National Objectives: The APC is working for better conditions for children both locally and nationally. The cause of children needs vigorous championing in Washington. Far too little is being done on their behalf. There is much that the federal government could do if legislators were given further evidence of the public's concern about the welfare of children. Every trade association, as well as labor organizations, the veterans, the farmers, and other groups have their effective lobbyists in Washington. Yet, surprising as it may seem, the spokesmen for children are relatively few and largely uncoordinated. Many of the shocking injustices to children -- the lack of adequate schools and of adequate child health and child welfare work, particularly in the poorer states -- cannot be remedied by local action. The APC is the only non-governmental national organization having a Washington office working exclusively in the field of federal legislation for children. To no other national organization in Washington is legislation concerning children a principal concern.

Special Committees: The following committees will all be organized and staffed as soon as funds permit. Several of the committees, notably Committee No. 3, are already actively functioning.

Committee (No. 1) on Federal Aid for Education
Committee (No. 2) to Save the National School Lunch Program
Committee (No. 3) on the National School Health Services Bill
Committee (No. 4) on Federal Aid for Children in Migrant Families
Committee (No. 5) on the International Children's Emergency Fund

Committee (No. 6) on More Adequate Appropriations for the U. S. Children's Bureau and on Increased Appropriations for Child Welfare, Crippled Children, and Maternity and Child Health under the Social Security Act.
Committee (No. 7) on the "Educational Orphans" Bill (schooling for children living on federally-owned property)
Committee (No. 8) on State Commissions to Study the Needs of Children

Advisory Committee: There will be an Advisory Committee of outstanding authorities on education, health, and welfare conditions affecting children and youth to advise what proposed federal legislation the APC will work for or against.

Washington Office: A small Washington office will be maintained as headquarters for several lobbyists who will serve the various special committees on federal legislation. From time to time an APC Bulletin on federal legislation will be issued and mailed to all members at large and to the chairmen of local Chapters and Affiliates. This will describe proposed legislation affecting children and youth, and will suggest ways and means that APC members, Chapters and Affiliates can work for the Enactment of this legislation.

Members-at-Large, Local APC Chapters and APC Affiliates: The APC hopes to build up a large national membership of mothers and fathers and others interested in the welfare of children. There will be Members-at-Large who will pay dues of a minimum of $3.00 or as much more as they wish to send. One means of enrolling them will be full-page advertising which Parents' Magazine is donating in each issue to the APC.

The Members-at-Large will be urged to organize local APC Chapters. A booklet will be furnished them on how to organize an APC Chapter. The Chapters are to send into the national office $2.00 per Chapter member, out of Chapter dues which will be determined locally.

Existing local groups, such as Women's Clubs and Parents Associations, with no other national organization connections, will be invited to become APC Affiliates to cooperate in nation-wide projects, while retaining their own local identity and independence.

Local Objectives: A pamphlet will be supplied to all local APC Chapters and Affiliates on suggested community activities. This pamphlet will give suggestions as to how to proceed with such local projects as:

Better pay for teachers
Better school lunch facilities
An after-school recreational program
Other needs of the local schools
A mental hygiene clinic for children
A marriage counselling service
A teenage canteen
A child health program for the community
Combatting juvenile delinquency

Public Education and Research: There will be the widest possible dissemination of the needs of the nation's children. As funds permit, independent studies will be made on special problems affecting children.

The APC National Council is composed of prominent, public-spirited citizens throughout the United States who are concerned with the welfare of children. They are kept informed by Bulletin as to what the APC proposes to do and is doing for children. While they endorse the fundamental purpose of the APC, they are not necessarily committed on all legislation affecting children on which the APC takes a stand. The members of the APC National Council are asked to advise on matters in their special field and to assist the APC locally whenever possible.

Executive Committee and New York City Office: The membership, public education, research, and financial work will be handled from the New York City office and the local APC Chapters and Affiliates will be serviced by this office. An Executive Committee will direct the activities of the organization.

Budget and Finance: It is hoped to raise $50,000 from membership dues and contributions. This will pay the rent and staff of the New York City and Washington offices. For the first few years contributions from individuals and foundations must be secured in order to build up the organization. Ultimately, membership dues should provide all the necessary funds. Contributions may, if desired, be designated for the use of any of the special legislative committees listed on pages 1 and 2.

AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE,
52 Vanderbilt Avenue, New York 17, N. Y.

(_) Enroll me as a Member and send me without charge the APC booklets checked below and the APC Bulletins on federal legislation affecting children and youth. Herewith is $____ annual membership dues. (Minimum $3.00 or as much more as you wish to send.)

(_) Enclosed is my contribution of $_____ to be used for:

(_) Your over-all budget

(_) Especially for the work of Committee No._____
(see list on pages 1 & 2)

Send me the booklets checked:

(_) Suggested Community Activities for APC Chapters and for Clubs and Parents Groups, etc., which have no other national organization affiliations. (25¢ to non-members)

(_) How to Organize an APC Chapter (free)

(_) Fund-Raising Suggestions for APC Chapters and other Parent Groups (25¢ to non-members)

(_) Existing Local Groups can Become APC Affiliates retaining their local identity and independence. This booklet lists the advantages of having a national affiliation. (free)

Name (please print)_____

Street_____

City_____ Zone_____ State_____

Organizational affiliations:_____

Officers and Executive Committee of the American Parents Committee, Inc.

Chairman:	George J. Hecht - President of Parents' Institute, Inc. (Publishers of Parents' Magazine and School Management). Founder and Secretary for 20 years of the Welfare Council of New York City; Former Secretary of Greater New York Fund; Vice Pres. & Treasurer, Social Legislation Information Service; Executive Committee, National Social Welfare Assembly.
Vice Chairman:	Mrs. Dorothy Canfield Fisher - Famous author and educator.
	Additional Vice Chairmen will be elected.
Treasurer:	Harold A. Rich - Vice Pres., Chase National Bank.
Ass't Treasurer:	G. Theodore Zignone - Treasurer of Parents' Institute, Inc.
Counsel:	Fennelly, Lowenstein, Engelhard & Pitcher.
Executive Committee:	Dr. Mary Fisher Langmuir - Chairman, Dept. of Child Study Vassar College; President, Child Study Ass'n of America.
	Shelby Harrison - Formerly General Director, Russell Sage Foundation; Executive Committee, National Social Welfare Assembly.
	Rowland Burnstan - Secretary and Executive Director, State Charities Aid Association of New York; Former Pres., Lawrence Aeronautical Corp.
	George V. Denny, Jr. - President of Town Hall, Inc., New York City, and Moderator of America's Town Meeting of the Air.
	Anson Lowitz - Vice Pres. J. Walter Thompson Co. (leading Advertising agency); Co-ordinator for the Advertising Council of the recruiting campaign for nurses; co-author of a number of books for children.
	David Baird - Pres. of Baird Foundation; Director of Hudson Motor Car Company; Marine Midland Trust Co., Henry St. Settlement, Army Air Forces Aid Society, Post Graduate Hospital, Long Island College of Medicine; Vice Pres. Marsh & McLennan.
	George W. Naumburg - Retired banker (formerly a partner of E. Naumburg & Company); Director of Youth House, Jewish Board of Guardians, Jewish Welfare Board, the Hofheimer Foundation; President, Baron de Harsh Fund; Chairman, Finance Committee, Federation of Jewish Philanthropic Societies.
	Mrs. Clara Savage Littledale - Editor, Parents' Magazine; Trustee, Goddard College
	George J. Hecht - Chairman (see above)

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, INC.

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Vice Chairmen: MRS. DOROTHY CANFIELD FISHER - Famous author and educator.

DR. HENRY NOBLE MacCRACKEN - Former President, Vassar College; General Secretary, National Conference of Christians and Jews.

Treasurer: HAROLD A. RICH - Vice Pres., Chase National Bank.

Ass't Treasurer: G. THEODORE ZIGNONE - Treasurer of Parents' Institute, Inc.

Counsel: FENNELLY, LOWENSTEIN, ENGELHARD & PITCHER.

Executive Committee; DR. MARY FISHER LANGMUIR - Chairman, Dept. of Child Study, Vassar College; President, Child Study Ass'n of America.

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR. - President of Town Hall, Inc., New York City, and Moderator of America's Town Meeting of the Air.

SHELBY M. HARRISON - Former General Director, Russell Sage Foundation; Executive Committee, National Social Welfare Assembly.

DR. JOHN K. NORTON - Chairman, Committee on Education and Government of the American Council of Education; Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University.

ROWLAND BURNSTAN - Secretary and Executive Director, State Charities Aid Association of New York; Former Pres., Lawrence Aeronautical Corp.

MRS. REEVE SCHLEY - Executive Committee, Republican National Committee.

MRS. DeFOREST VAN SLYKE - Former Executive Director, National Association of Junior Leagues; Executive Committee, National Social Welfare Assembly; Board of Directors, Association of Community Chests and Councils, Inc.

ANSON LOWITZ - Vice Pres. J. Walter Thompson Co. (leading Advertising agency); Co-ordinator for the Advertising Council of the recruiting campaign for nurses; co-author of a number of books for children.

DR. GEORGE S. MITCHELL - Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Inc. (a non-political organization to study the problems of the South and to work for their solution.)

DAVID BAIRD - Pres. of Baird Foundation; Director of Hudson Motor Car Company; Marine Midland Trust Co., Henry St. Settlement, Army Air Forces Aid Society, Post Graduate Hospital, Long Island College of Medicine; Vice Pres. Marsh & McLennan.

GEORGE W. NAUMBURG - Retired banker (formerly a partner of E. Naumburg & Company); Director of Youth House, Jewish Board of Guardians, Jewish Welfare Board, the Hofheimer Foundation; President, Baron de Hirsh Fund; Chairman, Finance Committee, Federation of Jewish Philanthropic Societies.

MRS. CLARA SAVAGE LITTLEDALE - Editor, Parents' Magazine; Trustee, Goddard College.

GEORGE J. HECHT - Chairman (see above)

DR. HENRY NOBLE MacCRACKEN - Vice Chairman (see above)

Proposed 1948 Budget of the
AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE, INC.

Washington Office

Associate Director	$8,000	
Assistant Director	5,000	
Secretary	2,500	
Rent	500	
Office Expenses, mimeographing, postage, telephone	1,000	
Printed Matter	2,000	
Pledge to Committee on Children of the Nat'l Citizens' Council on Migrant Labor	2,000	
Miscellaneous	500	
Washington Office		$21,000

New York Office

½ of Salary of Director who will do (1) Money Raising (2) Contact organizations (3) Organizing APC Chapters	5,000	
½ of Salary of Secretary	1,400	
Service Manager for APC Chapters and Affiliates	2,500	
½ of Rent	250	
½ of Office expenses, mimeographing, postage, telephone	500	
Travel Expense	500	
½ of Miscellaneous Expense	500	
New York Office		10,650
TOTAL APC		$32,150

Proposed 1948 Budget of the
AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE EDUCATION FUND, INC.

New York Office

½ of Salary of Director who will (1) prepare and disseminate articles and booklets on the conditions and needs of children (2) Raise Money	5,000	
½ of Salary of Secretary	1,400	
½ of Rent	250	
½ of Office expense, mimeographing, postage, telephone	500	
½ of Miscellaneous Expense	500	
Travel Expense	200	
Printed Matter	2,000	
Child welfare research (to be spent only if raised)	8,000	
New York Office		17,850
COMBINED BUDGETS		$50,000

1- American Parents Committee

A FUNDAMENTAL BELIEF
OF OFFICERS AND NATIONAL COMMITTEE MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN PARENTS COMMITTEE

A requisite for participation in the APC is a belief in the extension of federal financial aid to the states to help equalize among them the educational, health and other welfare services for children and youth. The officers and National Committee members of the APC believe that while the federal government must not be permitted to interfere with the administration of the funds by the states (though the government should set up minimum standards) federal financial aid is essential, because many of the states, with relatively the most children, have not wealth enough that can be taxed to provide adequate educational, child health and child welfare services. If some states spent all their normal revenues for education alone they could not support their schools as well as the average school of the nation is supported. The federal government has for generations provided aid to the states to build roads, to maintain colleges, to fight forest fires. In addition it annually provides financial aids to the states for the care of crippled children, for building hospitals, for school lunches, for vocational education, and for many other purposes. Reliance on the poorer states to provide essential services for children simply hasn't worked and can't be expected to work because of their lack of taxable wealth. The shocking injustices to children caused by this situation (see description of some of these in the statement of APC Objectives) must not be permitted to continue in our democracy!

Get behind the SCHOOL HEALTH BILL!

Write your senators and congressmen urging them to vote for this bill which means health for your children

MAJOR-GENERAL LEWIS B. HERSHEY, Director of Selective Service, testified at the House of Representatives Committee Hearing: "The records of the Selective Service System indicate that there were approximately five million of our citizens who were physically or mentally or emotionally unable to render the service required of them during World War II. This was more than 30 percent of the total number of individuals examined. This record of the registrants examined during the life of the Selective Service System should give citizens of America cause for alarm. The experience of the Selective Service System convinced me that no American child should come to adult life with physical or mental defects or conditions which can be prevented or corrected at an early age."

SEVENTY-FIVE percent of America's 30,000,000 children between 5 and 17 years need dental care; 10,000,000 children have defective vision; 500,000 children have orthopedic and plastic defects; 1,000,000 children have hearing defects; 175,000 children have active tuberculosis. If the United States is to be a healthy and strong nation, such shocking conditions must not be permitted to continue.

While schools in some states are struggling to render adequate school health services, in a majority of the states insufficient money is appropriated for this vital purpose. To assist and stimulate the states to give every child a periodic school health examination and to do corrective work on the physical and mental defects found, the National School Health Services Bill has been introduced in Congress. In the Senate it is No. S 1290 and in the House it is HR 1980. In the Senate it was introduced by five Republican senators: Leverett Saltonstall, Henry Cabot Lodge (both of Massachusetts); Raymond E. Baldwin, (Connecticut); Irving M. Ives, (New York); H. Alexander Smith, (New Jersey) and J. W. Fulbright, Democrat from Arkansas. In the House it was introduced by Evan Howell, Republican from Illinois.

When Congress reconvenes early in January, the National School Health Services Bill has a good chance of passing if parents and school authorities throughout the nation will prove their interest by writing or, if possible, seeing their senators and congressmen and urging them to support it.

Just before Congress adjourned in July, a Committee of the House of Representatives held a public hearing on the National School Health Services Bill. All who testified at the hearing favored its enactment, several with a few relatively minor amendments. In addition to those pictured on the first page of this article, testimony for the Bill was presented to the Committee either in person or in writing by:

Dr. Vlado A. Getting, Massachusetts State Commissioner of Public Health, representing the Association of State and Territorial Health Officers, of which he is secretary.

Dr. Reginald M. Atwater, Executive Secretary of American Public Health Association.

Maurice Collins, Assistant Administrator, Federal Security Agency, representing the Administrator, Watson B. Miller.

Mrs. Richard J. Bernhard, Vice-Chairman, National Child Labor Committee, and first Vice-Pres., Child Welfare League of America.

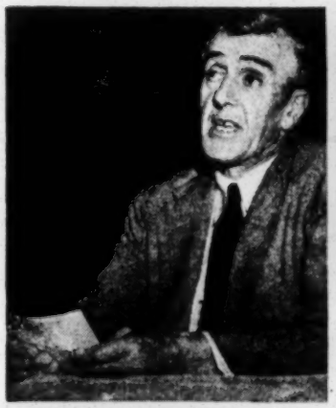
Russell Smith, Legislative Secretary, The National Farmers' Union.

E. Raymond Wilson, Friends' Committee on National Legislation.

Dr. George S. Stevenson, Medical Director of the National Committee on Mental Hygiene.

(*Continued on next page*)

OTHERS WHO TESTIFIED AT THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES SUB-COMMITTEE HEARING



Senator Saltonstall

Representative Howell

Bureau Chief Lenroot

Publisher Hecht

SENATOR LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, who sponsors the bill in the Senate: "This legislation will make a modest start toward establishing a national policy whereby our American children will not be permitted to reach maturity with physical or mental defects which can be diagnosed or corrected in the early stages. Such a policy designed to meet this undisputed health problem may be considered one of the soundest investments we can now make in our nation's future."

REPRESENTATIVE EVAN HOWELL, who introduced the bill in the House of Representatives: "If we want to have a healthy nation we must start with the children. Physically fit and productive adult citizens are the best investment a nation can have. That is the future dividend to be realized by investing now in the health of America's school children."

MISS KATHARINE F. LENROOT, Chief of the U. S. Children's Bureau: "States and communities need help with the development of more adequate standards, methods and procedures in conducting physical examinations of school children . . . and in assuring that treatment and adequate corrective measures are applied as they are needed. . . . I want to endorse this legislation. The need of school-age children for the health services it would provide is clear."

GEORGE J. HECHT, Publisher, PARENTS' MAGAZINE, and Chairman of the National Committee working for the enactment of this bill: "The U. S. Department of Agriculture annually receives many millions from Congress to guard the health of pigs and other farm animals; and yet Congress makes no appropriation to guard the health of school children. Are pigs and cattle more important to Uncle Sam than children? The future of the United States is dependent on healthy children. Uncle Sam must not keep his children waiting any longer!"

GET BEHIND THE SCHOOL HEALTH BILL

(Continued)

Walter J. Mason, Nat'l Legislative Representative, American Federation of Labor.

Mrs. Mary H. Oxholm, Chairman, Spokesmen for Children.

Miss Betty C. Wright, Director Field Service, American Hearing Society.

Francis J. Brown, Secretary, Committee on Relationships, American Council on Education.

W. E. Garnett, Rural Sociologist, Virginia Agricultural Experiment Station.

Ewell L. Newman, Consultant on Family and Child-Welfare Services, National Urban League.

Dr. Joseph M. Babcock, Vice President, American Optometric Association.

Dr. C. E. A. Winslow, Professor Emeritus of Public Health, School of Medicine, Yale University.

The Bill will come up for active consideration when Congress reconvenes in January, 1948. The Bill was originally drafted by George J. Hecht, publisher of PARENTS' MAGAZINE, who heads the national committee organized to work for its enactment.

THE BILL'S stated purpose is "to make sure that no child shall come to adult life with physical or mental defects or conditions which can be prevented or corrected at an early age, it shall be the national policy to provide assistance to the several states to enable them to establish and develop school health services for the prevention, diagnosis and treatment of physical and mental defects and conditions of school children, including the correction of defects and conditions likely to interfere with the normal growth and development and educational progress of children."

This is the time of year when groups are coming together and planning their fall activities and programs. Parent Teacher Associations, Mothers' Clubs, Child Study, church and other groups should include in their plans active support of the National School Health Services Bill.

Our children spend a large part of their time in school, approximately five hours a day for approximately 175 days for at least twelve years. Any program which takes the child where he is—at school—and provides a well-planned system of health examinations and follow-up care is not only an efficient way of tackling the health problem, but it is also the democratic way since it benefits every child alike.

"But some schools already have school health services," a parent may comment. It is true that forty-three states report such work. However, the per pupil expenditure for health services for all children 5 to 17 years of age averages only 78 cents per year. Nineteen states report expenditures of less than 50 cents per pupil per year.

The proposed "National School Health Services Act of 1947" would establish a nation-wide program for the immediate expansion and strengthening of these health services for all school children. It calls for the appropriation of $12,000,000 annually to the U. S. Children's Bureau, most of which would be used for grants to the states, in the same manner as grants are now being made for maternal and child health services, services to crippled children and public child welfare services. States and localities which participate in this program would supplement the federal grants with state and local funds.

This bill is being supported by men and women without regard for political party. There is nothing political about it. It provides a carefully worked out program to give to all children everywhere every opportunity to be strong and healthy, or, if they are irrevocably handicapped in some way, to obtain the best medical care possible.

Surely this is a measure in which every parent in the country has a stake. Surely it is a measure which you as an individual and which any group to which you belong should support. You can do this by discussing this proposed legislation at your group meetings and passing resolutions approving the general purposes of the bill.

Next, write your two senators and the congressman from your district enclosing copies of any resolutions which your group may have passed, and urging them to support the bill which should be identified as Senate Bill No. 1290 and House of Representatives Bill No. 1980. Address your senators at the Senate Office Building, your representatives at the House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

The National School Health Services Bill has a good chance of being enacted by the next Congress if parents, teachers, P.T.A.s, Mothers' Clubs and all who have the welfare of America's children at heart will get behind it and work for it.

NOTE: A full report (75 pages) of the hearing on this bill (HR 1980) before the House of Representatives Committee can be obtained by writing the Clerk, House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, House of Representatives Office Bldg., Washington, D. C.

This article is reprinted from "Parents' Magazine" by the
American Parents' Committee
52 Vanderbilt Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

Why and *How* you should work for the enactment of the proposed

NATIONAL SCHOOL HEALTH SERVICES ACT of 1947

Every child should have an annual health examination—yet millions of them do not!

Rheumatic fever kills more children than any other disease; 175,000 children have tuberculosis!

75% of all children need dental care; ten million children have defects in vision!

THE SHOCKING FACTS!

MORE than one-third of all young men examined for military service during the past war were found to be physically or mentally unfit! . . . Their physical and mental defects should have been discovered and corrected (when they could have been) in their early school years! . . . Yet, only an average of 78c per child per year is being spent on school health examinations and for the follow-up and treatment of the defects found. . . . The only practical solution of this shocking situation is the passage of this bill which is now before the current session of Congress.

. . . See following pages for further data.

Summary of Proposed
NATIONAL SCHOOL HEALTH SERVICES ACT OF 1947

The bill was introduced by Representative Evan Howell (R., 21st, Ill.) and has been assigned No. H. R. 1980 in the House of Representatives. The identical bill will shortly be introduced in the Senate. If you wish the actual text of the bill, write to our Committee or to the Superintendent of the Document Room, House of Representatives, Washington 25, D.C.

THE Federal Security Administrator, through the U. S. Children's Bureau, as authorized by title V of the Social Security Act, now makes grants to the States for the purpose of extending and improving (1) maternal and child health services, (2) services for crippled children, and (3) child welfare services. This proposed bill would establish a new grant-in-aid program for (4) *School health services*. School health services consist, in the main, of periodic school health examinations to discover physical and mental defects, and preventive and corrective services rendered by physicians, dentists, nurses and mental hygiene specialists.

Purpose: The basic purpose of this bill is best expressed by its section 2 which consists of a proposed declaration of policy by the Congress.

> "The Congress hereby declares that in order that no American child shall come to adult life with physical or mental defects or conditions which can be prevented or corrected at an early age, it shall be the national policy to provide assistance to the several States to enable them to establish and develop school health services for the prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of physical and mental defects and conditions of school children, with special reference to the correction of defects and conditions likely to interfere with the normal growth and development and educational progress of children. Such school health services shall utilize and develop, insofar as feasible, the qualified public health, medical, dental and hospital facilities already established in each community."

In respect to treatment of physical and mental defects found, the bill specifies that this shall be provided especially in rural areas and areas suffering from severe economic distress. The bill further specifies that funds may also be used for the training and supervision of school personnel in utilizing the findings of health examinations, but excludes health instruction other than that given as part of examination, diagnosis or corrective procedures.

States Will Determine Program: This bill would apply to the problem of establishing and strengthening school health services, the same general pattern of Federal-State cooperation that has worked so successfully in improving maternal and child health services, services for crippled children, and public child welfare services. Under this bill, the States rather than the Federal Government would determine how they want to and can provide school health services. On the State level, the program would be administered as provided by State law either by the State health agency or the State education agency, or jointly by these two State agencies, with the advice of a State Advisory Committee consisting of representatives of public and private agencies concerned with health, education, and child welfare, and the public at large. Each State would determine how the health and education authorities will cooperate in making available all health services to school children provided for in the bill. Each State would draw up its own plan, according to its own needs.

Financing: For the fiscal year commencing July 1, 1947, $12,000,000 is authorized to be appropriated. For the fiscal year commencing July 1, 1948, $18,000,000 would be appropriated, and for each succeeding fiscal year such sums as may be necessary to carry out the purposes of the Act.

(1) Half of the sum made available for allotment to the States each year would be apportioned among the States as follows: $20,000 to each State and the balance on the basis of the number of children between the ages of 5 and 17 inclusive. This amount would be matched dollar for dollar.

(2) Half of the sum made available for allotment to the State each year would be apportioned according to the financial need of each State for assistance in carrying out its State Plan after consideration of the number of children between the ages of 5 and 17, inclusive. These funds would not be matched.

(3) Of the sum appropriated each year, $2,000,000 or ten percent of the sum appropriated, whichever is greater, would be available to enable the Children's Bureau to administer and to provide demonstrations, to pay salaries and expenses of personnel detailed *at the request of State agencies* to assist them in carrying out this program, and for the training of personnel for State and local school health services, through grants to accredited schools of public health or other professional institutions.

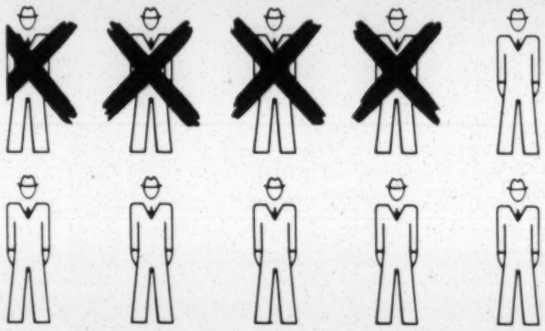
Approval of State Plans: The Chief of the Children's Bureau is required to approve any State plan for expenditure of these funds which meets the following conditions: (1) Financial participation by the State. (2) Administration or supervision of the plan by either the State health agency or the State education agency, or jointly by these two State agencies. (3) The plan must be concurred in by both the State health and the State education agencies. (4) Such methods of administration as are necessary for the proper and efficient operation of the plan, including maintenance of personnel standards and selection on a merit basis. (5) Provision for necessary reports and provision for carrying out the stated purposes of the Act. (6) Provision for cooperation with medical, dental, health, nursing, education, and welfare groups and organizations in the State, and where necessary for working agreements with State or local public agencies having authority under State law for the care

CHILDREN CAN'T WAIT!

FOR twenty years health and school authorities have been talking about such a program, but no bill was passed, largely because of differences of opinion about administrative set-up. We believe that this bill is as completely satisfactory as is possible to all the interests concerned—the Republican and Democratic parties; the various education, medical, dental, mental hygiene and child welfare organizations, capital, labor, farmers, veterans, Catholics, minority groups, etc.—and that it has a good chance of passing during the present session of Congress. The important thing *now* is to get such a Federal grants-in-aid program started as promptly as possible. The children can't wait! Their health, because of the lack of adequate funds, has been neglected far too long! We hope that you will give this bill your active support.

Why This Bill Urgently Needs To Be Passed

4 out of 10 young Americans were rejected for Military Service in World War II because of physical, mental and other defects



A SHOCKINGLY large number of our children come to adult life with physical and mental diseases and defects which could have been prevented or corrected. It is a heart-breaking fact that year after year thousands of children die needlessly. Year after year, thousands of children are sick or crippled needlessly.

More than a third of the young men examined for our armed forces were rejected because of physical or mental defects—yet hundreds of thousands of these had defects that could easily have been remedied if they had been treated in time.

Rheumatic fever kills more children between the ages of 5 and 15 than any other single disease—yet most communities are entirely without an organized program for the care of children with this dreaded disease.

At least 75 percent of American school children need dental care, that is essential to their general health—yet we also know that less than 25 percent of them receive dental service.

There are 10,000,000 children with defects in vision, including 15,000 totally blind and 50,000 with only partial vision—and yet services which could prevent such blindness do not reach these children.

To this sad list could be added the 175,000 children with active tuberculosis, 1,000,000 with hearing defects, 500,000 with orthopedic and plastic defects, thousands with cerebral palsy, thousands with epilepsy, and many, many others.

About one child in every 20 born each year will spend some time in a mental hospital—yet there are 25 states without a single child guidance clinic, and thousands of communities have no program for the early detection and treatment of mental disorders in children.

These are not mere statistics. They are children. They add up to the story of a great American tragedy—of children who are dying, yet whose deaths could be prevented, of children doomed to a life of sickness or deformity who could be cured or helped.

The time is long overdue for action. Let us not indulge in further research and study to add statistic upon statistic and to fix the blame for these evil conditions. Instead, let us now resolve to find a practical way to bring all the "know-how" of modern medical and health services to our children's aid and without further delay. Let us tackle this problem with all the ingenuity and common sense for which America is famous. We cannot do less with good conscience.

The time has come when the federal government, state governments and local communities must join in a great partnership to solve this problem of health—a problem which parents, rich or poor, cannot solve alone. No child should be left out. We now have such a partnership for the construction of highways and harbors, flood control, and the provision of social security and other matters of nation-wide importance. Is the health of our children less important?

—Reprinted from Parents' Magazine.

of crippled or otherwise physically handicapped children, or for other necessary health services. (7) Provision for the designation of a State Advisory Committee to include representatives of non-government organizations or groups, and of State agencies, concerned with health, education, and child welfare, and the public at large, to consult with the State agency in carrying out the State Plan. (8) Provision that the health services described in the State Plan shall be available to children without regard to race, color, creed or nationality, on a basis that is equitable in view of need for services.

The Chief of the Children's Bureau, acting with the advice of a School Health Services Board composed of himself as Chairman, the Commissioner of Education, and the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, shall approve any plan which fulfills the conditions specified above, except that if a State Plan, or any portion thereof, is to be administered by a State education agency it shall not be approved by the Chief of the Children's Bureau unless the Plan, or some portion of it, shall have been approved by the Commissioner of Education.

A National Advisory Committee for School Health Services, consisting of 12 members, shall be appointed by the Federal Security Administrator on recommendation of the Chief of the Children's Bureau, the Commissioner of Education, and the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service. The members must be persons representative of the fields of health, education, and child welfare, and the public at large, one-half of whom shall be selected from panels of at least five names by representative national organizations, and at least three members shall be doctors of medicine and at least one a doctor of dental surgery.

Federal Administration: With the advice of the School Health Services Board and the National Advisory Committee, the Federal Security Administrator shall administrate this Act through the Children's Bureau, except that he shall utilize the services of the Office of Education in matters involving State education agencies and in matters pertaining to the training and supervision of school personnel. The Chief of the Children's Bureau must consult State health and education authorities before issuing regulations with respect to grants to States and in matters of general policy with the advice of the National Advisory Committee, and insofar as possible to obtain their agreement. The Chief of the Children's Bureau is authorized to provide demonstrations and for the training of personnel for State and local school health services, and to detail technical staff upon the request of the State agency for consultation, advice and assistance to the State and its local communities in planning, organizing and improving school health services for the prevention, diagnosis, and treatment of physical and mental defects and conditions likely to interfere with the normal growth and development and educational progress of school children.

HOW TO HELP PASS THIS LEGISLATION

ORGANIZATIONS: It will be most helpful of all for your organizations to give their official approval of proposed legislation. When this is done, notification of this official approval should be sent to the members of the House of Representatives who represent your city or county and to both your senators. News releases stating your approval of the legislation should be sent to your local newspapers. An organization is not considered a lobby if it votes official approval of proposed legislation, nor does such action make it impossible for such an organization to deduce gifts to it on income tax returns—unless legislative action is the *principal* activity of the organization.

Organizations that do not take official positions on proposed legislation can at least have a speaker at a meeting to explain and discuss the proposed legislation. This speaker should urge those who are interested in its passage to write to their representatives in the House and to their senators.

Letters to the editors of local news papers and radio speeches on the proposed legislation are most helpful.

INDIVIDUALS: Write to your representatives in the House and to both the senators from your state and get your friends to do so. Do not write long letters but tell briefly what bill you support and give one good reason why you think it should be passed. Write letters to your local newspapers about this, or better yet, go to see the editor and try to get him to write an editorial on the subject. Get in touch with as many mothers clubs, Parent-Teacher Associations, church, civic and labor union groups as possible and urge them to discuss the proposed legislation, to inform their members about it and to take action.

HOW TO ADDRESS YOUR SENATORS AND REPRESENTATIVES: Senators should be addressed at the Senate Office Building, Washington 25, D. C. Representatives should be addressed at the House Office Building, Washington 25, D. C. If you do not know the names of your senators and representatives, ask the town clerk, your chamber of commerce or any local political organization.

How Much Money Will Each State Get if the National School Health Services Act Is Enacted

THE Act provides for appropriation of $12,000,000 the first year, $18,000,000 the second year, and as much thereafter as Congress shall feel necessary to carry out the purposes of the Act. Each State will receive the following:

(1) The amount listed in the tabulation below, *which must be matched dollar for dollar by State funds.* The Act provides that each State should receive $20,000 and the balance on the basis of the number of children between the ages of 5 and 17 inclusive.

(2) *A discretionary allotment according to need.* During the first year there will be $5,000,000, and in the second year, $8,000,000, for apportionment among the States according to need, which moneys need not be matched.

(3) Any money allotted to the State out of the $2,000,000 available to the U. S. Children's Bureau *for the training of personnel* for school health services.

(4) Any money allotted by the U. S. Children's Bureau *for demonstrations* to be made within the State.

STATE ALLOCATIONS REQUIRING MATCHING STATE FUNDS

(1) Minimum federal funds your State will receive through matching--see below. Additional moneys will be allocated your State without matching as explained in (2) (3) and (4) above.

States	No. of Children 5 to 17 yrs. incl. (1940 Population Census)	Per cent of Total Children	State allotments requiring matching First Year	State allotments requiring matching Second Year
Alabama	799,238	2.72	$ 127,168	$ 208,768
Arizona	129,590	0.44	37,336	50,536
Arkansas	530,224	1.80	90,920	144,920
California	1,227,881	4.17	184,298	309,398
Colorado	251,845	0.86	53,884	79,584
Connecticut	344,515	1.17	66,098	101,198
Delaware	54,564	0.18	27,092	32,492
Florida	424,068	1.45	77,130	120,630
Georgia	837,040	2.84	131,896	217,096
Idaho	129,044	0.44	37,336	50,536
Illinois	1,556,549	5.28	228,032	386,432
Indiana	740,020	2.52	119,288	194,888
Iowa	555,068	1.88	94,072	150,472
Kansas	402,469	1.37	73,978	115,078
Kentucky	756,229	2.56	120,864	197,664
Louisiana	615,384	2.09	102,346	165,046
Maine	198,867	0.67	46,398	66,498
Maryland	395,124	1.35	73,190	113,690
Massachusetts	887,904	3.02	138,988	229,588
Michigan	1,167,804	3.96	176,024	294,824
Minnesota	611,907	2.07	101,558	163,658
Mississippi	615,886	2.09	102,346	165,046
Missouri	805,208	2.73	127,562	209,462
Montana	123,386	0.43	36,942	49,842
Nebraska	302,571	1.02	60,188	90,788
Nevada	20,624	0.07	22,758	24,858
New Hampshire	104,903	0.35	33,790	44,290
New Jersey	838,186	2.85	$ 132,290	$ 217,790
New Mexico	152,346	0.52	40,488	56,088
New York	2,601,590	8.83	367,902	632,802
North Carolina	26,826	0.09	23,546	26,246
North Dakota	168,424	0.57	42,458	59,558
Ohio	1,443,268	4.90	213,060	360,060
Oklahoma	608,627	2.06	101,164	162,964
Oregon	209,082	0.72	48,368	69,968
Pennsylvania	2,245,015	7.62	320,228	548,828
Rhode Island	151,073	0.52	40,488	56,088
South Carolina	562,097	1.91	95,254	152,554
South Dakota	159,360	0.54	41,276	57,476
Tennessee	755,506	2.56	120,864	197,664
Texas	1,601,087	5.43	233,942	396,842
Utah	149,059	0.50	39,700	54,700
Vermont	82,099	0.28	31,032	39,432
Virginia	688,614	2.33	111,802	181,702
Washington	328,992	1.12	64,128	97,728
W. Virginia	521,781	1.77	89,738	152,838
Wisconsin	699,929	2.37	113,378	184,478
Wyoming	57,848	0.19	27,486	33,186
Dist. of Col.	105,552	0.36	34,184	44,984
Alaska	15,701	0.05	21,970	23,470
Hawaii	115,094	0.39	35,366	47,066
Puerto Rico	581,823	1.97	97,618	156,718
Virgin Islands	6,142	0.02	20,788	21,388
TOTAL	29,463,033	100.00	$5,000,000	$8,000,000

National Committee Working for the Enactment of the

NATIONAL SCHOOL HEALTH SERVICES ACT

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Publisher, Parents' Magazine

Executive Vice-Chairman
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Executive Secretary,
National Urban League

KENNETH D. WIDDEMER
Acting Executive Director,
Health Counsel of Greater New York

GERTRUDE FOLKS ZIMAND
General Secretary,
National Child Labor Committee

Replies have not yet been received from many others who have been asked to serve on this Committee

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Red Cross Urged to Lead Democratic Trend in Welfare

Cabinet Post Proposed, Also National Council Including All Agencies

This is the text of a much-publicized address delivered Thursday before the regional conference of the American Red Cross in New York.

By Agnes E. Meyer

WHY am I here today? Because I made in a recent address to the trustees of voluntary welfare groups some sharp criticisms of the Red Cross. Some of your own liberal leaders now have given me the great opportunity and serious responsibility of amplifying those statements directly to you. Such an invitation is a mark of confidence which moves me profoundly. Surely democracy is safe when there are people left in our country who respond to criticism with such tolerance. I am, to be sure, in the position of a guest who has been invited to dinner to criticize the hostess. But your hospitality cannot absolve me from duty toward my country—and toward you—of speaking the truth as I see it. Your invitation obligates me to describe some of the dangers that beset not only the Red Cross but all voluntary welfare agencies in this period of social revolution.

For the Red Cross finds itself in exactly the same dilemma as many another American institution, not excepting the churches. A part of your leadership sees the urgent need for a revaluation of values in the light of social conditions and evolving contemporary needs. But another element clings with desperation to the worship of entrenched power and of certain authoritarian ideas that are now dead as a door nail. Your situation is more difficult than that of the other private welfare organizations because of your numbers, your wealth and, therefore, of the power involved.

There are other obstacles which make it difficult for the Red Cross to find its way out of this dilemma. The Red Cross has a head and a body but these two parts have no

AGNES E. MEYER
. . . challenges reactionaries

organizations which lately have been fed to the press. These relations are based upon an honorable and businesslike agreement which does credit both to the Red Cross and to the labor organizations involved. Yet for devious purposes this contractual relationship has been painted as a stain on the

to the press and to every one of 3750 chapters.

The plan has worked remarkably well. Every group involved has expressed its satisfaction publicly, including the National War Fund and the Red Cross. It represents a great step forward in the relations of the Red Cross with working people. This agreement is no more a disgrace to Norman Davis, your former director, or to Mr. O'Connor, the present one, than it is to Winthrop Aldrich, head of the War Fund. It is, indeed, a tribute to their intelligence, business ability and good sense. It is also a magnificent tribute to the statesmanlike vision and executive skill of the two labor groups.

Devious Methods

But do not blame the press for the way this highly creditable arrangement was used to frighten Red Cross members and vilify union leadership. That story was given to the press in that biased light by your respectable, supposedly honorable but very bitter and very obtuse old fuddy-duddy leaders who resent the fact that labor is gaining a foothold in the management of the Red Cross. They shudder at the thought that their holy of holies—the Central Committee—may be polluted by representation from labor, a move the Red Cross should have made long ago, considering it is so dependent on labor contributions and is becoming more so every year. These reactionaries have decided to force Mr. O'Connor out of the directorship on the theory that he is too friendly to labor. If you don't believe me, let me quote from the last article for which this type of Red Cross leader is responsible. "Perhaps Mr. O'Connor will be reappointed and the Labor-Red Cross agreement renewed. But the true interests of the Red Cross will not be served by either. Mr. O'Connor's reappointment, it is contended, will further demoralize the organization. (Contended by whom you members should ask yourselves.) Renewal of the agreement will not end the Red Cross opposition." There you have the die-hard psy-

STATE ORGANIZATION WOULD AID RED CROSS EFFICIENCY IN DISASTERS LIKE THIS
. . . directors many times must travel hundreds of miles to aid people like these Memphis flood victims

ters to fight a total war on the home front as if it were your own private war. But let me not give the impression that only you made this mistake. The suffering of war workers' families possibly was greater than those of many military men. Nobody in or out of the Government had the vision to foresee that a total war demands an all-inclusive democratic mobilization of our whole welfare structure. Even before the atomic bomb shocked us into realization that a new era has dawned, it became evident that the homeland, too, is a battlefield in modern warfare. We must begin at once a more democratic, better organized, more inclusive approach to our immense social problems, not only to handle our social reconversion successfully. If ever there should be another war, which Heaven forbid, we must not make the needs of our soldiers, it would weaken the logic and appeal of your separate drive for funds. There, my friends, is the source of your obsession that the Red Cross must have a monopoly of service to our military forces. Your charter, which is not mandatory but only permissive, is a mere pretext in such conflicts. Bureaucratic power rather than service to mankind are the prime objectives of your reactionary element. This dire influence is indeed the crux of all your difficulties with the public. Therefore, it seems obvious to me that the country will never get whole-hearted cooperation from the Red Cross, in peace or war, until its separate, expensive, drum-beating financial campaign has been eliminated and combined with the National War Fund. For the need to continue the War Fund I shall later make a plea. You-

ed with such inefficiency and scorn at one of your largest recruiting centers that they complained to Washington headquarters. To investigators the local chapter replied that the woman responsible for this behavior could not be fired because she was one of the largest contributors to the Red Cross. Again money was more important than service.

Now you have thousands upon thousands of staunch members who resent this kind of thing. These are the women to whom I am trying to bring courage and support with this frank analysis of the conflict going on not only among your leaders but in your ranks. Again and again your forward looking, intelligent members, especially younger ones, would ask me in community conferences: "But what can we do, Mrs. Meyer, to make our Red Cross leaders see their mistakes? They

cause it is a model of social imagination and democratic procedure. Mr. Norton sees, for example, that professional people must conduct all technical programs. The blood bank, for example, will be conducted by State and local public health officials, while the Red Cross confines itself to the no less important task of publicizing the program. He sums up the Detroit philosophy of action as follows: "The Red Cross should be promoters, salesmen and publicists to get social programs going, to spur public officials into speedier action on a local level, then leave the program that emerges to trained and technical leadership."

Mr. Norton here defines what should be the role of the Red Cross and all other private agencies in the postwar world and sums up the central thought that I wish to leave with you. Private agencies should pioneer activities. When these are generally accepted and established, they must step aside and leave the administration to public agencies while they pioneer in new directions.

To accept that clear-cut philosophy and to achieve a genuinely democratic organization, the Red Cross must finally make up its mind whether it is, in fact, a "public" or a "private" agency. A little straight thinking on this basic problem of purpose and philosophy is essential now that your war jobs are evaporating and the Red Cross must decide what contribution it proposes to make to the "home service community job. If you don't face this decision, your reactionaries will continue to make trouble by playing both sides of the fence as their own advantage dictates.

Survey Worth Study

Fortunately your constructive national leaders had the social vision to anticipate the need for guidance on this subject. This group recently inspired a survey and report on the medical and health program of the Red Cross which will be of the greatest benefit to the Nation's health if it is

other national health and welfare organizations. This plan calls for the unification of all national organizations including veteran groups, Red Cross, welfare organizations of labor groups, National Community Chests and Councils, the YW and YMCA, national health organizations—in short, all national groups concerned with the welfare of the veteran—in a Council of National Welfare Agencies.

At present only two States have an efficient, strongly organized movement that encourages local community service centers where the veteran, warworker or any other citizen can get help and guidance in any and all problems. This is essential if the veteran is not to get the run-around.

Yet many of these veterans' or community centers now are worse than useless because they look pretty on charts but do not succeed in bringing to the veteran all the services which the community, the State and Federal Governments.

Many Drives Wasteful

If the national organizations should pool their efforts through a National Council, expert advice in the setting up of veterans' centers and financial aid wherever needed by States and localities could rapidly be extended to all parts of the country. It would pool the immense resources and trained staffs these groups can put at the disposal of the States and communities. It would encourage this trend at the State and local level and hasten the day when the veteran can feel the whole country has been mobilized to receive him in a worthy fashion.

Such a Council of National Welfare Agencies could cooperate quickly on a Federal level with the new Cabinet officer and we would have on every governmental level harmonious inter-action between public and private community services. The War Fund should be continued to raise through one annual drive the separate budgets of the Council of National Welfare

Also National Council Including All Agencies

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For the Red Cross finds itself in exactly the same dilemma as many another American institution, not excepting the churches. A part of your leadership sees the urgent need for a revaluation of values in the light of social conditions and evolving contemporary needs. But another element clings with desperation to the worship of entrenched power and of certain authoritarian ideas that are now dead as a door nail. Your situation is more difficult than that of the other private welfare organizations because of your numbers, your wealth and, therefore, of the power involved.

There are other obstacles which make it difficult for the Red Cross to find its way out of this dilemma. The Red Cross has a head and a body but these two parts have no life-giving relationship. The Central Committee or mind of your organization functions in an exalted isolation which the body—local chapters and contributors—has no means of enriching with a vigorous blood-stream of opinion. On the other hand, your bodily functions cannot be guided by the head through uniform standard setting and speedy assistance, whether of a financial, advisory or other nature. Often the chapters in the same State or even the same city do not know what the others are doing or thinking.

Need State Setup

Instead of a few area boards, what the Red Cross needs is a statewide federation of chapters under an elected State council, the chairman of the State council to have a voice in major proposals of your central committee. Without a State agency, you can never cooperate effectively with a peacetime welfare program, since all welfare work in our country is organized on a State and community basis. But I bring up this point now because my appeal is addressed to the rank and file membership. To become articulate in a fluid moment such as this when your group, like any other, is torn between progress and reaction, the membership, the great body of people who contribute their funds and services, must become the deciding factor, must achieve machinery by which it can reject at a moment of crisis its reactionary leaders and support those whose policies seem in harmony with the Nation's welfare.

No American who has the future of our country at heart can be indifferent to the choice you make between these contending forces. The Red Cross has the greatest potentialities for good of any single welfare organization in the country if only because of its size, wealth and prestige. But it also has possibilities for evil. Unless you see to it that your progressive leadership is upheld, the Red Cross can easily become a menace to the progress of democratic ideas and their effective implementation.

Let me begin by giving you an illustration of undemocratic leadership by your small but powerful group of reactionaries who strive to keep the reins of control in their hands. I refer to the distorted version of the relationship between the Red Cross and our two major labor organizations which lately have been fed to the press. These relations are based upon an honorable and businesslike agreement which does credit both to the Red Cross and to the labor organizations involved. Yet for devious purposes this contractual relationship has been painted as a stain on the otherwise untarnished reputation of the Red Cross and an unpatriotic act on the part of labor unions.

Let me outline the history of that agreement as given to me by members of your Central Committee and by the War Relief Committee of the labor unions.

Red Cross and Labor

Early in 1942, AFL and CIO proved they could act together when the welfare of the country is involved by making an agreement with the Community War Chests and councils to collect at least one hour's pay each month from every union member. These labor leaders were among the first to recognize that the total efforts of the American people could be mobilized only if a unified approach were substituted for innumerable separate campaigns. They also wished to protect their members from the confusion of multiple appeals. The plan was worked out on a community basis with careful supervision. When the National War Fund was organized in January, 1943, the arrangement was continued and extended. As the War Fund had its own administrative budget covering campaign and promotional expenses, it preferred to meet the administrative budgets of the two labor committees and receive in return their total collection.

Then came the eternal problem of the separate Red Cross drive. The unions solved it by allocating four months of their annual intake to the Red Cross and eight to the War Fund. Their combined budgets for the year beginning May 1, 1945, are $698,000, of which one-third is provided by the American Red Cross and two-thirds by the National War Fund.

In return for its $232,000, the Red Cross received from CIO and AFL 30 million dollars last year, or at an overhead of less than 1 per cent. If the Red Cross received all of its contributions at so small a cost, we would consider it very efficient. Yet your reactionaries talk as if the rest of the Red Cross funds just drop into its lap like manna from heaven. Their loud cries that something has been put over on the dear Red Cross is hypocritical hokum. Your Central Committee voted for the contract with a majority of 16 to 2. It made no secret of the arrangement. Copies of the agreement were given [illegible] expressed its satisfaction publicly, including the National War Fund and the Red Cross. **It represents a great step forward in the relations of the Red Cross with working people. This agreement is no more a disgrace to Norman Davis, your former director, or to Mr. O'Connor, the present one, than it is to Winthrop Aldrich, head of the War Fund. It is, indeed, a tribute to their intelligence, business ability and good sense. It is also a magnificent tribute to the statesmanlike vision and executive skill of the two labor groups.**

Devious Methods

But do not blame the press for the way this highly creditable arrangement was used to frighten Red Cross members and vilify union leadership. That story was given to the press in that biased light by your respectable, supposedly honorable but very bitter and very obtuse old fuddy-duddy leaders who resent the fact that labor is gaining a foothold in the management of the Red Cross. They shudder at the thought that their holy of holies—the Central Committee—may be polluted by representation from labor, a move the Red Cross should have made long ago, considering it is so dependent on labor contributions and is becoming more so every year. These reactionaries have decided to force Mr. O'Connor out of the directorship on the theory that he is too friendly to labor. If you don't believe me, let me quote from the last article for which this type of Red Cross leader is responsible. "Perhaps Mr. O'Connor will be reappointed and the Labor-Red Cross agreement renewed. But the true interests of the Red Cross will not be served by either. Mr. O'Connor's reappointment, it is contended, will further demoralize the organization. (Contended by whom you members should ask yourselves.) Renewal of the agreement will not end the Red Cross opposition." There you have the die-hard psychology of leaders who would rather wreck the Red Cross than see it become democratic. Now I do not know Mr. O'Connor personally. It is of no interest to me whether he is reappointed director or not. But, judging by his enemies, he must be a person of some merit.

Could Provide Leadership

Now why should the rest of us care—why should I care—whether the Red Cross remains under the domination of a small, powerful reactionary group? Because what you do with the people's money under your control, with the more than 70 million dollars which, I am told, is left over from your war chest, can make or mar a trend now well under way in our country for the integration and cooperation of education, health and welfare on the local, State and Federal level. It has become obvious that far more effective organization and administration of all welfare services are immediately required to meet postwar needs of the American family, of returning veterans and dislocated warworkers.

In such a program the Red Cross can play a leading part. But it will not lead unless it abandons the destructive influence of its standpat elements and rejuvenates its antiquated organization to match already existing State welfare machinery. Above all, it must cooperate unselfishly and wholeheartedly with the Nation-wide effort to strengthen public and private local community welfare agencies.

To cooperate humbly, sincerely and successfully in this national endeavor, you first will have to recapture what you so proudly define as "the Red Cross spirit." The public respects what it knew as "the Red Cross spirit." But your reactionary leaders have perverted this spirit until it has achieved a genius for making enemies and has made the Red Cross the object of repressed fears, resentment and even hatred. The fact that most Americans give money to the Red Cross is sometimes interpreted as proof that everybody loves you. That is fallacious. People have a long-standing reverence for the Red Cross, gained in simpler, happier days, which your well-publicized campaign methods always have exploited successfully.

Red Cross traditions were so powerful that they led many chapters to fight a total war on the home front as if it were your own private war. But let me not give the impression that only you made this mistake. The suffering of war workers' families possibly was greater than those of many military men. Nobody in or out of the Government had the vision to foresee that a total war demands an all-inclusive democratic mobilization of our whole welfare structure. Even before the atomic bomb shocked us into realization that a new era has dawned, it became evident that the homeland, too, is a battlefield in modern warfare. We must begin at once a more democratic, better organized, more inclusive approach to our immense social problems, not only to handle our social reconversion successfully. If ever there should be another war, which Heaven forbid, we must not make the same mistakes we did this time. An all-inclusive social strategy is as necessary as military strategy for the protection and safety of the home front.

STATE ORGANIZATION WOULD AID RED CROSS EFFICIENCY IN DISASTERS LIKE THIS
. . . directors many times must travel hundreds of miles to aid people like these Memphis flood victims

If I now remind you of some of the strategic and psychological errors of the Red Cross, I do it only because they illustrate to an extreme degree a monopolistic, competitive and paternalistic attitude toward welfare problems. All voluntary organizations are more or less afflicted with these attitudes. All must strive to overcome them.

Army Relief Gobbled Up

Take, for example, the hard-hearted way in which your leadership frustrated efforts of the Army Emergency Relief to help their own families at a time of dire need. The Army first made an agreement in 1942 that the Red Cross should contribute a million and a half dollars to found Army Emergency Relief. The Army had to agree not to solicit funds but Irving Berlin's show and various athletic contests brought in gifts of 17 million dollars. Then your leaders produced your famous charter to prove that only the Red Cross could administer home relief to the armed forces and induced Army authorities to issue a directive in 1944 not to consider the Army Emergency Relief as a separate agency. The plea of your leaders was duplication of functions, although any intelligent person knew that no one organization could handle so gigantic a task.

Even had you made a huge success of home service, there would be no excuse for this arbitrary behavior.

"What right had the Red Cross to make a monopoly of mercy?" said one general's wife to me. "To be sure, there was amateurish incompetence among our people to which the Red Cross could point. But how competent was the Red Cross? Why and through what power," she demanded, "could the Red Cross forbid the Army to dispense as it liked money which it had received from a grateful public?"

I can tell you why Army Emergency Relief was assimilated by the Red Cross and its activities drastically curtailed. This unwise decision was defended by one of your most arbitrary old leaders as necessary because, if any other agency were known to be serving the needs of our soldiers, it would weaken the logic and appeal of your separate drive for funds. There, my friends, is the source of your obsession that the Red Cross must have a monopoly of service to our military forces. Your charter, which is not mandatory but only permissive, is a mere pretext in such conflicts. Bureaucratic power rather than service to mankind are the prime objectives of your reactionary element. This dire influence is indeed the crux of all your difficulties with the public. Therefore, it seems obvious to me that the country will never get whole-hearted cooperation from the Red Cross, in peace or war, until its separate, expensive, drum-beating financial campaign has been eliminated and combined with the National War Fund. For the need to continue the War Fund I shall later make a plea. Your isolation, I feel sure, cannot be overcome until this supreme symbol of your isolation, your separate financial campaign, is sacrificed to the common good.

'Nobody Would Dare'

The hot dispute between the Red Cross and Army Emergency Relief was carried above generals, who dared not commit themselves, to the War Department. It decided in favor of the Red Cross because the Red Cross dictates to Army leaders instead of cooperating with them, because everyone from the highest to the lowest in the land must bow to the prestige and to the financial and political power of the Red Cross. In one community the Red Cross marched into the largest church parish house, tossed an old established religious and social program out of the window and told the clergyman calmly: "We'll use this room for the blood bank, that one for home service, this for bandage rolling, etc." When I asked this clergyman why he didn't toss the Red Cross out of the window, he looked aghast and stuttered, "Why, I wouldn't dare. Nobody can oppose the Red Cross."

The Red Cross can scarcely be blamed for regarding itself as sacred because it is never publicly criticized. But the mere fact that all criticism is repressed partly through fear of hurting your campaign appeal and partly through fear of your power, makes it all the more violent. Now isn't it fair to say that, when people high and low are afraid—are literally terrorized—by a voluntary benevolent society, something must be radically wrong at the very heart of its being?

It is but natural that the authoritarian, fear-inspiring attitude of your traditional old leadership is imitated and reflected by many local female gauleiters who rule the roost with a rod of iron, especially in smaller cities and towns. To me the most tragic thing about the Red Cross is the undemocratic influence upon many members which filters down from above. In too many of your offices people who want to ask questions or volunteer services are met not only with indifference but rudeness. When the Army sent out a hurried call for more trained nurses after the Normandy landing, the professional women who volunteered, often at great personal sacrifice, were treated with such inefficiency and scorn at one of your largest recruiting centers that they complained to Washington headquarters. To investigators the local chapter replied that the woman responsible for this behavior could not be fired because she was one of the largest contributors to the Red Cross. Again money was more important than service.

Now you have thousands upon thousands of staunch members who resent this kind of thing. These are the women to whom I am trying to bring courage and support with this frank analysis of the conflict going on not only among your leaders but in your ranks. Again and again your forward looking, intelligent members, especially younger ones, would ask me in community conferences: "But what can we do, Mrs. Meyer, to make our Red Cross leaders see their mistakes? They slap us down if we criticize and tell us firmly that we aren't 'good Red Crossers'."

We—Or Nobody

In many a community these tyrants will kill an idea no matter how valuable, if the Red Cross cannot carry it out and get credit for it. Their motto is: "Either we do it or nobody does it." This dog-in-the-manger psychology, this mania for "credit" in all but your truly modern-minded chapters, is again the result of pressure from above, from publicity and finance committees whose business it is to prove that the annual high pressure drive for funds is justified by results.

Proof of this statement lies in the fact that a wholly different, genuinely democratic psychology exists in your liberal national leaders and in local Red Cross chapters that weld their programs harmoniously with the local welfare program. For example, the five New York City chapters have combined to form a cooperative health council. San Francisco and St. Louis also have well integrated community programs. But I should particularly like to quote the wise advice of William J. Norton, chairman of your Detroit board of directors, who in my limited experience is doing one of the most outstanding local Red Cross jobs in the country. "The Red Cross is just one of many voluntary agencies and must not look upon itself as a sacred cow," he said. "The paternalistic outlook in voluntary welfare work is outmoded and in its place must come a more democratic spirit. When you take people's money, they have rights. They are all entitled to know their money is well spent and therefore they must have representation on our boards.

Public or Private?

"In Detroit," he continued, "we are a smoothly functioning part of the general community picture and do not act as if we had a halo around our heads. We believe the usual competition, jealousy and desire for credit between agencies have to be overcome by working out channels through which they can act together and yet maintain their own functions to full capacity."

I wish I had time to describe in detail the extensive postwar program of the Detroit chapter bebank, for example, will be conducted by State and local public health officials, while the Red Cross confines itself to the no less important task of publicizing the program. He sums up the Detroit philosophy of action as follows: "The Red Cross should be promoters, salesmen and publicists to get social programs going, to spur public officials into speedier action on a local level, then leave the program that emerges to trained and technical leadership."

Mr. Norton here defines what should be the role of the Red Cross and all other private agencies in the postwar world and sums up the central thought that I wish to leave with you. Private agencies should pioneer activities. When these are generally accepted and established, they must step aside and leave the administration to public agencies while they pioneer in new directions.

To accept that clear-cut philosophy and to achieve a genuinely democratic organization, the Red Cross must finally make up its mind whether it is, in fact, a "public" or a "private" agency. A little straight thinking on this basic problem of purpose and philosophy is essential now that your war jobs are evaporating and the Red Cross must decide what contribution it proposes to make to the "home service community job. If you don't face this decision, your reactionaries will continue to make trouble by playing both sides of the fence as their own advantage dictates.

Survey Worth Study

Fortunately your constructive national leaders had the social vision to anticipate the need for guidance on this subject. This group recently inspired a survey and report on the medical and health program of the Red Cross which will be of the greatest benefit to the Nation's health if it is carried out. This report is worthy of the closest study by every Red Cross volunteer. Although confined to medical problems, it is an excellent guide to step-by-step procedures that the Red Cross should follow in its endeavor to cooperate with local agencies. There you also will find an explanation of reasons why it is essential for the Red Cross to have State headquarters to work effectively. This State organization would be advantageous to the Red Cross if only for greater efficiency in times of disaster. The arrival of your area directors at points of disaster often has been delayed because they may reside hundreds of miles away. With a well integrated State program the chances are that you could cover the scenes of sudden flood or conflagration with greater promptness, effectiveness and expeditious community collaboration.

Your Red Cross medical report in its concepts of community reorganization fits in perfectly with the present general trend in Nation-wide social planning. To furnish a guide for such efforts, some 27 experts in government, education, health and welfare have drawn up a report entitled "The Road to Community Reorganization," which was presented to the President, Congress and the country last month This report suggests community service centers as a joint clearing house of all local welfare endeavor. To hasten local efficiency, it points out methods by which State governments can be improved.

National Council Needed

Because community services are now more than ever the concern of all people, because they are needed by all the people and because they never will assume their proper place in national life unless and until effective national leadership is provided, the report proposes that there be established in the Federal Government a Cabinet post, to include the functions of education, health, welfare and social insurance, designed to provide appropriate coordination and leadership of the basic community services that are essential to the well-being of the Nation.

But it takes time to pass legislation for this Cabinet post and as an immediate step to accelerate the happy return of the veteran to civil life, I wish to urge upon your attention a plan that has the approval not only of some of your own leaders but of those at the head of many zations of labor groups, National Community Chests and Councils, the YW and YMCA, national health organizations—in short, all national groups concerned with the welfare of the veteran—in a Council of National Welfare Agencies.

At present only two States have an efficient, strongly organized movement that encourages local community service centers where the veteran, warworker or any other citizen can get help and guidance in any and all problems. This is essential if the veteran is not to get the run-around.

Yet many of these veterans' or community centers now are worse than useless because they look pretty on charts but do not succeed in bringing to the veteran all the services which the community, the State and Federal Governments.

Many Drives Wasteful

If the national organizations should pool their efforts through a National Council, expert advice in the setting up of veterans' centers and financial aid wherever needed by States and localities could rapidly be extended to all parts of the country. It would pool the immense resources and trained staffs these groups can put at the disposal of the States and communities. It would encourage this trend at the State and local level and hasten the day when the veteran can feel the whole country has been mobilized to receive him in a worthy fashion.

Such a Council of National Welfare Agencies could cooperate quickly on a Federal level with the new Cabinet officer and we would have on every governmental level harmonious inter-action between public and private community services. The War Fund should be continued to raise through one annual **drive the separate budgets of the Council of National Welfare** Agencies, including that of the Red Cross. The combined drive could raise as much if not more money than your separate drive and at the same time increase your prestige through your willingness to cooperate democratically.

Just as we continued the Community Chest after the last war, so also we should not let the National War Fund go out of business. Many separate national drives are wasteful and we can no longer afford them. Moreover, they throw the welfare picture out of balance when, for example, we commit such follies as raising millions for infantile paralysis and nothing for more prevalent children's diseases such as cerebral palsy and cardiac ailments.

Why shouldn't the Red Cross join with other national agencies in asking the President to call together all the leaders of the voluntary national organizations to consider the plan? The country would then have proof that the Red Cross is supporting its liberal leaders and inaugurating a new era of mutual assistance, goodwill and democratic solidarity.

The Red Cross must play a role in the complex industrialized economy of the future equal but not identical with that which earned it the reverence and gratitude of a simpler, smaller nation in the past. In its national councils, as in each local chapter, all classes of citizens should have a voice in its decisions as well as the right to contribute. In coping with the vast welfare responsibility of the next decades, a vigorous, democratic Red Cross must share and collaborate flexibly with other public and private welfare agencies in serving all members of the community, regardless of race, color or creed.

"There is a tide in the affairs of men,
Which taken at the flood, leads on to fortune."

The tide is running fast and the fortune involved is not only the welfare of our own country but the well-being of all other nations. For only if we are strong here at home, spiritually, morally and physically, can we redeem the blood of our sons and carry out the obligations growing out of this war. Only if democracy finds new, more generous, more inclusive social patterns here at home will it be strong enough to hold aloft its banners as beacons of promise for universal peace and freedom.

IN THE COUNTIES OF PHILADELPHIA, DELAWARE (EXCEPT NETHER PROVIDENCE TOWNSHIP), MONTGOMERY, CHESTER AND BUCKS

THE AMERICAN RED CROSS

SOUTHEASTERN PENNSYLVANIA CHAPTER
511 NORTH BROAD STREET
(S. E. Cor. Broad and Spring Garden Streets)
PHILADELPHIA 23, PA.
Phone—FREmont 0100

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Have you already written them for S.R.C.? -g

10 December 1945

Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Inc.
710 Standard Building
Atlanta 3
Ga.

DEC 12 1945
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

Dear Sirs:

The Junior Red Cross Committee on Personal and Social Relations is planning to distribute to the schools, from time to time, packets of material dealing with understanding, cooperation and unity among the various racial and cultural groups in America. This material is intended for pupil use at all levels of the school system from elementary through high schools.

A Sub-committee has been formed to review sample material and recommend items for purchase and distribution. This Committee is desirous of receiving from you now, and at such times as they may be issued in the future, samples of the following types of material: pamphlets, charts, cut-outs, maps, dramatizations, bibliographies, brochures, folders, comics, posters, magazines, booklets, records, films; in fact, all types of audio-visual and printed material except books.

Please send samples for review to:

Miss Dorothy P. Nassau
Supervising Librarian,
The Board of Public Education
21st & Parkway
Philadelphia 3, Pa.

With sincere appreciation of your cooperation in this program for intercultural understanding, I am

Sincerely yours,

Dorothy P. Nassau

Dorothy P. Nassau, Chairman
Sub-committee on Materials

1838

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . INEZ B. TILLISON . .

Miss Kerby:

Please put the following name on the complimentary mailing list to receive all our literature:

Miss Dorothy P. Nassau
Supervising Librarian
The Board of Public Education
21st and Parkway
Philadelphia 3, Pa.

We have just sent her 2, 3, 4, Unhealthy Roots, G. I. Joe Comes Home, and It Seems Queer.

IBT

Dec. 3, 1945

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AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

(Formerly The National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools)

Office of the Executive Secretary
P. O. Box 271
Montgomery 1, Alabama

Dear Sir:

Under separate cover, The American Teachers Association is pleased to send you a complimentary copy of THE BLACK AND WHITE OF REJECTIONS FOR MILITARY SERVICE. This report has been prepared by a special research committee of the association and was formally presented to the 41st annual convention of the association, held at the Tennessee A. & I. State College at Nashville, August 15-17, 1944.

In the spirit of the effort which is being made by all the professional organizations to take full advantage of all the revelations of this War crisis which may have major significance for our Post-War efforts in education and in our other areas of national development, this study has been made. The educational programs of this nation face an intensified challenge as a result of the War. The effort of this nation to achieve its goal of adequate and equitable educational opportunity for all children on a nationwide basis ... without differentiation because of economic circumstance or place of residence or sex or race ... should be appreciably accelerated by this World Crisis through which we are now passing. A straight-forward approach to the imperative need of Federal participation in the financing of an adequate and equitable program of public education (extending from the kindergarten through the presently-neglected area of adult education) must be made if the United States is to utilize its superior resources to the greatest advantage. Any deflections of unified national effort because of sectional and racial prejudices should be firmly discouraged.

We hope that you may find interest in this publication of The American Teachers Association. Members of the Committee as well as our new president (Mr. Walter N. Ridley, Virginia State College, Ettrick, Virginia) and the executive secretary will be pleased to be of such further service as may be desired in this matter. Any portion of this publication may be used, without special request, under the usual conditions of bibliographical acknowledgement.

Yours very truly,

H Councill Trenholm

H. Councill Trenholm

HCT:S

Amer. Tea. Asso

August 31, 1944

filed in pamphlet file

Mr. H. Council Trenholm
Executive Secretary
The American Teachers Association
P. O. Box 271
Montgomery 1, Alabama

Dear Mr. Trenholm:

Would it be possible for you to furnish us a copy of your pamphlet "The Black and White of Rejections for Military Service"?

Please advise us if there is any charge in order that we may remit promptly.

Very truly yours,

Margaret L. Fisher
Director of Public Relations

MLF:m

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
MARCH 1, 1946

****

A PROGRESS REPORT ON THE 1945-46 MEMBERSHIP CAMPAIGN...THE FIRST SEVEN MONTHS

****

	State	No. of Tchrs	Life Members		Annual Memberships		For 1946		1946 Report by Months			
			Full	Part	1944	1945	Quota	Reported as of Mar.1	Aug. Sept. Oct.	Nov. Dec.	Jan.	Feb.
1.	Alabama	5709	27	4	1441	2281	2750	1476	36	486	184	768
2.	Virginia	4255	7	2	305	687	1000	415	122	236	57	--
3.	Maryland	1724	9		295	561	750	52	2	--	--	50
4.	W.Virginia	1033	14	3	372	506	625	331	33	14	5	279
5.	D. of C.	1098	19	2	363	464	600	--	--	--	--	--
6.	Florida	3305	3	1	94	460	725	15	7	8	--	--
7.	N.Carolina	7255	12	1	169	321	750	170	30	34	106	--
8.	Tennessee	2940	13	20	152	316	600	--	--	--	--	--
9.	Texas	6439	6	1	7	272	725	38	--	--	--	38
10.	Arkansas	2594	7	10	108	207	400	--	--	--	--	--
11.	Georgia	6850	9	4	193	195	650	88	57	25	--	6
12.	Mississippi	6403	8	1	93	189	600	230	119	--	111	--
13.	S.Carolina	5660	3	2	88	142	550	8	--	--	--	8
14.	Kentucky	1613	6	1	123	142	300	4	4	--	--	--
15.	Oklahoma	1706	3	--	1	105	300	4	--	--	--	4
16.	New Jersey	--	3	--	4	90	125	--	--	--	--	--
17.	Louisiana	4162	7	--	3	77	400	7	7	--	--	--
18.	Delaware	240	1	--	4	72	120	80	--	80	4	--
19.	Pennsylvania	--	6	1	67	49	100	1	1	--	--	--
20.	Missouri	1490	9	2	9	26	150	54	--	54	--	--
21.	Ohio	--	6	--	15	23	75	--	--	--	--	--
22.	Indiana	--	1	--	25	19	75	--	--	--	--	--
23.	Kansas	--	2	--	--	1	50	--	--	--	--	--
24.	N. Mexico	--	--	--	--	1	50	--	--	--	--	--
25.	Illinois	--	1	--	2	--	10	--	--	--	--	--
26.	New York	--	4	--	2	--	40	--	--	--	--	--
	TOTALS		186	55	3935	7206	12,520	2977	418	939	467	1153

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION reached a new membership figure of 7206 for the past year of 1944-45. ATA President Walter N. Ridley has set a new membership goal of 12,520 for the current year which will end July 31st and has made the above indicated allocation between the various states.

After the first seven months ending February 28, this progress report is being released. The states of Alabama, West Virginia and Delaware have already reported more than half of their quota. The states of Virginia, Mississippi and Missouri have passed the one-third mark. The spring and summer months are major collection months in most of the states. There is possibility of achieving these new membership goals for 1945-46.

Group membership solicitation by counties and systems and schools is still the effective method. It is the necessary method because of the very nominal membership fee of one dollar. It is the basis of the reports which have come from the above-listed states, along with North Carolina and Georgia, where there has been the cooperation of state associations, of Jeanes teachers and of school principals.

INTEREST, INITIATIVE AND COOPERATION ARE HEREWITH SOLICITED.

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Virginia State College
Ettrick, Va.

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Miss Lucie E. Campbell
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Howard H. Long
Henry Wilson School Building
17th Street, between Euclid Street
and Kalorama Road
Washington, D. C.

(See Reserse Side for Other Officers)

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

(Formerly The National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools)

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
P. O. Box 271, Montgomery 1, Alabama

April 6, 1948

To Presidents and Summer School Directors:

We seek to send this initial communication in ample time for its consideration as you plan the calendar of activities and special events for your forthcoming summer session. We herewith request that you place on your summer school calendar, with the necessary associated committee provision, an AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION EMPHASIS DAY (or days).

From the enclosed mimeographed STATEMENT AND REPORT, you will note on page seven the indication of this project as one of the three aspects of approach to the promotion of the American Teachers Association. Several summer schools plan for a more extended "Institute on Professional Organizations" and provide for some exposure of their summer school students to the professional implications associated with the role which teacher organizations have played in the development of education in America. Other summer schools have undertaken to sponsor the proposal of ATA President Walter N. Ridley for an ATA EMPHASIS DAY. Such a project would seem to be quite in line with the professional service which our summer schools seek to provide for those teachers-in-service who are in attendance. We do solicit your interest and effective sponsorship of such a program at your institution this summer.

The date can be of your own choosing in terms of the maximum convenience for your calendar. We would suggest the advantage of a possible uniform day or days within the week of June 24-28 which thus might become a nationwide ATA EMPHASIS DAY.

We make two additional requests. The first is that plans be made for the solicitation of memberships from those summer school students and faculty members who have not paid their membership during the year. The summer schools become a rather effective final opportunity to meet the membership goals for the year for the respective states and offer an opportunity for leadership in encouraging the broadening of the interest and participation of teachers in their professional organizations on the national level. The second is that plans be undertaken to provide for some summer-student representation at the forthcoming annual meeting to be held at the North Carolina College for Negroes in Durham July 23-25. It will mean much to the average teacher to have this type of professional contact. Alabama State Teachers College has featured this kind of project for the past ten years and has set up a special summer project through which funds were raised to send several delegates (six to fourteen) to the ATA at the same time that memberships in the ATA were also being collected. The result in Alabama has been evidenced in the rapidly widening professional spirit of the teachers and their major membership participation in the ATA. Several other summer schools have similarly undertaken such a project of representation on a more limited basis. EVERY SUMMER SCHOOL can do SOMETHING this summer with respect to each of these suggested requests.

We shall look forward to making available additional materials and suggestions. We shall be pleased to have inquiries from the committee chairman whom you may designate for this project at your summer school session. We will appreciate your initial consideration now as you begin to make your plans for your summer session.

H. COUNCILL TRENHOLM, EX. SECTY.

ELECTED LAY MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

C. L. HARPER,
535 Auburn Avenue, Atlanta, Ga.

G. W. GORE, JR.
Tenn. A. & J. State College, Nashville, Tenn.

BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Term ending in 1945
W. W. BLACKBURN
Box 2202
West Jackson, Miss.

R. T. TATUM*
Charlton—Pollard High School
Beaumont, Texas

Term ending in 1946
J. F. DRAKE
State A. & M. Institute
Normal, Alabama

MRS. A. M. P. STRONG
Robert Moton High School
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Term ending in 1947
HORACE MANN BOND
Fort Valley State College
Fort Valley, Georgia

MILES W. CONNOR, Chairman
2415 Madison Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland

*(Succeeding Dr. J. S. Clark, deceased, October, 1944).

REGIONAL VICE PRESIDENTS AND STATE DIRECTORS

REGION I: ARKANSAS-LOUISIANA-MISSISSIPPI.

VICE-PRESIDENT: MRS. LILLIAN ROGERS JOHNSON, P. O. Box 94, Clarksdale, Mississippi.

Arkansas: Mr. Floyd Brown, Fargo Agricultural School, Fargo, Arkansas.

Louisiana: Dr. Reid E. Jackson, Southern University, Scotlandville, La.

Mississippi: Mr. W. A. Higgins, P. O. Box 1000, Clarksdale, Mississippi.

REGION II: ALABAMA-FLORIDA-GEORGIA.

VICE-PRESIDENT: MR. JOSEPH T. BROOKS, State Teachers College, Montgomery, Alabama.
Alabama: Mr. Robert C. Hatch, State Teachers College, Montgomery, Alabama.
Florida: Principal Gilbert L. Porter, Lincoln High School, Tallahassee, Florida.
Georgia: Principal I. E. Washington, 1449 Mill Street, Augusta, Georgia.

REGION III: NORTH CAROLINA-SOUTH CAROLINA-VIRGINIA.

VICE-PRESIDENT: MRS. JANIE G. DOUGLASS, 209 N. Pinckney Street, Union, South Carolina.

North Carolina: Dean J. B. McRae, State Teachers College, Fayetteville, North Carolina.

South Carolina: Miss Rosamund Alston, 14 Treadwell Street, Orangeburg, South Carolina.
Dean I. M. A. Myers, Allen University, Columbia, South Carolina.

Virginia: Dean Thomas H. Henderson, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virgina.

REGION IV: INDIANA-KENTUCKY-MICHIGAN-OHIO-TENNESSEE-WEST VIRGINIA.

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Indiana: Dr. Charles E. Rochelle, 1173 Indiana Avenue, Evansville, Indiana.

Kentucky: Mrs. Minnie J. Hitch, Kentucky State College, Frankfort, Kentucky.

Michigan:

Ohio: Principal Charles S. Long, Jr., 25 Washington Terrace, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Tennessee:

West Virginia: Miss Mary L. Williams, 1011 Second Avenue, Charleston, West Virgina.

REGION V: DELAWARE-DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA-MARYLAND-NEW JERSEY-NEW YORK-PENNSYLVANIA

VICE-PRESIDENT: MR. J. STANLEY JAMES, Delaware State College, Dover, Delaware.

Delaware: Principal S. Marcellus Blackburn, Booker Washington High School, Dover, Delaware.

District of Columbia:

Maryland: Miss H. Reginal Brown, Mount Hope School, Sunderland, Maryland.

New Jersey: Mrs. Eva Batey, P. O. Box 432, Atlantic City, New Jersey.

New York:

Pennsylvania: Mrs. Mabel D. Gates, 1007 Ridge Avenue, Darby Pennsylvania.
Principal J. R. Fugett, 120 E. Minor Street, West Chester, Pennsylvania.

REGION VI: CALIFORNIA-ILLINOIS-KANSAS-MISSOURI-OKLAHOMA-TEXAS-WISCONSIN

VICE-PRESIDENT: DR. G. L. HARRISON, Langston University, Langston, Oklahoma.

Kansas: Mr. Harrison L. Colwell, 1109 Boswell Street, Topeka, Kansas.

Missouri: Principal George D. Brantley, Summer High School, St. Louis, Missouri.

Oklahoma: Principal Alphonso Jordan, Douglass High School, Wewoka, Oklahoma.

Texas. Mr. George W. Reeves, Box 54, Prairie View State College, Prairie View, Texas.

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

A STATEMENT OF PROGRAM AND PROGRESS

Montgomery, Alabama

March 27, 1946.

OFFICERS OF 1945-46

PRESIDENT ..... Mr. Walter N. Ridley, Ettrick, Virginia
VICE PRESIDENT ..... Miss Lucie E. Campbell, Memphis, Tennessee
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY .... Dr. H. Councill Trenholm, Montgomery, Alabama
TREASURER ..... Dr. Howard H. Long, Washington, D. C.

REGIONAL VICE PRESIDENTS:
I ... (Ark.-La.-Miss.) Mrs. Lillian Rogers Johnson, Clarksdale, Miss.
II .. (Ala.-Fla.-Ga.) Mr. Joseph T. Brooks, Montgomery, Alabama
III.. (N.C.-S.C.-Va.) Mrs. Janie G. Douglass, Union, South Carolina
IV .. (Ind.-Ky.-Mich.-Ohio-Tenn.-W.Va.) Mr. E. Champ Warrick, Wilberforce, O.
V ... (Dela.-D.C.-Md.-N.J.-N.Y.-Pa.) Mr. J. Stanley James, Millsboro, Dela.
VI .. (Calif.-Ill.-Kan.-Mo.-Okla.-Tex.-Wis.) Dr. G. L. Harrison, Langston, Oklahoma

BOARD OF TRUSTEES:
Mr. W. W. Blackburn, West Jackson, Mississippi
Mr. R. T. Tatum, Beaumont, Texas
Dr. J. F. Drake, Normal, Alabama
Mrs. A. M. P. Strong, Marianna, Arkansas
Dr. Horace Mann Bond, Lincoln University, Pennsylvania
Dr. Miles W. Connor, Baltimore, Maryland

ELECTED MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:
Mr. C. L. Harper, Atlanta, Georgia
Dr. George W. Gore, Jr., Nashville, Tennessee

STATE DIRECTORS:
Ala.-Dr. Robert C. Hatch; Ark.-Mr. Floyd Brown; Dela.-Prin. S. Marcellus Blackburn; Fla.-Prin. Wm. DuBose; Ga.-Mrs. Maenelle Dempsey & Prin. I. E. Washington; Ind.-Dr. Chas. E. Rochelle; Kansas-Mr. Harrison L. Colwell; Ky.-Mrs. Minnie J. Hitch; Md.-Miss H. Regina Brown; Miss.-Mr. W. A. Higgins & Mr. W. Milan Davis; Mo.-Prin. George D. Brantley; N. J.-Mrs. Eva Batey; N. Y.-Miss A. Layle Lane; N. C.-Dean J. B. MacRae; Ohio-Prin. Charles S. Long; Okla.-Prin. Alphonso Jordan; Penna.-Mrs. Mabel D. Gates & Prin. J. R. Fugett; S. C.-Miss Rosamund Alston & Dean I. M. A. Myers; Tenn.-Miss Lucie E. Campbell; Texas-Mr. George W. Reeves; Va.-Dean Thomas H. Henderson; W. Va.-Miss Mary L. Williams; D. C. _____; La._____

THE PLATFORM OF THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

1. FULL EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL CHILDREN without regard to race, sex, economic circumstance or place of residence.

2. FULL EQUALITY in provision of length of terms, of school buildings and instructional equipment, of transportation and associated services and of qualifications and salaries of teachers.

3. FEDERAL participation in the support of public education with equality in apportionment of such funds to schools separated on a racial basis.

4. SUPPORT of efforts through appeal and persuasion, through legislation and through court action to secure for all citizens and youth the benefits envisioned in the American ideal of "Equality of Educational Opportunity".

5. FULL PARTICIPATION of ALL citizens in the various activities necessary for Liberty, Life and the Pursuit of Happiness.

6. ELIMINATION of restrictions and discrimination in voting, in employment and in the administration of civil justice.

7. FULL participation of ALL teachers (without restriction or discouragement because of race) in the membership, in the programs and in the leadership participation of all the respective professional organizations.

8. EFFECTIVE patterns of cooperation and articulation between all teacher organizations on the national level, on the state level and on the local level.

9. STIMULATION of the voluntary 100% affiliation of every teacher with their local, their district, their state and their national professional organizations ... with the ultimate goal being that of a plan of UNIFIED MEMBERSHIP in professional organizations on all three levels (local, state and national.

10. SUPPORT of the program of national-organization membership appeal of the NEA-ATA JOINT COMMITTEE which proposes that teachers of Negro children have first their memberships in the AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION and thereafter in the National Education Association ... just as there is also the agreement of both national-level organizations that membership in local and state associations should precede membership in the national associations.

SOME ACTIVITIES OF THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

1. Conduct of an annual professional national convention each summer usually within the last ten days of the month of July.

2. Conduct of regional conventions annually in most of the six regions on dates and at places convenient to the membership of each respective region.

3. Participation as a constituent member of The American Council on Education in the deliberations respecting basic educational policies and programs of nationwide progress for education in America.

4. Participation with the National Education Association through a Joint NEA-ATA Committee, composed of five representatives of each organization, which meets each fall at the NEA headquarters in Washington and which undertakes activities designed to achieve better provisions for Negro children and Negro teachers in textbooks, in films and radio in intercultural education projects, and in stimulation of cooperative full participation of Negroes in the educational affairs of the nation.

5. Participation in the Institute for Education by Radio held each spring at Columbus, Ohio

6. Participation in the programs of the Association of Rural Life Activities.

7. Participation in the national cooperative projects designed to improve the status of the Negro.

8. Participation in the programs of national, state and district professional organizations.

9. Contribution of ONE TENTH of its income from annual memberships to the NAACP Legal Defense Educational Fund.

10. Reservation of all income from life membership payments in a special fund for permanent expansion ... with the funds at present being converted into U.S. War Bonds.

11. Publication of a professional magazine known as THE BULLETIN with one annual directory issue of national and state professional organizations.

12. Publication of special research studies such as THE BLACK AND WHITE OF REJECTIONS FOR MILITARY SERVICE.

THE BASIS OF OPERATION OF THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

1. Through ANNUAL members who pay an annual fee of one dollar.

2. Through LIFE members who pay a fee of twenty-five dollars.

3. Through affiliated state associations who make an annual contribution of at least twenty-five dollars.

4. Through affiliated national, district and local associations who make an annual contribution of at least five dollars.

5. Through a Delegate Assembly composed of life members, of representatives of each affiliated organization and of one delegate for each twenty-five ATA members in the respective state for the preceding association year.

6. Through a corps of six regional vice presidents, state directors for each state, two lay members of the executive committee, six members of the Board of Trustees and four general national officers.

7. Through a non-salaried volunteer Executive Secretary and other associated non-salaried officers.

8. Through cooperative solicitation of memberships by state, district and local associations, by Jeanes teachers and school principals, and by interested members.

9. Through an increas ng number of counties and schools whose teachers become 100% in their affiliation in their local, state and national professional organizations.

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LIFE MEMBERS evidence both permanence and potential expansion. The 252 fully-paid life members are distributed by states as follows: Alabama 27, District of Columbia 19, West Virginia 14, Tennessee 13, North Carolina 12, Maryland, Missouri and Georgia 9 each, Mississippi and Arkansas 8 each, Louisiana and Virginia 7 each, Texas, Kentucky, Pennsylvania and Ohio 6 each, New York 4, Florida, South Carolina, New Jersey and Oklahoma 3 each, Kansas 2, Delaware, Indiana and Illinois 1 each.

WE SEEK AN ADDITIONAL 98 FULLY-PAID LIFE MEMBERS BY JULY 31ST.

THE "THREE-PHASE" PROGRAM OF MEMBERSHIP SOLICITATION

1. Through A Program of Joint Appeal For Professional Memberships

In seeking both to stimulate maximum articulation between our teacher organizations on all levels (local, state and national) and to achieve a maximum membership response of all teachers of their respective organizations on these three levels, one technique is that of voluntary cooperation of these organizations in a joint cooperative and simultaneous appeal for professional-organization memberships. Local leaders and officers of local organizations undertake, at a designated period in the year, to make the appeal to their respective groups of teachers for their memberships in all three organizations. State associations, by formal authorization, direct their officials thus to sponsor joint membership solicitation.

This plan has been in operation in ALABAMA, WEST VIRGINIA, MARYLAND and THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA for several years and has resulted in these areas having the largest percentage of membership participation in the ATA, as shown on the last page of this statement. PENNSYLVANIA and DELAWARE have more recently utilized this plan with marked effectiveness. Some other states have cooperated through provision for encouragement of ATA memberships at their annual meetings and through their publicity.

This plan is a VOLUNTARY program of cooperation in membership solicitation designed to strengthen all three levels of organization membership and to make more economical use of the time of the organization officials as well as of the solicited teachers by undertaking the entire effort at one time. This plan IS NOT A UNIFIED MEMBERSHIP PROGRAM where every teacher is REQUIRED to take membership in all three levels of organization. It represents a step which each state association and local association might well take.

2. Through A Program Of "One Hundred Percent" Membership Affiliation

An increasing number of school faculties, of city-wide teacher groups and of county-wide teacher groups have moved to the point of a voluntary objective each year of ALL teachers becoming members of EACH of the THREE levels of professional organization (local, state and national). There is a sense of professional pride and honor associated with such a step which is taken voluntarily by a particular group of teachers. There is a commendable leadership initiative exhibited by those school principals, by those Jeanes teachers and supervisors and by those local association officials who unde-

take to meet their professional-leadership obligation through aggressive and dynamic sponsorship of such an appeal.

ALABAMA gives impressive demonstration of the "growth of this idea". The precedent was set by Pickens County, Alabama, six years ago. To date this year, 25 Alabama counties and 14 Alabama cities have registered 100% and an additional number of counties and cities have enrolled more than 50% of their teachers in all three levels of professional organizations (IN THE JOINT MEMBERSHIP APPEAL SPONSORED BY THE STATE TEACHERS ASSOCIATION). West Virginia, Maryland, North Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee and Virginia have an increasing number of such counties which are 100%.

Florida A. & M. College under the leadership of the late Dr. J. R. E. Lee was a pioneer in this program of 100% participation of college faculties. An increasing number of colleges now seek and attain such an objective.

3. Through A Program Of ATA Emphasis At The Summer Schools

The summer schools for Negro teachers serve a very appreciable percentage of the teachers in service. They provide opportunity for professional growth and stimulation in all aspects of the teacher's setting as a member of a noble profession.

Summer Schools now include a PROFESSIONAL INSTITUTE on their calendar of special programs of the summer session. For the past two summers, ATA President Ridley has advocated a simultaneous observance of ATA EMPHASIS DAY. Teachers are given information about the various types of professional organizations and are encouraged to affiliate at that time if they have not already done so during the regular school year.

The Summer School Membership Appeal for the ATA is the final effort before the ATA association year ends on July 31st. Customarily ONE FOURTH of the total number of ATA memberships for the year have been received through these summer school programs. The Okolona Industrial School in Mississippi this past summer registered ALL of its summer school students for a 100% response.

Some summer schools sponsor campaigns to send delegates to the ATA summer meeting. The effort is thus to provide, through some type of project or contest, for a distribution of attendance of teachers who otherwise on their own resources or own initiative might not have such an opportunity.

SUMMER SCHOOL DIRECTORS AND FACULTIES HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY AS WELL AS AN OBLIGATION TO STIMULATE THE PARTICIPATION OF THEIR TEACHERS IN THIS OPPORTUNITY.

OUR POTENTIAL RESOURCES - OUR CURRENT SUPPORT - OUR GOALS

Number of Negro Teachrs.			THE YEAR OF 1945					THE YEAR OF 1946			
			No. of Members		% in A.T.A.			State	%	Number	To Mar.25
1.	N. C.	7255	1.	Ala.	2281	1.	W.Va.	49.0	1. Ala.	60%	3627	3245
2.	Ga.	6850	2.	Va.	687	2.	D. C.	42.2	2. W.Va.	60%	620	331
3.	Texas	6439	3.	Md.	561	3.	Ala.	39.9	3. D.C.	60%	677	100
4.	Miss.	6403	4.	W.Va.	506	4.	Md.	32.5	4. Md.	50%	861	52
5.	Ala.	5709	5.	D. C.	464	5.	Dela.	30.0	5. Dela.	50%	120	80
		(32,656)			(4,499)							
6.	S. C.	5660	6.	Fla.	460	6.	Va.	16.1	6. Va.	25%	1064	415
7.	Va.	4255	7.	N. C.	321	7.	Fla.	13.9	7. Fla.	25%	824	78
8.	La.	4162	8.	Tenn.	316	8.	Tenn.	10.7	8. Tenn.	20%	588	--
9.	Fla.	3305	9.	Tex.	272	9.	Ky.	8.8	9. Ark.	20%	513	--
10.	Tenn.	2940	10.	Ark.	207	10.	Ark	7.9	10. Ky.	20%	323	4
		(20,322)			(1,578)							
11.	Ark.	2594	11.	Ga.	195	11.	Okla.	6.1	11. Okla.	15%	256	4
12.	Md.	1724	12.	Miss.	189	12.	N.C.	4.4	12. N.C.	10%	725	170
13.	Okla.	1706	13.	S.C.	142	13.	Tex.	4.2	13. Tex.	10%	644	38
14.	Ky.	1613	14.	Ky.	142	14.	Miss.	2.9	14. Miss.	10%	640	230
15.	Mo.	1490	15.	Okla.	105	15.	Ga.	2.8	15. Ga.	10%	685	225
		(9,127)			(773)							
16.	D. C.	1098	16.	N.J.	90	16.	S.C.	2.5	16. S.C.	10%	566	8
17.	W. Va.	1033	17.	La.	77	17.	La.	1.8	17. La.	10%	416	7
18.	Penn.		18.	Dela.	72	18.	Mo.	1.7	18. Mo.	10%	149	54
19.	N. J.		19.	Pa.	49				19. Pa.		100	1
20.	Dela.	240	20.	Mo.	26				20. N.J.		100	63
					(314)							
21.	Ohio		21.	Ohio	23				21. Ohio		100	1
22.	Ind.		22.	Ind.	19				22. Ind.		75	--
23.	Kan.		23.	Kan.	1				23. Kan.		50	--
			24.	N.Mex.	1				24. N. York		50	--
					7,206						13,773	5,100

WILL YOU HELP YOUR STATE TO MEET ITS QUOTA? OUR ASSOCIATION YEAR ENDS JULY 31. FOUR MONTHS YET REMAIN.

PRESIDENT
Walter N. Ridley
Virginia State College
Ettrick, Va.

VICE-PRESIDENT AT LARGE
Miss Lucie E. Campbell
711 Saxon Avenue
Memphis, Tenn.

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
H. Councill Trenholm
State Teachers College
Montgomery 1, Ala.

TREASURER
Howard H. Long
Henry Wilson School Building
17th Street, between Euclid Street
and Kalorama Road
Washington, D. C.

(See Reverse Side for Other Officers)

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

(Formerly The National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools)

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

4 February 1947

RECEIVED
FEB 8 1947
Southern Regional Council

Editor or Director of Publications
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta 3, Ga.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed herewith is a copy of ONE WORLD IN SCHOOL, published by the American Teachers Association, This publication was originally released in July, 1946 and distributed only to the members of the Association. This copy is one of a second printing being released for public consumption in 1947.

According to The St. Paul Dispatch:

> This publication "is likely to become a standard handbook for all persons, perhaps teachers especially, who, not content with merely deploring the prevalence of prejudice against minority peoples, want some practical way of combating it. ...This work classifies and describes the printed works that should be of immediate help to pupils of all ages, and teachers of all school grades, in meeting interracial problems with dignity and intelligence. ...Examination of the undertaking discloses a combination of taste, knowledge, and thoroughness that should recommend it, not only to teachers and pupils, but to all thinking citizens who sincerely want to remove one of the most serious blots on our national civilization."

Indeed, The St. Paul Dispatch labels this booklet as "A WEAPON FOR PEACE".

It is sent to you with the hope that your publication will find it possible to review it, to recommend it for what it is worth, or surely, at least to list it as a valuable publication worthy of reading and use by persons interested in peace.

I should appreciate your forwarding to me a statement regarding, or a clipping showing any treatment which you give the booklet. Any comment which you wish to forward on it which might or might not be included in your publication, will be appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

Walter N. Ridley

Walter N. Ridley,
President.

WNR/dn
Enclosure 1

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, P. O. BOX 271, MONTGOMERY, ALA.
JULY 30. 1953

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1952-53 SECRETARIAL MEMORANDUM #11: THE 1953 ATA CONVENTION DECLARATION

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Ed. Note: At the 50th (1953) annual convention of The American Teachers Association, held at South Carolina State A. & M. College at Orangeburg on July 26-27-28, the Convention Committee on Resolutions submitted the following statement which was formally adopted at the second session of The Delegate Assembly on Tuesday Afternoon, July 28, 1953.

I. THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

Our assembling here marks the 50th convention of ATA. The past achievements and successes of our organization have contributed immeasurably to the forward march of education in America. We believe that there is ample justification for the humble pride which we take in the glorious history of ATA. Since we now approach the beginning of our second half-century, our hearts and minds are directed toward a PRESENT which is pregnant with opportunities for growth and toward a FUTURE which can be a "Great Tomorrow."

The American Teachers Association is a SPECIAL-INTEREST and SPECIAL-PROBLEM organization dedicated to the objective of implementing, accelerating and achieving in full the AMERICAN IDEAL (a) of EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL IPPORTUNITY for EVERY child and (b) of EQUALITY OF PROFESSIONAL STATUS for EVERY teacher....without discrimatory differentials based on race or sex or place of residence or economic circumstance. Thus, the American Teachers Association has a distinctive and urgently-imperative role in the present circumstance of The Negro Child and His Teachers.

The American Teachers Association is challenged and urged (a) to re-vitalize and expand its efforts to achieve a representative membership, (b) to stimulate the growth and effectiveness of its departmental groups and (c) to utilize all channels for the implementation of its mission to improve the calibre of professional service of its members as well as to insist upon the equitable provision of the educational opportunity for all.

II. WE RE-AFFIRM

1) Our faith in the democratic concept and we urge that the democratic process become operative in the life of all peoples and in every phase of the educational program.

2) Our faith in the United Nations and in UNESCO and we urge an expanded program of instructional emphasis in our public and private schools

3) Our faith in the future of America and in the contribution which education can make to the realization in practice of the American Way of Life and of the democratic process for an ever- widening circle of nations and peoples of the world.

4) Our conviction that Federal Aid to Education is both desirable and necessary for the achievement of equality of educational opportunity for every American child.

III. WE COMMEND

1) The well-visioned program of The World Condederation of Organizations of The Teaching Profession and we urge that ATA continue its membership participation and delegate representation.

2) The National Education Association and the Convention Bureau of Miami Beach for a most significant demonstration, at the 1953 meeting of the NEA Representative Assembly, of how the "will" to insure recognition of the dignity of the personality of every NEA member could result in unrestricted use of the convention and hotel and municipal facilities...and thus bring all members to a more wholesome and higher professional level.

3) The several professional organizations whose labors are directed toward the accomplishment of the worthy goal of equality of professional status and uninhibited organizational participation for every teacher.

4) Those state associations and other groups which have opened their membership and participation doors to all without denial because of race

5) The American Council on Education and similar organizations for their efforts to influence the improvement of the professional service in the various phases, levels and areas of education

(OVER)

6) The Southern Education Foundation andthe associated agencies for the current program of leadership development with which is to be associated a continous and careful evaluation of the project

7) The Southern Regional Council for its re-vitalized program designed for local-level acceptance of the practice of integration and we urge that organizations, schools and teachers make increasing use of the informative materials being made available by this organization.

8) The significant opportunities now being sponsored by such agencies and projects as The Ford Foundation, The Kellogg Foundation, The Fullbright Scholarships and The National Scholarship Service for Negroes

9) The Association for The Study of Negro Life and History for its objective to improve the level of human relations in this nation through the provision of historical materials which will stimulate the mutual appreciation of groups racws and nations as a basis for better understanding and for more effective cooperative living

10) The National Association For The Advancement of Colored People for its continuing and aggressive efforts to achieve the elimination of discrimnatory racial differentials in education, in transportation, in housing and in citizenship status.

11) The Diocese of Raleigh for its abolition of racial segregation in its churches... as an example of functional Christian brotherhood and as a suggestion to other dioceses of the Catholic Church as well as the other Christian denominations

12) All officials and citizens responsible for the recent action in the Nation's capitol which makes possible the utilization of restaurants and other public facilities by all citizens

IV WE RECOMMEND AND URGE

1) Increased membership and contribution support to The Legal Defense and Education Fund of NAACP by citizens and teachers and state associations....and the continuation of the TEN PERCENT contribution by ATA

2) Regular and increased support by teachers associations, by citizen groups and by school and pupil groups to the Association For The Study of Negro Life and History

3) Continuing and widening efforts in the area of professional human relations through the NEA-ATA Joint Committee and through similar cooperating committees at state and local levels.

4) Continuing and persistent effort to implement the integration of all ethnic groups into single all-inclusive organizations with teacher organizations taking the lead.

5) Continuing major and differential increase in state and local appropriations for education which will be assigned for the equalization of educational opportunity FOR ALL.

6) All teachers, and teacher-organizations (State and local) to give their membership and interest-support to ATA as a special teacher-organization serving a special and urgent need.

THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS

1. Dr. J. Rupert Picott, Virginia, Chairman

2. Dr. C. Lopez McAllister, Alabama
3. Mr. Charles Orr, Alabama
4. Dr. G. T. Wiggins, Florida
5. Dr. W. K. Payne, Georgia
6. Mr. E. T. Hawkins, Maryland
7. Mrs. L. R. Johnson, Mississippi
8. Dr. W. L. Greene, North Carolina
9. Dr. T. R. Speigner, North Carolina
10. Mrs. E. G. Grimes, South Carolina
11. Dr. J. C. Parler, South Carolina

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

(Formerly The National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools)

PRESIDENT
Dr. Robert C. Hatch
State Dept. of Education
Montgomery, Alabama

VICE-PRESIDENT
Mr. Gerard A. Anderson
Wilson High School
Florence, South Carolina

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
Dr. H. Councill Trenholm
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

TREASURER
Dr. Howard H. Long
Central State College
Wilberforce, Ohio

REGIONAL VICE PRESIDENTS

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V. Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania: Mrs. Mabel D. Gates, 1007 Ridge Avenue, Darby, Pa.

VI. Arizona, Kansas, Missouri, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas: Mr. Oran A. Rowe, P. O. Box 5979, Jasper Texas

ELECTED MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Mr. C. L. Harper, 535 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia
Mrs. Lillian Rogers Johnson, Box 94, Clarksdale, Mississippi

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"Equality of educational opportunity for every child and equality of professional status for every teacher."

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
P. O. Box 271, Montgomery 1, Alabama

August 7, 1953

Mr. Howard Fleming
Southern Region Council
Room 432 Wesley Memorial Church
63 Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

IN RE: Request made through Mr. C. L. Harper

Dear Mr. Fleming:

I have just had a long distance conversation with Mr. C. L. Harper respecting some requests which you make of him and which involve ATA and associated State Officers.

I shall be pleased to have a specific statement and request in respect to your inquiry which you are anticipating and which relates to the question of impressions and suggestions for possible constructive assistance in the preparation of community attitudes for whatever may be the depaending decision in the Supreme Court cases.

The NEA-ATA Joint Committee had special conference on this matter on July 24-25 and anticipates another meeting the latterpart of September. There was some intimation of several channels of inquiry. It is a question as to the background on the basis of which any statement for quotation should be made. I indicated to Mr. Harper our interest and willingness to make whatever statement was desired and feasible. However, I possibly need a specific letter of some detail as a framework before we shall seek to prepare the response. I invite this approach and request from you.

Our response to the request for the directory of State Association Secretaries, I wish to advise that I shall hope to be in position to furnish an up-to-date list within the next ten days. We have now instituted inquiry to get the

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the directory of the complete office staff for each of the associations.

Pleased that you could share the meeting at Orangeburg and have some contacts there which I hope will be fruitful, I am

Yours very truly,

H. Councill Trenholm

HCT/s
cc: Mr. C. L. Harper
Mr. G. A. Anderson
Mr. J. R. Picott

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY, P. O. BOX 271, MONTGOMERY, ALA.
JULY 30, 1953

****

Secretarial Memorandum #10: A FIRST ECHO FROM THE 50TH ANNUAL CONVENTION

****

The 50th (1953) ATA Convention, held at the historic South Carolina State A. & M. College at Orangeburg, is now history. This convention began with the customary Memorial Service on Sunday afternoon, July 26, and closed with the installation of officers on Tuesday afternoon, July 28. The annual Life Members Banquet and a concert by The Continental Aires were the features of Tuesday night, July 28.

This "FIRST ECHO" has been prepared by the Executive Secretary as a first release. A full convention report is now being prepared for an issue of THE BULLETIN which will be printed in August.

THE PROGRAM

SUNDAY AFTERNOON: Trustee GEORGE A. KEY of Chattanooga gave the eulogy to the memory of the deceased members of the year. Special two-minute tributes were paid to the memory of SEVEN life members: MRS. EVA BATEY of New Jersey, DR. C. C. SPAULDING of North Carolina, BISHOP J. A. GREGG of Florida, DR. W. A. FOUNTAIN, Jr., of Georgia, MRS. WILLA C. BURCH of District of Columbia, MR. JOHN W. EVANS of Missouri and MR. I. T. GILLIAM of Arkansas.

SUNDAY EVENING: Greetings were extended by PRESIDENT B. C. TURNER of State A. & M. College, by EXECUTIVE SECRETARY ALEX BURNS for the Orangeburg City Council, by SUPT. H. A.MARSHALL for the City Schools, by STATE SUPT. JESSE T. ANDERSON for the State Department of Education, by MRS. MADGE P. HARPER for the Orangeburg Educational Council and by VICE PRESIDENT J. M. McALLISTER for The Palmetto Teachers Association. ATA PRESIDENT ROBERT C. HATCH made the official response. PRESIDENT RALPH W. RILEY o of The American Baptist Theological Seminary gave the keynote address.

MONDAY MORNING: Very informative contributions to the Symposium on "Movements and Directions in Current Educational Programs" were made by PRESIDENT JOHN W. PARKER of North Carolina for The Language Teachers Association, by Administrative Director J. RUPERT PICOTT of Virginia for The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History, by Executive Director J. CURTIS DIXON of Georgia for The Southern Education Foundation, by ATA Trustee J. F. DRAKE of Alabama for The 1952 Convention of the World Organization of the Teaching Profession, and by Chairman (Miss) MARY L. WILLIAMS of West Virginia for the NEA-ATA Joint Committee.

MONDAY AFTERNOON: The first session of The Delegate Assembly heard reports from the President, the Executive Secretary, the Treasurer, the Chairman of the Board of Trustees; and nominated candidates for the respective offices for 1953-54.

MONDAY NIGHT: Dr. JAMES M. NABRIT, distinguished attorney and Secretary of Howard University gave dynamic and challenging interpretation of the present status and the objectives of the current legal efforts to achieve judicial implementation of full equality of educational opportunity; and ATA Executive Committeeman C. L. HARPER of Georgia of Georgia presented the ATA contribution of FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS to Attorney Spottswood Robinson of Virginia for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund.

TUESDAY MORNING: Some departments conducted stimulating discussion sessions while other convention committees prepared their reports and all delegates exercised their obligation at the ballot box.

(OVER)

TUESDAY AFTERNOON: The second session of the Delegate Assembly was the occasion (a) for the reports from some departmental sessions, (b) for the reports from the six convention committees, (c) for the adoption of a budget of TWENTY-FOUR THOUSAND DOLLARS for 1953-54, and (d) for the installation of the officers of 1953-54 by Retiring President ROBERT C. HATCH.

TUESDAY NIGHT: Ninety-one persons were in attendance at the Annual Life Members Banquet, heard PRESIDENT W. K. PAYNE of Savannah State College in a masterful address and shared the acquaintance-fellowship period under the direction of EXECUTIVE SECRETARY H. COUNCILL TRENHOLM of Alabama.

For the various sessions, there was delightful music by the State College Summer Chorus under the baton of MISS LEOLA D. BOYD with MRS. THELMA O. BELL at the Console and with special numbers by MISS MARTHA ANN WRIGHT and by the WOMEN'S ENSEMBLE.

THE HOST COURTESIES

The college sponsored a lawn party at the President's residence on Sunday night. The Palmetto Teachers Association sponsored a barbecue and dance at the New Homemakers Camp on Monday night. The Orangeburg Educational Council sponsored a lawn party at the residence of Mr. & Mrs. J. I. Washington on Tuesday night. The facilities and personnel of the college added to the convenience and comforts of the convention period. DEAN FRANK A. DECOSTA of the School of Graduate Studies was a resourceful and untiring chairman of the local committee.

SIX EPOCHAL DECISIONS

1) To contribute an ADDITIONAL $3400 to the customary TEN PERCENT for the total of $5000 to the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund....for a grand total of $16,090.80 from ATA over the past fifteen years.

2) To increase the employed staff for the Executive Office with inclusion of an employed part-time ASSOCIATE SECRETARY

3) To provide rented office space for the Executive Office

4) To issue THE BULLETIN bi-monthly in 1953-54

5) To transfer an available cash balance to interest-bearing investment

6) To authorize a budget of TWENTY-FOUR THOUSAND DOLLARS for 1953-54

THE "NEW" OFFICERS FOR 1953-54

In addition to re-elected and continuing officers, there were SEVEN changes in the official staff. MR. GERARD A. ANDERSON of Florence, South Carolina is the new president. MRS. LILLIAN ROGERS JOHNSON of Clarksdale Mississippi is the new vice president, MRS. MINNIE D. BELL of Washington D. C. is the new member of theExecutive Committee. The four new regional vice presidents are MR. E. C. LAND (I) of Donaldsville, Louisiana, DR THEODORE R. SPEIGNER (III) of Durham, North Carolina, MISS MYRA FAIRFAX (IV) of Charleston, West Virginia and DR. CHARLES H. CHIPMAN (V) of Salisbury, Maryland.

382 IN REGISTERED ATTENDANCE

The registered attendance from 16 states included 236 from South Carolina, 65 from Alabama, 24 from Georgia and 17 from Tennessee. The Alabama State College bus delegation included 30 expense-paid contestant-delegates.

TO CHATTANOOGA IN 1954

For the 51st (1954) convention, ATA returns to the state of its first (1904) convention. The anticipated dates are Sunday-Monday-Tuesday, July 25-26-27, 1954.

****

If you were at Orangeburg, you now have happy memories. If you were not there, we share the regret that we could not have the privilege of your professional fellowship. YOU CATCH "THE ATA SPIRIT" AT THE CONVENTION. BE WITH US IN CHAT ANOOGA IN JULY, 1954.

(7)

aug 29 - Sept 3
Univ. of Va.

June 23, 1954

Mr. U. B. Broadneaux
Lylburn Downing School
Lexington, Virginia

Dear Mr. Broadneaux:

We could send you somebody but the distance is considerable and the commitment of time for the whole period -- August 24-31 -- is quite a matter too. Actually, if I or one of my very few assistants came up, it would cost possibly $75.00 in transportation. And in all conscience, there should be some compensation for the time of the speaker or consultant involved.

There are people nearer to you who could do quite as good a job as I or anyone whom I might send. I think of Reverend W. Carroll Brooke at Box 208, Staunton, Virginia. He is an Episcopalian clergyman who has been, for the past year or so, Chairman of the Education Division of Christian Social Relations of the Virginia Council of Churches. He has studied all these matters and has wise, forward, and helpful ideas on them.

Still another man would be Emerson Smith of the Virginia Council of Churches at Richmond, 109 West Grace Street.

Irene Osborne, American Friends Service Committee, Community Relations Project, 104 "C" Street, N. W., Washington, D. C., is a youngish white woman who, for the Quakers, has done most of the brain work in preparing public opinion in Washington, D. C. for ending segregation in the schools. She is probably the best expert in this area in the country. Washington is close by, and she might be quite glad to make the trip. She has a Negro woman as an Associate -- Miss Alma Scurlock -- who knows about as much as Irene Osborne.

Still another source would be Tartt Bell, who runs the American Friends Service Committee work in the South from an office at 617 West Market Street, Greensboro, North Carolina. He has studied all these matters and has favorable and far-sighted views. An assistant to him, Miss Anne Queen, would also be perfectly acceptable and quite helpful.

Still, if you want somebody from here, I or one of my helpers would come, but we would like to hold our visit to one or two days and there is the problem of travel expense money.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

LEXINGTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS
LYLBURN DOWNING SCHOOL
LEXINGTON, VIRGINIA

U. B. BROADNEAUX, SR.
PRINCIPAL

RECEIVED
JUN 21 1954
Southern Regional Council

June 18,1954

Southern Regional Council
Human Relations Project
Auburn Avenue
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I have been advised by our V. T. A. Executive Secretary, Dr. J. Rupart Picott, that your organization could and will send representatives to various groups of teachers. In lieu of the recent Supreme Court decision I am wondering if such a representative could come to our workshop, which will be held August 24 thru August 31st. Please advise what day or days this person could come and fees involved. This is a Negro School,including twenty (20) Teachers.

Very truly Yours,

U. B. Broadneaux

U. B. Broadneaux

Desired dates:

Aug. 24th - August 31st

UBB:mag

July 26

July 6, 1954

Mr. H. Councill Trenholm
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Trenholm:

It is all right for Monday night at A & I State University in Nashville for the American Teachers Association. I am honored to be asked to talk to that influential group.

I haven't yet worked out travel arrangements, but will do so and will let you know. I will probably take a train up and get there that afternoon.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab
Dictated by Dr. Mitchell
Signed in his absence

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OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
Alabama State College, Montgomery, Alabama

July 3, 1954

Dr. George Mitchell
The Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

IN RE: ATA Convention at Nashville, July 26

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Am too late in making this request for your participation on the convention program of The American Teachers Association at Tennessee A & I State University at Nashville on Monday night, July 26?

From the enclosure, you will note that the convention theme is TEACHERS AND THE SUPREME COURT PRONOUNCEMENT. At this convention, we seek to center the emphasis on the circumstance and problems and obligations of the Negro teacher in this present transition crisis. Our teachers need to have "reinforced" knowledge of what are the implications and problems and most advisable action for them in this circumstances. They need to know the various ways in which their security may be challenged and what need to become their defensive techniques. They need to be inspired to recognize their obligations to themselves and to their pupils. They must make their own personal readjustments to function effectively in a pattern of expanded professional relationships. They need to be warned with respect to the areas of their own improvements both in skills and in philosophy.

We now look forward to a sumposium session on Monday Morning when we shall hope to review what is now happening in those areas where specific steps are already being undertaken(such as Baltimore, Washington, Saint Louis, etc.) We should desire that there be the two contributions on Monday night with your presentation from the vantage point of the very dynamic approaches being made by the Southern Regional Council. It would seem to offer also the opportunity to widen the acquaintance of these ATA members with the program of the Southern Regional Council at this time.

I shall look forward to your reply at your very earliest convenience. ATA will be pleased to reimburse you for your travel expenses for this service.

~~Yours very truly~~

H. Councill Trenholm

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
P. O. BOX 271, MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

SECRETARIAL MEMORANDUM #6 "THE FIFTY-FIRST CONVENTION" June 19, 1954

NNOUNCING
THE FIFTY-FIRST (1954) ATA CONVENTION
AT THE TENNESSEE A. & I. STATE UNIVERSITY AT NASHVILLE
ON SUNDAY-MONDAY-TUESDAY, July 25-26-27, 1954

'he Fifty-First (1954) annual convention of The American Teachers Association opens on Sunday afternoon, July 25 and extends through Tuesday, July 27.

SUNDAY: The MEMORIAL SERVICE at four o'clock in the afternoon;
The GREETING & KEYNOTE program-session in the evening.

MONDAY: The PROFESSIONAL-PROBLEMS SYMPOSIUM in the morning;
The First Session of THE DELEGATE ASSEMBLY in the afternoon
The PROFESSIONAL-INSPIRATION public program in the evening

TUESDAY: The simultaneous DEPARTMENTAL-DISCUSSION sessions in the morning
The Second Session of THE DELEGATE ASSEMBLY in the afternoon
The annual ATA LIFE-MEMBERS BANQUET in the evening
The ATA-Host Lyceum Program in the evening.

THE CONVENTION THEME: "THE TEACHER AND THE SUPREME COURT PRONOUNCEMENT"

The American Teachers Association is composed of TEACHERS who have a THREE-FOLD interest and obligation in the import of the recently announced Supreme Court Decision

(1) As AMERICAN CITIZENS who are concerned with steady progress toward the achievement in practice of the concepts of CHRISTIANITY and of DEMOCRACY and who thus are also concerned that there be "SINCERE COMPLIANCE" with the expressed "Law of The Land"

(2) As AMERICANS (and in majority percentage also as NEGROES) who are dedicated to the acceleration of the effort to achieve EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY for EVERY CHILD....including the often-disadvantaged and frequently-separated Negro child for whom the recent pronouncement of The Supreme Court IS that any practice of Denial and/or Separation ON THE BASIS OF RACE constitutes both INEQUALITY of OPPORTUNITY and VIOLATION of the CONSTITUTION of The United States.

(3) As TEACHERS whose circumstance of employment, whose sphere of professional service and whose special instructional obligation are both affected and expanded by the Supreme Court decision.

The first two areas of interest and obligation are being approached through the various organizations (civic, religious, governmental) to which ATA members belong and with which ATA officially cooperates. The third area is the distinctly-professional concern of ATA as an organization and warrants the parallel and SUPPLEMENTARY effort of all teacher organizations, including ATA and its affiliated organizations.

(Over)

It is thus the theme-objective of the 51st ATA Convention to seek interpretations, suggestions and plans of action which will implement the service of TEACHERS AS TEACHERS in this pending crisis and transition. The Program-Contributions will be directed toward this objective. The departmental discussions at the Tuesday Morning sessions will explore and develop specific lines of actions for teachers in their respective areas of instructional and administrative assignment. The convention goal is the development of a GUIDING PRONOUNCEMENT for the membership and associates of ATA.

****

THE CONVENTION SETTING AND FACILITIES

The dynamic and rapidly-expanding TENNESSEE AGRICULTURAL AND INDUSTRIAL STATE UNIVERSITY at Nashville will be the setting for this epochal 51st ATA convention. It was in Nashville FIFTY YEARS AGO (1904) that the NATCS was organized. After a half century, ATA returns to Nashville and to an outstanding state institution which was not in existence when ATA began 50 years ago but which has subsequently been host for two ATA conventions.

The facilities of Tennessee A & I State University are being made available to delegates to the ATA convention. LODGING will be provided for as many as possible on the campus at the charge of TWO DOLLARS ($2.00) per night. OFF CAMPUS LODGING is estimated to cost $3.50 per night per person in private homes and from $2.00 to $8.50 per night for single rooms in hotels. MEALS (breakfast, lunch and dinner) will be available in the University Cafeteria at the rate of $3.75 per day for delegates purchasing meal tickets at the time of registration. The Life Member's Banquet Ticket is priced at $2.50.

The ATA HOST-LIASON COMMITTEE of the University has been appointed and includes Mrs. Mabel Bell Crooks as chairman, Vice President A. V. Boswell, Dr. H. A. Bowen, Mr. Cass, Mr. R. M. Gaines, Mrs. H. C. Kincaid, Dr. E. C. Lewis,Jr., Mrs. A.H.G. Sasser, Mrs. F. A. Sanders and Mr. F. L. Teague. Requests for reservations and for associated information can be addressed to the committee chairman (Mrs. Mabel Bell Crooks), Tennessee A & I State University, Nashville 8, Tennessee.

The Tennessee Education Association is the associated host and looks forward to its opportunity to extend special courtesies as well as to facilitate the success of this 51st (1954) ATA Convention. Principal G. A. Key, 1123 College Street, Chattanooga, as a member of the ATA Board of Trustees, looks forward to such special assistance as may be requested of him.

****

THE ATA PUBLICATION CONTRIBUTION

There is significant volume of publication relating to the facts and issues and solutions to the school cases recently argued before The United State Supreme Court. ATA makes its significant contribution through the publication of two phamplet-studies:

I. LEGAL STATUS OF SEGREGATED SCHOOLS
II. PROGRESS OF THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES, 1870-1950

Each of these two studies has been made by The Research Division of The National Education Association at the request of The NEA-ATA Joint Committee. ATA makes available TO EVERY ATA MEMBER the reprint in full of each of these studies in a special issue of THE BULLETIN which will be released before the date of the 51st (1954) ATA Convention.

DOMESTIC SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise this message will be sent as a full rate telegram

FULL RATE TELEGRAM	
DAY LETTER	
NIGHT LETTER	

$ S E

WESTERN UNION

1206 10-51

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

INTERNATIONAL SERVICE

Check the class of service desired; otherwise the message will be sent at the full rate

FULL RATE	
LETTER TELEGRAM	
SHIP RADIOGRAM	

NO. WDS.-CL. OF SVC.	PD. OR COLL.	CASH NO.	CHARGE TO THE ACCOUNT OF	TIME FILED

Send the following message, subject to the terms on back hereof, which are hereby agreed to

JULY 22, '54

H COUNCILL TRENHOIM
ALABAMA STATE COLLEGE
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

DR. MITCHELL WILL ARRIVE IN NASHVILLE ON JULY 26 IN TIME FOR EVENING SESSION. PLEASE RESERVE LODGING TENTATIVELY FOR THAT NIGHT.

KATHERINE STONEY
SECRETARY-TREASURER

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a full-rate Telegram or Cablegram unless its deferred character is indicated by a suitable symbol above or preceding the address.

WESTERN UNION

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

1954 JUL 22 PM 4 00 (55)..

SYMBOLS

DL=Day Letter
NL=Night Letter
LT=Int'l Letter Telegram
VLT=Int'l Victory Ltr.

The filing time shown in the date line on telegrams and day letters is STANDARD TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is STANDARD TIME at point of destination

AA86

A.MYA089 PD=WUX MONTGOMERY ALA 22 240PMC

=DR GEORGE C MITCHELL=

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL 63 AUBURN AVE NORTHEAST ATLA=

WILL APPRECIATE BEING ADVISED WESTERN UNION COLLECT AS TO YOUR ANTICIPATED ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE SCHEDULE FOR NASHVILLE MEETING SO THAT WE CAN ARRANGE THE LODGING ACCOMMODATIONS WHICH YOU WILL DESIRE AND REQUEST=

:H COUNCILL TRENHOLM=

THE COMPANY WILL APPRECIATE SUGGESTIONS FROM ITS PATRONS CONCERNING ITS SERVICE

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

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OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
Alabama State College, Montgomery, Alabama

July 24, 1954

Dr. George C. Mitchell
Southern Regional Counsel
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I received the telegram from your secretary advising that you would expect to arrive at Nashville at about 5:00 o'clock Monday afternoon. I am surmising that this travel will be by train.

I will be at Tennessee State A and I University after 3:00 o'clock this Saturday afternoon. I will make hotel reservations for you unless you request otherwise. I will want to know whether you have any preferences.

I am enclosing a copy of our Convention program.

Pleased to look forward to your presence and participation.

Yours very truly,

H. Councill Trenholm

HCT:w
Enclosure

RECEIVED
JUL 28 1954
Southern Regional Counsel

August 4, 1954

Dr. H. Councill Trenholm
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Dr. Trenholm:

How very kind that was of the ATA to send the check for $50.00. I figured my actual expenses at $35.00, and put the remaining $15.00 in as a gift to the Southern Regional Council.

I thought the meeting was a great occasion and was impressed by the spirit and purpose of the gathering.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

(Formerly The National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools)

PRESIDENT
Mr. Gerard A. Anderson
Wilson High School
Florence, South Carolina

VICE-PRESIDENT
Mrs. Lillian Rogers Johnson
P. O. Box 94
Clarksdale, Mississippi

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
Dr. H. Councill Trenholm
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

TREASURER
Dr. Howard H. Long
Central State College
Wilberforce, Ohio

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II. Alabama, Florida, Georgia: Mr. Joseph T. Brooks, Alabama State College, Montgomery, Alabama

III. North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia: Dr. Theodore R. Speigner, North Carolina College, Durham, North Carolina

IV. Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Ohio, Tennessee: Miss Myra Fairfax, 1707 Ninth Avenue, Huntington, West Virginia

V. Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania: Dr. Charles H. Chipman, 127 Second Street, Salisbury, Maryland

VI. Arizona, Kansas, Missouri, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas: Mr. Oran A. Rowe, P. O. Box 5979, Jasper, Texas

ELECTED MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
Mr. C. L. Harper, 535 Auburn Avenue, N. E., Atlanta, Georgia
Mrs. Minnie D. Bell, 1025 Girard St., N. E., Washington, D. C.

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Dr. Miles W. Conner (Chr.) 2415 Madison Avenue, Baltimore, Maryland
Dr. Walter N. Ridley, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Virginia

"Equality of educational opportunity for every child and equality of professional status for every teacher."

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
Alabama State College, Montgomery, Alabama
July 29, 1954

RECEIVED
JUL 30 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George T. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

In Re: Sales Report of Pamphlet

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Please find enclosed (CR RHA) my personal check in the amount of sixteen dollars and sixty-five cents ($16.65) which has been reported to me for sales at Nashville of the pamphlet. I brought the remaining copies on to Montgomery. Upon request I am now shipping twelve copies to The Alabama A and M College and fifty copies to Mr. E. J. Gransbery at Albany State College. They propose to send the reimbursement checks for these respective quantities. I shall look forward to the accounting for these remaining copies.

We appreciate your fortunate decision to make this publication available to ATA members in attendance at the convention. The sales response is indicative of their interest.

Yours very truly,

H. Councill Trenholm

HCT:b
Enclosure 1

RECEIVED

August 4, 1954

Dr. H. Councill Trenholm
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Dr. Trenholm:

Most kind of you to send over $16.65 for sales of the pamphlet, and to make arrangements for many more of the copies to be sold.

I think the pamphlet is going to be popular, and I am deeply grateful to you for the very substantial assist that the meeting and your special kindness gave to it.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

Copy to: Katherine Stoney

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"Equality of educational opportunity for every child and equality of professional status for every teacher."

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
Alabama State College, Montgomery, Alabama
July 29, 1954

RECEIVED
JUL 30 1954
Southern Regional Council

Dr. George T. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

In Re: Transmittal of ATA Check # 354

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

Please find enclosed ATA Check # 354 in the amount of fifty dollars ($50.00) as reimbursement for your travel incident to your presence at Nashville on Monday night to contribute to that program.

Your contribution was quite worthwhile and was received with great appreciation. It also represented the opportunity for many ATA members to become acquainted with Southern Regional Council and thus to become aware of its potential contribution in this current struggle in which both organizations are concerned.

Again thanking you, I am

Yours very truly,

H. Councill Trenholm

HCT:b
Enclosure 1

Dear Mr. Mitchell,

Thank you very much for your gracious letter of June 21. It is now in my little volume of letters and I shall appreciate it through the years.

Cordially yours,

T. B. Finkle

Box 725
Emory University, Ga
Aug 21, 54

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

FOUNDED IN 1904

TO PROMOTE AND TO IMPLEMENT THE FUNCTIONING—ACHIEVEMENT OF AMERICA'S OBJECTIVES:

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OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

****

THE 53rd (1956) CONVENTION — 1955-56: No. 21
INITIAL PROGRAM-PROPOSALS — July 6, 1956

****

THE 53rd (1956) CONVNETION AT ATLANTA, GEORGIA
SUNDAY-MONDAY-TUESDAY, JULY 29-30-31
HEADQUARTERS AND SESSIONS AT CLARK COLLEGE (EXCEPT SUNDAY AFTERNOON AT SPELMAN COLLEGE

- -

SUNDAY, JULY 29, 1956

2:00 P.M. Initial Meeting of The Board of Trustees
3:00 P.M. Meeting of ATA National and Regional Officers and ATA State Directors
4:30 P.M. Opening-General Session at Spelman College (Sisters Chapel)
- I. Memorial Tribute to Deceased Members
- II. Convention-Welcome Greetings
- III. Keynote Address
  - Dr. Hilliard A. Bowen, Tennessee A & I State University

6:30 P.M. Acquaintance Reception-Courtesy at Morehouse College

- -

MONDAY, JULY 30, 1956

9:30 A.M. Symposium-Presentation Session at Clark College (Davage Auditorium)
- (9:30) I. ATA Summer-Emphasis Exhibit-Institute on "Improving Human Relations"
  - Dr. Joseph O. Douglass, U.S. Office of Education
  - Dr. Walter N. Ridley, Virginia State College
- (10:00) II. ATA Project on "The Negro in School Encyclopedias"
  - Mrs. Irma B. Thompson, Newport News, Virginia
  - Dr. L. D. Reddick, Alabama State College
- (10:30) III. The Evolving Circumstance for Negro Pupils and for Negro Teachers
  - A. Illustrative Actions and Reactions
  - B. Channels and Methods of Approach

11:30 A.M. Concurrent Organization-Conferences of State Delegations
1:30 P.M. Concurrent Conferences of The Six ATA Regional Delegations
2:30 P.M. First Session of The Delegate Assembly at Clark College (Davage Auditorium)
- I. Certification and Seating of Delegates
- II. Three Minute Reports from ATA Regional Vice Presidents
- III. Report of The ATA President
- IV. Report of The ATA Executive Secretary and of The ATA Treasurer
- V. Report of The Board of Trustees
- VI. Nomination of Officers for 1956-57
  - a. By Roll Call of Delegates
    - The President — The Vice President
    - Two Members of The Executive Committee
    - Two Members of The Board of Trustees
  - b. By The Respective Regional Delegations
    - Regional Vice President — Regional Secretary
  - c. By The Board of Trustees
    - The Executive Secretary — The Treasurer

(Over)

THE OFFICERS FOR 1955-56

PRESIDENT
MR. ELMER T. HAWKINS
220 Calvert Street
Chestertown, Maryland

VICE PRESIDENT
DR. THEODORE R. SPEIGNER
North Carolina College
Durham, North Carolina

SECRETARY
DR. H. COUNCILL TRENHOLM
P. O. Box 271
Montgomery, Alabama

TREASURER
DR. HOWARD H. LONG
Central State College
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1025 Girard Street, N. E.
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MRS. IRMA THOMPSON
1321-29th Street
Newport News, Virginia

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Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

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1123 College Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee
DR. J. H. TAYLOR
North Carolina College
Durham, North Carolina

Term Expiring in 1958
DR. J. F. DRAKE
Alabama A & M College
Normal, Alabama
MISS MARY L. WILLIAMS
1011 2nd Avenue
Charleston, West Virginia

THE REGIONAL OFFICERS

I. ARKANSAS, LOUISIANA, MISSISSIPPI
Vice President: MR. N. R. BURGER, 401 Manning Avenue, Hattiesburg, Mississippi
Secretary: MRS. G. M. JONES, 405 Florida Avenue, Clarksdale, Mississippi

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Vice President: MR. J. T. BROOKS, Alabama State College, Montgomery, Alabama
Secretary: MRS. THELMA A. RICE, Alabama State College, Montgomery, Alabama

III. NORTH CAROLINA, SOUTH CAROLINA, VIRGINIA
Vice President: MR. CLINTON YOUNG, 499 Rutledge Avenue, Charleston, South Carolina
Secretary: MISS MARIE ROPER, 79 Cannon Street, Charleston, South Carolina

IV. ILLINOIS, INDIANA, KENTUCKY, MICHIGAN, OHIO, TENNESSEE, WEST VIRGINIA
Vice President: MR. M. D. SENTER, 200 McConnell Street, Knoxville, Tennessee
Secretary: MR. T. R. HARTSFIELD, 426 Jackson Street, Milan, Tennessee

V. DELAWARE, DISTRICT OR COLUMBIA, MARYLAND, NEW JERSEY, NEW YORK, PENNSYLVANIA
Vice President: MISS EDITH INGRAHAM, 712 Brown Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Secretary: MRS. FLORENCE RADCLIFF, 119 You Street, N. E., Washington, D. C.

VI. ARIZONA, CALIFORNIA, KANSAS, MISSOURI, NEW MEXICO, OKLAHOMA, TEXAS, WASHINGTON, WYOMING
Vice President: MR. O. A. ROWE, P. O. Box 5979, Jasper, Texas
Secretary: MRS. E. L. NEAL, Route 1, Box 86, Beasley, Texas

****

8:00 P.M.. The Second General Session at Clark College (Davage Auditorium)
Address: Dr. Martin D. Jenkins, Morgan State College
Discussant: Dr. Howard H. Long, Central State College

9:30 P.M. Social Courtesy by The Georgia Teachers and Education Association

- -

TUESDAY, JULY 31, 1956

9:30 A.M. Concurrent Departmental-Discussion Group Conferences

(1) College	(5) Psy. & Guidance	(9) Hl. & Phy. Ed.
(2) High School Ed.	(6) Adult Education	(10) Trade & Indus. Ed.
(3) Elem. School Ed.	(7) Audio-Visual Ed.	(11) Fine Arts Ed.
(4) Rural Life	(8) Home Economic Ed.	(12) State Asso. Officers

2:00 P.M. Second Session of The Delegate Assembly at Davage Auditorium
A. Report of NEA-ATA Joint Committee (Washington and Portland)
B. Summary Reports from The Departmental-Discussion Groups
C. Reports of The Six ATA Convention Committees
(1) Appreciation (4) Audit
(2) Resolution (5) Time and Place
(3) Legislation (6) Election
D. Adoption of Program and Budget for 1956-57

4:00 P.M. One-Hour Sightseeing Courtesy

8:00 P.M. Program-Banquet Session at
A. Tribute-Greetings To ATA Life Members
B. Address: Dr. Charles H. Wesley, Central State College
(President of The Association for Study of Negro Life and History)
C. Installation of ATA Officers for 1956-57

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

FOUNDED IN 1904

TO PROMOTE AND TO IMPLEMENT THE FUNCTIONING—ACHIEVEMENT OF AMERICA'S OBJECTIVES:

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OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

****

A COMMITTEE-CONFERENCE PROPOSAL — 1955-56: NO. 23

SATURDAY - JULY 28 - AT ATLANTA — July 9, 1956

****

This 1955-56 MEMO, NO. 23 relates to a proposal for a pre-convention committee-conference at Clark College in Atlanta on Saturday, July 28, 1956, beginning at 10:00 and continuing into the afternoon and with the possibility of an evening session.

There is a TWO-FOLD OBJECTIVE of this special committee-conference:

(1) To make some EVALUATIVE APPRAISAL of the special ATA Exploratory Project of this summer which has been directed toward a widened acquaintance with the resource materials on Intergroup Education which are included in the two NEA-ATA "Loan-Use" collections (THE KIT and THE PACKET)

(2) To consider possibilities and to develop proposals for a program which ATA, and also the NEA-ATA Joint Committee, might undertake in 1956-57 as a service-stimulation to teacher-organizations (both local and state), to schools, and to patron-adult community groups.

The ATA convention-program on Monday Morning, July 30, provides for a descriptive report of this ATA summer project ... with associated background orientation to the past decade of effort in this area of Intergroup Education for the Improvement of Human Relations. It is the anticipation that the Departmental Group Discussions on Tuesday morning, July 31, will include some consideration of WHAT TO DO and HOW with their respective school-level and school-area pupil groups. Thus, this proposed committee-conference on Saturday, July 28 will seek to develop the initial suggestions which can thus be subsequently discussed.

The two enclosed mimeographed presentations (No. 19 and No. 20) provide additional acquaintance-information respecting this ATA summer project. In the FOREWORD of Presentation NO. 20, there is reference to the several efforts of ATA which extend back over more than a decade. The KIT was prepared in 1952 and the PACKET was prepared in 1954. There has been ACCELERATED CHANGE in the past two years. There is SIGNIFICANT and DISTURBING CRISIS in this year of 1956. There is thus concern as to what may be the most advisable approach and DIFFERENTIATED emphasis in 1956 for 1956-57.

ATA members are adult-citizens and associate themselves with the implemented efforts of the various adult-citizen organizations. ATA members are ALSO teachers ... with professional responsibilities to THEMSELVES, to their PUPILS and to their PATRONS. There is a COMPLEMENTING obligation of teacher-organizations in the "educational aspects" of the current circumstance. WHAT can these teacher-organizations do to UNDERGIRD and UNDERSTANDING and the FAITH of TEACHERS themselves? WHAT (and HOW) should teachers seek to do to provide pupils with an ADVISABLE and CONSTRUCTIVE INTERPRETATION of the trend of developments which are affecting the school circumstance of pupils in varying ways in the various states and communities? WHAT assistance should teachers seek to give their patrons and their adult-constituents? WHAT may thus be READ and DISCUSSED as an EDUCATIONAL CONTRIBUTION in these "troubled times"? WHAT are the ADVISABLE STRATEGIES for TEACHERS in their PEDAGOGICAL activities as related (and differentiated) in their respective communities?

THE OFFICERS FOR 1955-56

PRESIDENT
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220 Calvert Street
Chestertown, Maryland

VICE PRESIDENT
DR. THEODORE R. SPEIGNER
North Carolina College
Durham, North Carolina

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P. O. Box 271
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Central State College
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Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

July 13, 1956

Dr. Mitchell:

Third Paragraph of this letter: I do not find a copy of a letter of inquiry -- maybe HCF?

Also, in checking through the file folder, ATA altogether did purchase some sixteen dollars worth of pamphlets (at least that many were sold to members of ATA).

I have nothing listed, nor is there anything on your calendar, for July 20th.

MR

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

FOUNDED IN 1904

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OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

P. O. Box 271, Montgomery, Alabama

July 10, 1956

RECEIVED JUL 12 1956

Dr. George C. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

IN RE: ATA in Atlanta
July 23-27
July 28
July 29-31

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I send this letter to inform you of ATA activities in Atlanta on the above-indicated dates, and to solicit both your interest and your assistance.

From the ATA Memo. No. 20 (on blue-color paper) you will note the enclosure of some SCR Pamphlets in the list of titles of the NEA-ATA PACKET which will be on exhibit at Atlanta University during the week beginning July 23 under a faculty-committee sponsorship of which Mr. Whitney A. Young is chairman.

You will note the letter of inquiry to the Southern Regional Council with respect to the titles of subsequent pamphlet-releases for the past two years which are now to be recommended for inclusion in a possible additional bibliography.

From the enclosed Memo. No. 23 you will note the proposal for a special committee-conference at Clark College on Saturday, July 28 for the specific purpose as therein outlined. We need the assistance of the Southern Regional Council in seeking to evolve a bibliography of resource materials as well as in seeking to develop suggestions for study programs which will be pointed toward teachers themselves and through them to pupils and patron-adults. We need to be as practical as possible in terms of what the varying local circumstances have now become to be and in terms of what we may need to do even for teachers themselves in some circumstances. Thus we extend this invitation and make the appeal for the participation of you or your designated staff representative. This will be a small group of possibly 15 persons with invitations now extended to such persons as Dr. Joseph H. Douglass, Dr. R. B. Marston of NEA, Dr. W. N. Ridley and Miss Mary L. Williams and Dr. J. R. Picott of the NEA-ATA Joint Committee, along with a staff representative from the Race Relations Department at Fisk University, and 4 or 5 other similarly selected persons. We shall hope to implement our further preparations through subsequent Memoranda in terms of the response to our invitations.

Still another matter is that of the possibility of availability of SRC Pamphlets for sale at the ATA Convention. We will have our special illuminated exhibit on display. I recall the interest-response to the previous opportunity for purchase of SRC Pamphlets ... including the meeting at Nashville where you made a most helpful address.

We are concerned with every effort to extend the acquaintance, develop interest, and implement the response-participation in SRC. Is there the possibility that you or Dr. Ruth could be available for participation in the program-symposium on Monday morning, July 30? If such is possible, I should like to develop further details in subsequent correspondence.

Hoping that this letter is not too involved and that I have made myself reasonably clear with respect to the several items and inquiry-request, I am

Yours very truly,

H. Councill Trenholm

HCT:pb
Enclosure

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****

TO DEPARTMENTAL-DISCUSSION OFFICERS — 1955-56: No. 31
A 53rd CONVENTION "MEMO" — July 16, 1956

****

We hope that your thoughts and anticipations are now directed toward ATLANTA where we will be assembled for the 53rd ATA Convention on Sunday-Monday-Tuesday, July 29-30-31.

In addition to this MEMO. No. 31, we also enclose the recent MEMOS. No. 19, 21, 22, 24, 25 and 26 to which we invite your attention. We are also sending the LODGING-RESERVATION Form (No. 27) which you should execute and mail immediately to Rev. L. H. Pitts...if you need such assistance.

From MEMO. NO. 24, you will note the allocation of the 2½-hour period form 9:30 to Noon on Tuesday morning, July 31st, for the twelve concurrent discussion groups. You will also note the FIVE suggested Question-Topics which grow out of the convention-theme and the anticipated emphases of the scheduled general-session presentations...with the anticipation that there WILL NOT be consideration of ALL FIVE by EACH of the discussion groups, but rather preferential selection in relation to the pertinence-and-interest of the respective discussion group.

From the reports at Houston, several departments chose their leadership officers for the 1956 convention at Atlanta. For other departments there is no such recorded indication. As in previous years, we seek to utilize the resources of the host institution (Atlanta University in 1956). This arrangement insures that there may be some assurance of operation of each of the twelve discussion-groups as well as availability of some special competency-resources. This related participation is to be a cooperative and "supporting" assistance. The pre-session leadership-contacts are to be facilitated and some supplementary pre-convention communications anticipated. There is the hope that time and place can be determined and announced for each respective leadership-core to have an acquaintance pre-planning conference at least on the preceding day of Monday, July 30.

We shall also hope that there may be not only the enlisted resource assistance of other delegates to the convention but also the rotating assistance of several of the general-session speakers.

Your preparation can advisably include the listing of questions and comment-statements and suggestions which become a part of the anticipated discussion-period. Some questions will suggest themselves to you as you listen to the general-session presentations and make your notes accordingly. A brief but adequate orientation statement should be outlined as an expeditious initiation of the consideration of each respective question-topic. The emphasis however is to be on a minimum of speeches and a maximum of free-flow question-discussion-suggestion.

WE WILL AGAIN BE GRATEFUL FOR YOUR ASSISTANCE. If you cannot get to the convention, PLEASE INFORM ME BY RETURN MAIL.

Memo . . . FROM THE DESK OF

. . . . . EAB . . . . . .

7/17/56

~~FBI~~
~~JC~~

GSA would like you to gather the information as requested on the attached sheet.

EAB

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

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OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

P. O. Box 271, Montgomery, Alabama

July 9, 1956

Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

IN RE: ATA Project: Education for Human Relations
A Request for Bibliography-Suggestions

Gentlemen:

From the two enclosed mimeographed presentations, you will note the objectives and a special "summer effort" of The American Teachers Association.

You will note that you are listed as a publication-source for one or more of the titles listed in the two "loan-collections" (THE KIT and THE PACKET) as developed and sponsored cooperatively by The National Education Association, The American Teachers Association and The United States Office of Education. There is both awareness and concern respecting the additional titles which have become available with these past two eventful years.

We will appreciate your response to these four requests:

(1) Are your listed publications still in AVAILABLE supply for possible purchases?

(2) Do you have additional and/or more recent titles which you would recommend for inclusion in the now-contemplated "third" bibliography (as of 1956)?

(3) Are there similarly recent titles of other publishers and/or organizations which you would suggest?

(4) Would it be possible to include your above-suggested recent titles (item #2 above) in our special convention-exhibit at our ATA Convention in Atlanta on July 29-30-31?

Appreciating your response to this inquiry and request, I am

Yours very truly,

H. Councill Trenholm

HCT:pb
Enclosure

July 30 - 9:30 am - Dorsey Auditorium
July 28 - 10:30 am - Pfeiffer Hall Lounge } Clark college

July 18, 1956

Mr. H. Councill Trenholm
Executive Secretary
The American Teachers Association
P. O. Box 271
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Mr. Trenholm:

George Mitchell has asked me to reply to your letters of July 9th and 10th, 1956.

He will be happy to participate in your Annual Convention on the dates mentioned in your letter (Special Committee Conference at Clark College on Saturday July 28th, and the Symposium on Monday morning July 30th).

9:30 a.m. SRC pamphlets previously listed which are no longer available are: Answers for Action, A Checklist of Your Local Schools, Questions and Answers.

SRC pamphlets to be added to your bibliography are: Changing Patterns in the New South, 25¢, 116 pgs.; What the Supreme Court Said, 10¢, 12 pgs.

Sincerely Yours,

G. S. Alexander
Administrative Assistant

GSA/eab

cc: GSM ✓

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
P.O. BOX 271, MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

****

NOW 37 PAST PRESIDENTS OF NATCS - ATA

1955-56: No. 36
July 20, 1956

****

I. THE 38TH PRESIDENT TO BE CHOSEN

At the 53rd (1956) ATA Convention at Atlanta on July 29-30-31 the THIRTY-EIGHTH President will be chosen to serve ATA for the ONE-YEAR term of 1956-57. For background orientation and for associated historical interest, this ATA MEMO. NO. 36 has been prepared.

II. TWENTY-SEVEN "NATCS" AND TEN "ATA" PRESIDENTS

The-Now ATA has had TWO names under which it has operated for FIFTY-TWO years and under the leadership of THIRTY-SEVEN honored presidents (Sixteen of whom still live). For the first THIRTY-THREE years (1904-1937) the name was THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEACHERS IN COLORED SCHOOLS and for which there were TWENTY-SEVEN Presidents. For the past NINETEEN Years, since the "decision-meeting" in Philadelphia in 1937, the name has been THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION and for which the incumbent (Mr. ELMER T. HAWKINS) is the TENTH President.

III. THE HONORED NAMES

A. THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF TEACHERS IN COLORED SCHOOLS

1.	1904-1908	*Dr. J. R. E. Lee (Albama)
2.	1909 & 1910	*Dr. R. R. Wright, Sr. (Georgia)
3.	1911 & 1913	*Dr. W. T. B. Williams (Virginia)
4.	1913 & 1914	*Dr. M. W. Dogan (Texas)
5.	1915	*Dr. Nathan B. Young (Florida)
6.	1916	*Dr. John Hope (Georgia)
7.	1917	*Mr. W. H. Singleton (Tennessee)
8.	1918	*Dr. J. S. Clark (Louisiana)
9.	1919	*Dr. S. G. Atkins (North Carolina)
10.	1920	*Dr. John M. Gandy (Virginia)
11.	1921	*Dr. L. J. Rowan (Mississippi)
12.	1922	*Dr. H. L. McCrorey (North Carolina)
13.	1923	*Dr. J. A. Gregg (Ohio)
14.	1924	*Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune (Florida)
15.	1925	*Dr. William W. Sanders (West Virginia)
16.	1926	*Dr. R. S. Grosley (Delaware)
17.	1927	MR. WILLIAM A. ROBINSON (North Carolina)
18.	1928	*Dr. William J. Hale (Tennessee)
19.	1929	DR. JOHN W. DAVIS (West Virginia)
20.	1930	DR. MORDECAI W. JOHNSON (District of Columbia)
21.	1931	MISS FANNIE C. WILLIAMS (Louisiana)
22.	1932	DR. H. COUNCILL TRENHOLM (Alabama
23.	1933	*Dr. Francis M. Wood (Maryland)
24.	1934	*Dr. J. W. Scott (Ohio)
25.	1935	DR. GARNET C. WILKINSON (District of Columbia)
26.	1936	DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT (Georgia)
27.	1937	*Dr. Willa Carter Burch (District of Columbia)

B. THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

28.	1938	DR. ALPHONSE HENINGBURG (North Carolina)
29.	1939 & 1940	DR. CARRINGTON L. DAVIS (Maryland)
30.	1941-1944 (4)	MISS MARY L. WILLIAMS (West Virginia)
31.	1945-1947 (3)	DR. WALTER N. RIDLEY (Virginia)
32.	1948 & 1949	*Dr. John H. Brodhead (Pennsylvania)
33.	1950 & 1951	DR. GEORGE W. GORE, JR. (Tennessee)
34.	1952 & 1953	DR. ROBERT C. HATCH (Alabama)
35.	1954	MR. GERARD A. ANDERSON (South Carolina)
36.	1955	MRS. LILLIAN ROGERS JOHNSON (Mississippi)
37.	1956	MR. ELMER T. HAWKINS (Maryland)

* Deceased

IV. THE ATA REGIONS AND STATES

The 37 NATCS-ATA Presidents have come from SIXTEEN states distributed over the SIX ATA Regions (as of the year of election to the position of president).

REGION I (4)
Louisiana (2): *Dr. J. S. Clark, Miss Fannie C. Williams
Mississippi (2): *Dr. L. J. Rowan, Mrs. Lillian Rogers Johnson
(Arkansas - NONE)

REGION II (8)
Alabama (3): *Dr. J. R. E. Lee, Dr. H. Councill Trenholm, Dr. Robert C. Hatch
Florida (2): *Dr. N. B. Young, *Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune,
Georgia (3): *Dr. R. R. Wright, *Dr. John Hope, Dr. Rufus Clement

REGION III (8)
No. Car. (4): *Dr. S. G. Atkins, *Dr. H. L. McCrorey, Mr. W. A. Robinson
Dr. Alphonse Heningburg
So. Car. (1): Mr. Gerard A. Anderson
Virginia (3): *Dr. W.T.B. Williams, *Dr. John N. Gandy, Dr. Walter N. Ridley

REGION IV (8)
Ohio (2): *Dr. J.A. Gregg, *Dr. J. W. Scott
Tennessee (3): *Mr. W. H. Singleton, *Dr. W. J. Hale, Dr. George W. Gore
West Va. (3): *Dr. W. W. Sanders, Dr. John W. Davis, Miss Mary L. Williams
(Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, - NONE)

REGION V (8)
Delaware (1): *Dr. R. S. Grosley
Dis. of C. (3): Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, Dr. G.C. Wilkinson, *Dr. Willa C. Burch
Maryland (3): *Dr. Francis M. Wood, Dr. C. L. Davis, Mr. Elmer T. Hawkins
Pennsylvania (1): *Dr. John H. Brodhead
(New Jersey, New York - NONE)

REGION VI (1)
Texas (1): *Dr. M. W. Dogan
(Arizona, Kansas, Missouri, New Mexico, Oklahoma - NONE)

V. THE "POSITION" AND SEX DISTRIBUTION

SEVENTEEN (NATCS) Presidents were College Presidents ... the last being Dr. Rufus E. Clement in 1936 and thus NONE as President of ATA.
SEVEN were School Principals.
SEVEN were School-System Supervisors or Administrators (State-County-Local).
FIVE were College Deans or College Teachers.
ONE was a High School Teacher
FIVE were women and THIRTY-TWO were men.

VI. THE SIXTEEN "LIVING" PAST PRESIDENTS

Including Mr. Elmer T. Hawkins who becomes a Past President as of August 31, 1956, ATA can look forward to the inspiration and interest of SEVEN NATCS and NINE ATA Past Presidents who still live.

NATCS (7 of 27)		ATA (9 of 10)	
17th	Mr. W. A. Robinson	28th	Dr. Alphonse Heningburg
19th	Dr. John W. Davis	29th	Dr. Carrington L. Davis
20th	Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson	30th	Miss Mary L. Williams
21st	Miss Fannie C. Williams	31st	Dr. Walter N. Ridley
22nd	Dr. H. Councill Trenholm	33rd	Dr. George W. Gore, Jr.
25th	Dr. Garnet C. Wilkinson	34th	Dr. Robert C. Hatch
26th	Dr. Rufus E. Clement	35th	Mr. Gerard A. Anderson
		36th	Mrs. Lillian Rogers Johnson
		37th	Mr. Elmer T. Hawkins

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

FOUNDED IN 1904

TO PROMOTE AND TO IMPLEMENT THE FUNCTIONING—ACHIEVEMENT OF AMERICA'S OBJECTIVES:

"Equality of educational opportunity for every child; equality of professional status for every teacher."

****

A REVISED-INFORMATION MEMO. 1955-56: NO. 37
RESPECTING THE 53RD CONVENTION July 21, 1956

****

I. ANOTHER "INTERIM" CONVENTION MEMO.

Within this month of July, there have been the series of "ATA MEMOS." relating to th the 53rd (1956) ATA Convention which meets at Atlanta on Sunday-Monday-Tuesday, July 29-30-31. The program and "arrangement details" are evolving into a confirmed pattern as will appear in the OFFICIAL PROGRAM to be released at the time of ATA Convention-Registration. Some additional information is herewith given through this ATA MEMO. NO. 37 (which susbstitutes for the previously-released MEMOS. NO. 21 and NO. 26).

II. ATA HEADQUARTERS AND CONVENTION-LOCATIONS

CLARK COLLEGE IS THE ATA CONVENTION HEADQUARTERS.

1. The ATA Convention-Registration will be in ROOM 207 in the Administration Building (HAVEN-WARREN HALL) located on Chestnut Street. The Special ATA Exhibit on "EDUCATION FOR IMPROVED HUMAN RELATIONS" will also be in that room.

2. The "operational office" for The Executive Secretary will be in The Director's Suite of the adjourning PFEIFFER HALL which is also to be the Convention-Residence Hall for men. There will also be some Committee Conferences in the Lounge in PFEIFFER HALL.

3. All Program-Sessions on Monday Morning, Monday Afternoon, Monday Night, Tuesday Morning and Tuesday Afternoon (except for several Departmental-Discussion Groups on Tuesday Morning) will be in HAVEN-WARREN HALL (including Davage Auditorium which is in that building).

The other Session-Locations include

a) SISTER'S CHAPEL at SPELMAN COLLEGE for the Sunday afternoon Session
b) The Morehouse-College Chemistry-Building Lounge for the Acquaintance-Reception Courtesy by Morehouse College at 6:30 on Sunday Evening.
c) The Atlanta University Dining Room for The "OPEN" Program-Banquet at 7:30 on Tuesday Evening.

III. LODGING AND MEALS

DORMITORY-LODGING accommodation will be available at CLARK COLLEGE where two dormitories are BEING OPENED as a cooperating courtesy to ATA.

a) PFEIFFER HALL will be used for MEN
b) HOLMES HALL will be used for WOMEN.
c) The rate will be $2.00 per person per night for SHARED accomodations (two occupants per room).
d) ATA Form NO. 28 can be executed and mailed to Rev. L. H. Pitts, as request for lodging at Clark College OR off the campus.
e) The ATA Executive Secretary will share responsibility for the facilitating of the assignments and associated services.

MR. S. V. JETER, Business Manager for Clark College, will be in charge. MR. C. R. HAMILTON will be the contact host at Pfeiffer Hall. There will also be a contact-hostess at Holmes Hall.

OVER

THE OFFICERS FOR 1955-56

PRESIDENT
MR. ELMER T. HAWKINS
220 Calvert Street
Chestertown, Maryland

VICE PRESIDENT
DR. THEODORE R. SPEIGNER
North Carolina College
Durham, North Carolina

SECRETARY
DR. H. COUNCILL TRENHOLM
P. O. Box 271
Montgomery, Alabama

TREASURER
DR. HOWARD H. LONG
Central State College
Wilberforce, Ohio

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

MRS. MINNIE D. BELL
1025 Girard Street, N. E.
Washington, D. C.

MRS. IRMA THOMPSON
1321-29th Street
Newport News, Virginia

MRS. LILLIAN ROGERS JOHNSON
P. O. Box 94
Clarksdale, Mississippi

THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

Term Expiring in 1956
DR. MILES W. CONNER
2415 Madison Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland
DR. WALTER N. RIDLEY
Virginia State College
Petersburg, Virginia

Term Expiring in 1957
MR. G. A. KEY
1123 College Street
Chattanooga, Tennessee
DR. J. H. TAYLOR
North Carolina College
Durham, North Carolina

Term Expiring in 1958
DR. J. F. DRAKE
Alabama A & M College
Normal, Alabama
MISS MARY L. WILLIAMS
1011 2nd Avenue
Charleston, West Virginia

THE REGIONAL OFFICERS

I. **ARKANSAS, LOUISIANA, MISSISSIPPI**
Vice President: MR. N. R. BURGER, 401 Manning Avenue, Hattiesburg, Mississippi
Secretary: MRS. G. M. JONES, 405 Florida Avenue, Clarksdale, Mississippi

II. **ALABAMA, GEORGIA, FLORIDA**
Vice President: MR. J. T. BROOKS, Alabama State College, Montgomery, Alabama
Secretary: MRS. THELMA A. RICE, Alabama State College, Montgomery, Alabama

III. **NORTH CAROLINA, SOUTH CAROLINA, VIRGINIA**
Vice President: MR. CLINTON YOUNG, 499 Rutledge Avenue, Charleston, South Carolina
Secretary: MISS MARIE ROPER, 79 Cannon Street, Charleston, South Carolina

IV. **ILLINOIS, INDIANA, KENTUCKY, MICHIGAN, OHIO, TENNESSEE, WEST VIRGINIA**
Vice President: MR. M. D. SENTER, 200 McConnell Street, Knoxville, Tennessee
Secretary: MR. T. R. HARTSFIELD, 426 Jackson Street, Milan, Tennessee

V. **DELAWARE, DISTRICT OR COLUMBIA, MARYLAND, NEW JERSEY, NEW YORK, PENNSYLVANIA**
Vice President: MISS EDITH INGRAHAM, 712 Brown Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania
Secretary: MRS. FLORENCE RADCLIFF, 119 You Street, N. E., Washington, D. C.

VI. **ARIZONA, CALIFORNIA, KANSAS, MISSOURI, NEW MEXICO, OKLAHOMA, TEXAS, WASHINGTON, WYOMING**
Vice President: MR. O. A. ROWE, P. O. Box 5979, Jasper, Texas
Secretary: MRS. E. L. NEAL, Route 1, Box 86, Beasley, Texas

MEALS will be available at the MOREHOUSE COLLEGE DINING ROOM. There is LINE service for the scheduled Meal-Menu. There is the Stipulated HALF-HOUR service-period for each respective meal, as shown on the Convention Calendar. Meal Tickets can be purchased at the ATA Registration Desk at the rate of $2.25 per day OR there may be cash payment for meal. MR. LIEF CAIN, Business Manager for Morehouse College, will be in charge. MRS. CAIN is the volunteer hostess to the ATA meal guests on Monday and on Tuesday.

IV. THE PROGRAM-BANQUET ON TUESDAY NIGHT

NOW, the concluding ATA Program Session comes on Tuesday Night. The precedent was established at Texas-Southern University LAST SUMMER of making this occasion an OPEN Program for ALL ATA members and associated LOCAL Participants in lieu of the previous pattern of just a life-member's banquet. DR. CHARLES H. WESLEY is to be the Speaker for this final session at Atlanta just as Dr. Horacne Mann Bond was the Speaker at Houston last summer.

The Banquet-Fee is $2.50 per plate. Tickets should be purchased at the time of ATA Convention-Registration so that ATA can confirm the number of expected participants on Monday afternoon. A local banquet-committee, under the chairmanship of Mrs.R.O. Johnson, is handling the local sale of banquet tickets.

Every ATA Convention-Registrant should plan to share the inspiration and fellowship of this concluding session.

V. THE ATA CONVENTION-REGISTRATION

There is NO ADDITIONAL FEE for ATA Convention-Registration. Every 1955-56 Annual Member and every Life Member should fill the Convention-Registration Form and secure the CONVENTION-PACKET which will include the Convention-Program, the Convention-Badge, some additional ATA materials and some courtesy-enclosures from our host.

There is a different-color name-badge for life members. The 1955-56 ANNUAL-MEMBERSHIP DOLLAR will be received from those who do not thus have CURRENT-YEAR ATA Membership.

VI. SOME SPECIAL APPOINTMENT REMINDERS

Sunday Afternoon for ATA Officers Conference
Monday at 11:30 for State-Delegates Conferences
" at 12:00 for The Convention Photograph
" at 1:30 for The Regional-Delegates Conferences

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

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OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

P. O. Box 271, Montgomery, Alabama

July 20, 1956

RECEIVED JUL 23 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Goergia

IN RE: ATA Convention Program

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

I do appreciate the letter from Mr. G. S. Alexander in which he conveys the indication from you that you will be gracious to participate in the pre-convention committee-conference on next Saturday, July 28, and then in the professional symposium on Monday morning, July 30.

Each of these occasions will be on Clark College Campus. We are now proposing that the conference on Saturday will be in the lounge at Pfieffer Hall (which is the dormitory for men). The convention program on Monday morning is to be in Davage Auditorium which is in the administration building at Clark College.

We seek now to schedule you and Dr. Ambrose Caliver for the third topic of that Monday morning session: SOME NEW AND/OR ACCENTUATED PROBLEMS FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION AND FOR NEGRO TEACHERS. We will be concerned with such itemization and interpretaion as you and Dr. Caliver would choose to make from your respective points of vantage. Since each of you will now share the committee-conference on Saturday, there could be the opportunity for your agreement as to the respective points of emphasis which each of you might present. We are particularly concerned with the interpretative emphases upon these critical problems about which our teachers must have informed understanding and must develop techniques in relationship to their respective community circumstances ... which now becomes significantly serious in certain states, as you know.

I am sending a copy of this letter to Dr. Caliver in order that he too may anticipate accordingly.

Appreciative of the indications in the letter from Mr. Alexander with respect to SRC Pamphlets, I am

Yours very truly,

H. Councill Trenholm

HCT:pb
cc: Dr. Caliver
Mr. Hawkins

THE ALABAMA STATE COLLEGE
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

July 20, 1956

COPY

Dr. Ambrose Caliver
Assistant to the Commissioner
U. S. Office of Education
Washington, D. C.

IN RE: Monday Morning at Atlanta

Dear Dr. Caliver:

We now seek to clarify and evolve our program for the Monday morning session at Atlanta.

I plan to have written you earlier this week respecting your making contribution to the third phase of the professional symposium for which the revised topic is: SOME NEW AND/OR ACCENTUATED PROBLEMS FOR PUBLIC EDUCATION AND FOR NEGRO TEACHERS. I am concerned with an analytical and interpretive approach rather than a mere emotional emphasis upon just one or two aspects. I think that you are quite in an admirable position to point up several problems for public education which are now quite serious. You can make the approach from the national point of view with reference to such significant efforts as illustrated in the White House Conference, again in efforts to initiate federal aid, in the national challenge of the Supreme Court's decision and in efforts of the office of Education ... with their major pertinence for Negro teachers.

You will note from the enclosed letter to Dr. George S. Mitchell that I am asking him to share this participation. You may choose to "exchange notes", even before next Saturday when the two of you will have the contact opportunity at the committee-conference, to agree as to the respective emphases. I take the liberty to send to him, a copy of this letter in order to facilitate the "related thinking" of each of you.

Pleased that we can look forward to your assistance at Atlanta, I am

Yours very truly,

H. Councill Trenholm

HCT:pb
Enclosure
cc: Dr. George S. Mitchell

DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

July 23, 1956

RECEIVED JUL 24 1956

Dr. George S. Mitchell
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear George:

I have just received a letter from Trenholm, and the copy of the letter which he wrote you. I am presuming to suggest a division of labor: I should like to set forth the general frame of reference and context in which Negro teachers will probably have to operate within the next few years. This presentation would include a brief discussion of the various changes resulting from scientific and technological development which have an impact on all teachers. I would expect to make very slight reference to special application to Negro teachers.

I would hope that you could follow with a discussion of the implications of the Supreme Court Decision in the setting which I shall have given with some emphasis on the need for remedial instruction in order to improve the quality of Negro students and competence of Negro workers.*

Very cordially yours,

Ambrose

Ambrose Caliver
Assistant to the Commissioner and
Chief, Adult Education Section

*And whatever else you may wish to say out of the abundance of your wisdom
a

July 24, 1956

Mr. Ambrose Caliver
Department of Health, Education
and Welfare
Office of Education
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Ambrose:

You are most kind to leave me the only part I know anything about.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

P. O. Box 271, Montgomery, Alabama

July 26, 1956

Dr. George C. Mitchell
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

RECEIVED JUL 27 1956

IN RE: Saturday, July 28

Dear Dr. Mitchell:

It has now been deemed advisable to have the special-committee conference on Saturday to begin 2:00 in the afternoon rather that at 10:30 in the morning, Consequently I dispatch this special delivery communication to you.

I do hope that this change will be to your possible advantage in terms of leaving you free on Saturday morning for your other probable obligations. I also hope that it is equally convenient for you on Saturday afternoon. We are, of course, apologetic for this imposition upon your Saturday afternoon.

We are pleased now that we can anticipate the presence of Dr. Herman H. Long from the Race Relation Institute. He will constitute another experience-resouree as we seek to evolve determination of the advisable complementing service of ATA.

Yours very truly,

H. Councill Trenholm

HCT:ges

cc: Dr. J. T. Brooks

Ex 2 2 6 2

July 27, 1956

Mr. H. Councill Trenholm
c/o Mr. Lucius Pitts
Georgia Teachers & Education Association
201 Ashby Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Trenholm:

By shoving six or eight people around, I cleared up Saturday morning July 28th for our Special-Committee Conference. I have to be part of a movie that's being made on Saturday afternoon. And I can't just shove around movie cameras and all the movie staff.

So the best I can do is to do what I did: call Mr. Pitts' secretary and say I will show anywhere Saturday morning or Saturday night or Sunday, to be briefed as I should be. Will you put it in your mind to contrive to tell me where to come to be briefed, when? My home telephone number is DEarborn 5961.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM/eab

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THE REVISED CONVENTION-CALENDAR FOR THE 53RD (1956) ATA CONVENTION
SUNDAY-MONDAY-TUESDAY JULY 29-30-31, 1956

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SATURDAY, JULY 28

10:30 A.M. Pre-Convention Special-Project Committee Conference - Pfeiffer Hall Lounge
Afternoon Special Conferences as subsequently announced
Evening " " " " "

- -

SUNDAY, JULY 29

8:00 - 8:30 Breakfast — Morehouse College Dining Room
9:30 - 1:00 ATA Registration (Room 207) — Haven-Warren Hall
(Also 2:30 - 4:00 P.M. and 6:30 - 8:30 P.M.)
1:30 - 2:00 Dinner — Morehouse College Dining Room
2:00 ATA Trustees and ATA Executive Committee — Pfeiffer Hall Lounge
3:00 ATA Regional Officers and ATA State Directors — Pfeiffer Hall Lounge
4:30 P.M. Opening General Session — Spelman College (Sister's Chapel)
A. Memorial Tribute to Deceased Members
B. Convention Welcome-Greetings and Response
C. Keynote Address
Dr. Hilliard A. Bowen, Tennessee A & I State University
6:30 P.M. Acquaintance-Reception Courtesy by Morehouse College at
Morehouse-College Chemistry-Building Lounge

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MONDAY, JULY 30, 1956

8:15-8:45 Breakfast — Morehouse College Dining Room
9:30 A.M. Professional Symposium — Clark College-Davage Auditorium
A. "Education for Improved Human Relations"
Dr. Walter N. Ridley, Virginia State College
B. "The Negro in School Encyclopedias"
Dr. L. D. Reddick, Alabama State College
C. "Some New and/or Accentuated Problems For Public Education and For The Negro Teacher
Dr. Ambrose Caliver, U.S. Office of Education
Dr. George C. Mitchell, Southern Regional Council
1:30 A.M. Concurrent Organization-Conferences of State Delegates
2:00 Noon ATA Convention Photograph — Atlanta University-Harkness Hall
12:30 - 1:00 Dinner — Morehouse College-Dining Room
1:30 P. M. Concurrent Conferences of The Six ATA Regional Delegations
2:30 P.M. First Session of The Delegate Assembly Clark College-Davage Auditorium
I. Certification and Seating of Delegates
II. Reports of The ATA President and The ATA Vice President
III. Three Minute Reports from ATA Regional Vice Presidents
IV. Reports of The ATA Executive Secretary and of The ATA Treasurer
V. Report of The Board of Trustees
VI. Nomination of Officers for 1956-57
a. By Roll Call of Delegates
The President — The Vice President
Two Members of The Executive Committee
Two Members of The Board of Trustees
b. By The Respective Reginnal Delegations
Regional Vice Presidents and Regional Secretaries
c. By The Board of Trustees
The Executive Secretary and The Treasurer
5:30 - 6:00 Supper — Morehouse College-Dining Room
8:00 P.M. The Second General Session — Clark College-Davage Auditorium
Address: Dr. Martin D. Jenkins, Morgan State College
Discussant: Dr. Howard H. Long, Central State College
9:30 P.M. Social Courtesy

TUESDAY, JULY 31, 1956

8:15 - 8:45 Breafast Morehouse College-Dining Room
9:00 A.M. Balloting on Nominees for 1956-57 Room 207
9:30 - 12:00 The Concurrent Departmental Discussion-Groups

(1) College	(5) Psy. & Guidance	(9) Hl. & Phy. Ed.
(2) High School Ed.	(6) Adult Education	(10) Trade & Indus. Ed.
(3) Elem.School Ed.	(7) Audio-Visual Ed.	(11) Fine Arts Ed.
(4) Rural Life	(8) Home Economic Ed.	(12) State Asso. Officers

9:30-10:30 Also Atlanta University Summer School Assembly (Davage Auditorium)
12:30- 1:00 Dinner Morehouse College-Dining Room
1:00 P. M. Sightseeing Trip To The Atlanta Cyclorama
3:00 P.MM. The Second Session of the Delegate Assembly at Davage Auditorium
A. Report of NEA-ATA Joint Committee (Washington and Portland)
B. Summary-Report from The Departmental Discussion-Groups
C. Reports of The Six ATA Convention Committees

(1) Appreciation	(4) Audit
(2) Resolutions	(5) Time and Place
(3) Legislation	(6) Election

D. Adoption of ATA Program and Budget for 1956-57

7:30 P.M. The Program-Banquet Session at Atlanta University Dining Room
A. Tribute-Greetings to ATA Life Members
B. Address: Dr. Charles H. Wesley, Central State College
(President of The Association for Study of Negro Life and History)
C. Installation of ATA Officers for 1956-57

SOME SUPPLEMENMENTARY NOTES

1. There is just the brief calendar period of 2½ days for the convention, We seek to achieve a maximum accomplishment within this convention period. There is thus COMPACT PLANNINGand the associated anticipation that each program item will be dispatched on a time-schedule. The prompt attendance of ATA delegates at each session and at each occasion is essential. There can be a fruitful and pleasant period within these 2½ days.

2. WORKING TOGETHER FOR "OUR" CHILDREN IN THIS TRANSITION-CRISIS is the convention theme. Each of the session-programs as well as the departmental discussion-groups on Tuesday morning, is planned to the end that there can thus be a restricted emphasis and the associated objective to achieve some basic and helpful understandings which may be reflected in the efforts of each ATA member in his respective location for the coming year.

   a. Special note should be taken of ATA MEMO. NO. 24 in which there are additional indications with respect to the related approaches on Sunday afternoon, on Monday Morning, on Monday night, and on Tuesday night. There is also the proposal of FIVE question-topics around which the discussions on Tuesday morning can be centered.

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
P.O. BOX 271, MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA
(H. Councill Trenholm, Executive Secretary)
July 1956 (20)

****

"INTERGROUP EDUCATION FOR IMPROVED HUMAN RELATIONS": SOME SUGGESTIVE TITLES

****

FOREWARD

"Intergroup Relations refer to the interactions among persons belonging to groups which have one or more differences ascribed to NATIONALITY, RACE, RELIGION, CULTURE, AGE, and/or SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS. Intergroup Education IS that type of Education which assists people in LEARNING (1) To ACCEPT EACH OTHER on the basis of MERIT, (2) to PROMOTE the effective PARTICIPATION of ALL individuals in the social group, and (3) to PREVENT MINORITY-GROUP MEMBERSHIP from becoming a HANDICAP in HUMAN RELATIONSHIPS."

Over the past decade the American Teachers Association has given attention to this challenging urgency of INTERGROUP-EDUCATION FOR IMPROVED HUMAN RELATIONS. At the 43rd (1946) Convention at Durham, the Convention Theme was THE AMERICAN TEACHER'S OPPORTUNITY AND OBLIGATION IN INTERGROUP-EDUCATION with program contributions by Dr. Lloyd Allen Cook, Dr. Hilda Taba and Mrs. Helen Parker Mudgett. In 1944 ATA had published ONE WORLD IN SCHOOL as a subsequently widely-used bibliography on Intergroup-Education which had been prepared by Miss Louella Miles of Saint Paul, Minnesota and which had been edited by Mrs. Helen Parker Mudgett.

Within the past five years, The American Teachers Association, the National Education Association and The United States Office of Education have jointly developed and provided TWO LOAN-USE COLLECTIONS (The "KIT" and The "PACKET") of materials on INTERGROUP EDUCATION. The "KIT" (1952), containing 27 pamphlets and other items is designed primarily for TEACHER-EDUCATION institutions. The "PACKET" (1954), containing 37 pamphlets and accompanied by a LEADERS GUIDE, is designed especially for ADULT COMMUNITY LEADERS. Each of these two collections is available for Loan-Use through application to Dr. R. B. Marston, National Education Association, 1201-16th Street, N.W., Washington. A limited number of sets of THE PACKET are also available for Loan-Use through the Office of The ATA Executive Secretary (Dr. H. Councill Trenholm, P.O. Box 271, Montgomery, Alabama).

For this current ATA Year of 1955-56 and contemplated for more-extended promotion in the coming year of 1956-57, The American Teachers Association is again giving special emphasis to INTERGROUP EDUCATION FOR IMPROVED HUMAN RELATIONS.

a. An initial approach is The Exhibit-Display and Associated Publications of these two NEA-ATA loan collections (The KIT and The PACKET) at six participat- Summer Schools: Alabama State College, Atlanta University, North Carolina College, Southern University, Tuskegee Institute and Virginia State College. Designated staff representatives of these institutions met at ATA Headquarters in Montgomery on June 8 to plan this exploratory experience. Virginia State College loaned Dr. Walter N. Ridley (ATA Past President and now-secretary of The Joint NEA-ATA Committee) for assistance at ATA Headquarters during the month of June and for subsequent two-day periods in July at Southern University, At North Carolina College and at Atlanta University.

b. An Exhibit-Presentation was made on June 18-19 at Shreveport to The Annual Convention of The National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers.

c. At the approaching 53rd (1956) ATA Convention in Atlanta on July 29-30-31, there will be Exhibit-Display, discussion of projects for 1955-56 and a "now-sought" special pre-convention committee conference on Saturday, July 28.

Much has happened within the past two years since the release of THE PACKET in 1954, Tensions and Crises have increased within the past twelve months. Significant additional (and more up-to-date) publications have been issued. There is evident urgency for a third (1956) bibliography with the associated attention to a DIFFERENTIATED program of EDUCATION (a) for children, (b) for youth, (3) for college students, (d) for teachers and (e) for adult patrons and citizens. Concureent with the wide variety of controversy, of action and of reaction must be associated deliberated EDUCATIONAL EFFORTS for OUR children and their parents and their teachers who are in varying circumstances in this TRANSITION-CRISIS. ATA thus recognizes and seeks to make a professional contribution to its constituency.

This presentation is a beginning. The titles of THE KIT and of THE PACKET are herewith listed for distribution to those who may share the Exhibit-Display at the six institutions and at the ATA Convention. Some "first suggestions" of additional (and more recent) titles are being contemplated as an ATA SUPPLEMENT. To facilitate the purchase of these titles, the alphabetized list of publisher-sources are first indicated with identification of the "source number" of the titles in THE KIT and/or in THE PACKET available from each respective source.

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II. PUBLISHER-SOURCES OF TITLES IN "KIT" AND IN "PACKET"

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1. American Council on Education, 1785 Massuchusette Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.
   KIT - 5,8,13,15*,17,19 PACKET - 21*

2. American Council on Race Relations, Chicago, Ill.
   KIT - 25

3. AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE, 20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia,7, Pa.
   PACKET - 37

4. AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.
   KIT - 20 PACKET - 34

5. AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS, 212 West 50th St., New York 1, N. Y.
   KIT - 7 PACKET - 25

6. AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION, P. O. Box 271, Montgomery, Alabama
   PACKET - 35

7. ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI B'RITH, 212 Fifth Avenue, New York 10, N. Y.
   KIT - 1, 21 PACKET - 2,8,14,17,18,22,33

8. COMMUNITY RELATIONS SERVICE, 386 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N.Y.
   PACKET - 5, 24

9. EDUCATIONAL LEADERSHIP, (NEA), 1201-16th Street, N.W, Washington 6, D.C.
   KIT - 24

10. Friendship Press New York, N. Y.
    KIT - 18* PACKET - 32*

11. Harcourt-Brace 383 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.
    KIT - 23

12. Harper Brothers , 49 East 33rd Street, New York 16, N. Y.
    KIT - 6, 16

13. HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW, Harvard Grad. School of Education, Cambridge 38, Mass.
KIT - 9

14. NATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR FREE EUROPE
KIT - 14

15. National Council of Christians and Jews, 381 Fourth Avenue, New York 16, N. Y.
KIT - 2 PACKET - 6,10,12,15,16,28

16. National Council of Churches of Christ in U.S.A., 297 Fourth Avenue, New York
PACKET - 9

17. National Council For The Social Studies (NEA) 1201-16th St. S.W., Washington
KIT - 10,11

18. National Education Association, 1201-16th St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.
KIT - 26 PACKET - 1

19. North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools, 106 Barton Hall, University of Minnesota, Mineapolis, Minnesota
KIT - 12

20. Oceana Publications, 43 West 16th Street, New York
PACKET - 29

21. Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio
KIT - 3

22. Public Affairs Pamphlets, 23 East 38th Street, New York 16, N. Y.
KIT - 14, 22 PACKET - 31

23. Race Relations Department, AMA Division, Fisk Univeristy, Nashville, Tennessee
PACKET - 19, 30

24. Research Center for Group Dynamics, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan
PACKET - 3

25. SCHOOL LIFE, U. S. Office of Education, Washington, 25, D. C.
PACKET - 11

26. Science Research Associates, Inc., 57 W. Grand Avenue, Chicago 10, Illinois
PACKET - 23

27. Southern Regional Council, 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia
PACKET - 4, 7, 13, 13a, 26, 27

28. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C.
PACKET - 36

29. Workshop for Cultural Democracy, 204 East 18th Street, New York 3, New York
PACKET - 20

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III. TWENTY-SEVEN TITLES IN NEA-ATA "KIT"

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(Publisher No.) (and Price)				
(#7 - 20¢)	1.*	ABC'S OF SCAPEGOATING Allport, Gordon W.	1949	56 Pp.
(#15 - 25¢)	2.	BUILDING BRIDGES BETWEEN GROUPS THAT DIFFER IN FAITH, RACE AND CULTURE (5th Ed. Revised) - Elliott, John H.	1950	65 Pp.
(#21 - $1.00)	3.	BUILDING FRIENDLY RELATIONS Gilchrist, Robert S. et al	1947	50 Pp.
(	4.	"CLASS INFLUENCE IN ADOLESCENT EDUCATION" from ELMTOWNS YOUTH August B. Hollinghal		
(#1 - $1.25)	5.	CURRICULUM IN INTERGROUP RELATIONS, SECONDARY SCHOOLS Staff on Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools	1949	168 Pp.
(#12 -$1.50)	6.	DEMOCRACY DEMANDS IT Van Till, William	1950	117 Pp.
(#18 -$1.00)	7.	EDUCATION FOR ALL AMERICAN YOUTH Education Policies Commission		
(# 1--$2.50)	8.	ELEMENTARY CURRICULUM IN INTERGROUP EDUCATION Staff on Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools	1950	248 Pp.
(#13 - 50¢)	9.	HARVARD EDUCATIONAL REVIEW "Intercultural Education Review"	1949	(March)
(#17 - 10¢)	10.	HOW TO USE GROUP DISCUSSIONS (No. 6) "How To Do It Series" Litchen, Ruth E.		6 Pp.
(#17 - 50¢)	11.	IMPROVING HUMAN RELATIONS Cummings, Howard E. (ed.)	1949	
(#19 - *)	12.	IMPROVING INTERGROUP RELATIONS IN SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY LIFE Sub-Committee on In-Service Education of Teachers	1946	48 Pp.
(# 1 -$3.75)	13.	INTERGROUP RELATIONS IN TEACHER EDUCATION Cook, Lloyd A.	1951	271 Pp.
(#22- 30¢)	14.	IN THESE TEN CITIES	1951	29 Pp.
(#1-#1.00)	15.*	LITERATURE FOR HUMAN UNDERSTANDING Staff on Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools	1948	61Pp.
(#12 - 60¢)	16.	PROBING OUR PREJUDICES Powdermaker, Hortense	1950	117 Pp.
(#1 -$1.25)	17.	READING LADDERS FOR HUMAN RELATIONS Staff on Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools	1949	115 Pp.

(#10 - 25¢) 18.* SENSE AND NONSENSE ABOUT RACE 1946 46 Pp.
Alpenfels, Ethel

(#1-$1.25) 19. SOCIOMETRY IN GROUP RELATIONS 1948 85 Pp.
Jennings, Helen E., et al

(#4 -Gratis) 20. TEEN-AGERS LOOK AT THEIR TOWN N. d. 23 Pp.
Wolfe, Ann G.

(#7 - 25¢) 21. THE SCHOOL-CENTERED COMMUNITY 1949 42 Pp.
Lund, S. E. Torstan

(#22 - 20¢) 22. THESE RIGHTS ARE OURS TO KEEP 1947

(#11- $3.00) 23. THE SMALL COMMUNITY LOOKS AHEAD 1947 276 Pp.
Hayes, Wayland J.

(#9 - 20¢) 24. "THE SOCIAL ROOTS OF LEARNING" (Dec.)1949
Reprinted From Educational Leadership
Hardiman, Ruth and Robinson, John T.

(#2 - 50¢) 25. TO SECURE THESE RIGHTS IN YOUR COMMUNITY 1948 59 Pp.

(#18- 75¢) 26. TRUE FAITH AND ALLEGIANCE 1950 101 Pp.
Commission For The Defense of Democracy Trhough Education

(#14 - 5¢) 27. WAR AND PEACE 1950 42 Pp.
Malik, Charles

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IV. THIRTY-SEVEN TITLES IN NEA-ATA "POCKET"

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(Publisher No.)
(and Price)

(#18-$1.00) 1. LEADER'S GUIDE 1954 99 Pp.
Douglass, Joseph H.

(#7 - 20¢) 2.* ABC'S OF SCAPEGOATING 1948 41 Pp.
Allport, Gordon W.

(#24- 25¢) 3. ACHIEVEING CHANGE IN PEOPLE: SOME APPLICATIONS OF GROUP DYNAMIC THEORY 11 Pp.
Cartwright, Darwin (Reprint from HUMAN RELATIONS)

(#27 - 20¢) 4. ANSWERS FOR ACTION 1954 32 Pp.

(#8 -) 5. ARE YOU RAISING A BIGOT? 1953(Oct.)
Pollack, Jack Harrison (Reprint from "Every Woman's")

(#15 - 25¢) 6. BUILDING TODAY FOR TOMORROW IN OUR NEIGHBORHOOD 1948 78 Pp.
Day, Gertrude Hart

(#27 -10¢) 7. A CHECK-LIST FOR YOUR LOCAL SCHOOLS 1953 8 Pp.

(#7 - 25¢) 8. CIVIL RIGHTS: BAROMETER OF DEMOCRACY 1949 39 Pp.
Sparling, Edward J.

(#16 - 35¢)	9.	CLINICAL APPROACH TO RACE RELATIONS Haynes, George E.	1946	36 Pp.
(#15-$1.00)	10.	EDUCATION IN A TRANSITION COMMUNITY Grambs, Jean D.	1954	
(#25	11.	"EDUCATION OF NEGROES" (SCHOOL LIFE Article) Vol. 36 Caliver, Ambrose, et al		
		a. "Segregation Issue Before the Supreme Court (Feb)	1954	4 Pp.
		b. "Progress and Present Status" (March)	1954	4 Pp.
		c. "Successful Transition from Segregated To Unsegregated Schools" (April)	1954	
		d. "The Supreme Court Rules on Segregation" (May)	1954	
		e. "Some Factors Relating to Its Quality" (June)	1954	
(#15 - 25¢)	12.	FEELINGS ARE FACTS Heston, Margaret N.	1952	59 Pp.
(#27- 25¢)	13.	GREENVILLE'S BIG IDEA		39 Pp
(#27-		a. GREENVILLE'S BIG IDEA GROWS		
(#7 - 25¢)	14.	GROUP DYNAMICS AND SOCIAL ACTION Benne, Kenneth D., et al	1950	61 Pp
(#15 - 75¢)	15.	GROUP PROCESSES FOR ADULT EDUCATION Bergevin, Paul and Morris, Dwight	1951	85 Pp.
(#15 - 25¢)	16.	GROUP PROCESSES IN INTERGROUP EDUCATION		81 Pp.
(# 7 -$3.25) Per 100	17.	HOW OLD IS A BIGOT?		
(#7 - 10¢)	18.	HOW TO USE DISCUSSION 66 Tarcov, Oscar		3 Pp.
(#23 - 60¢)	19.	INTEGRATION: PROMISE-PROCESS-PROBLEMS McCulloch, Margareth C.	1952	77 Pp.
(#29 - 75¢)	20.	KNOW YOUR NEIGHBORS DuBois, Rachel and Mew-Soong Li	1953	50 Pp.
(#1 - $1.00)	21.*	LITERATURE FOR HUMAN UNDERSTANDING Staff on Intergroup Education in Cooperating Schools	1948	61 Pp.
(#7 - 25¢)	22.	MODERN EDUCATION AND BETTER HUMAN RELATIONS Kilpatrick, William H.	1949	31 Pp.
(#26-35¢)	23.	OVERCOMING PREJUDICE Bettelheim, Bruno	1953	49 Pp.
(# 8 -	24.	THE PEOPLE TAKE THE LEAD: A RECORD OF PROGRESS IN CIVIL RIGHTS	1954	27 Pp.
(#5 - 25¢)	25.	PSYCHOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF E FORCED SEGREGATION Deutscher, Max and Isidor Chein	1948	
(#27 - 15¢)	26.	QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS: THE SCHOOLS AND THE COURTS	1954	

(#27 - 15¢)	27.	RACE AND LAW ENFORCEMENT: A GUIDE TO MODERN POLICE PRACTICE	1953	20 Pp.
(#15 - 25¢)	28.	THE RESOLUTION OF INTERGROUP TENSIONS	1952	48 Pp.
(#20 - 25¢)	29.	SCHOOLS AND NEIGHBORS IN ACTION McCloskey, Mark and Sorokoff, Human	1951	33 Pp
(#23 -50¢)	30.	SEGREGATION: A CHALLENGE TO DEMOCRACY McCullough, Margarett	1950	39 Pp.
(#22 -50¢)	31.	SEGREGATION AND THE SCHOOLS	1954	28 Pp
(#10 - 25¢	32.*	SENSE AND NON-SENSE ABOUT RACE	1946	45 Pp
(#7 - 50¢)	33.	SIX OUTLINES FOR GROUP DISCUSSION		
(#4 - 25¢)	34.	SOME ROOTS OF PREJUDICE		39 Pp.
(#6 -) (50¢) (50¢)	35.	STATUS OF THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES PART I: LEGAL STATUS OF SEGREGATED SCHOOLS PART II: PROGRESS OF THE EDUCATION OF NEGROES, 1870-1950 Reprinted as Vol. XXIX, No. 1 Issue of THE BULLETIN	1954	
(#28 -	36.	SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES - October Term 1954- No. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5		
(# 3 - 10¢)	37.	WORKING TOGETHER: INTEGRATION OF WASHINGTON'S SCHOOLS		

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A 1956 SUMMER EMPHASIS-PROJECT IN "IMPROVING HUMAN RELATIONS"

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THE BACKGROUND

For the past THIRTY YEARS, (beginning in 1926) A JOINT COMMITTEE of THE NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION and THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION has been in continuous operation. This Joint Committee is composed of TEN members ... five nominated by The National Education Association and five nominated by The American Teachers Association.

The basic purpose of this JOINT COMMITTEE has been to explore, to suggest and to stimulate ways in which each of these two national-level professional organizations might utilize their respective resources for improvement of education of ALL children ... but with special reference to NEGRO children who share the disadvantageous circumstances associated with the persisting spectre of RACE in American Life.

This NEA-ATA JOINT COMMITTEE

(a) Has stimulated increased membership and program participation of Negroes in the wide range of professional-organization programs

(b) Has stimulated the efforts to remove RACE differentials in membership and in the living-and-participation conditions incident to the convention-attendance of Negro members

(c) Has made suggestion and appeal for "resolution-declarations" by the NEA, by ATA and by the various other organizations which have the "moral obligations" to direct emphasis to these urgencies of American Life

(d) Has directed attention to the distortions and inadequacies of treatment of the Negro in textbooks and films ... with associated direct appeal for what is now an "evidenced improvement"

(e) Has encouraged the cooperative effort in the preparation and publication of special studies and materials designed to accelerate the achievement of the accepted American concept of equitable and wholesome status of the Negro in the structure of education and of adult life

One of the more recent interests of The NEA-ATA Joint Committee has been the encouragement of a COOPERATIVE venture in the provision of suggestive "Loan Materials" for the use by GROUPS which would seek to study the problems in the area of INTER-GROUP and HUMAN RELATIONS. The U. S. Office of Education, The National Education Association and The American Teachers Association have responded to this appeal. A KIT of 27 titles has been assembled for loan-use by teacher-education classes. A PACKET of 37 titles has subsequently been assembled for loan-use by adult groups. A Leader's Guide has been prepared for each of these two collections. The National Education Association has provided the "location and staff service" for the circulation of these two loan-collections. The financial participation by NEA and by ATA has been supplemented by some contributions from several philanthropic agencies.

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THIS 1956 EMPHASIS-PROJECT IN "IMPROVING HUMAN RELATIONS"

After a special-service stimulation last summer and in cognizance of the intensified controversies of this past school year, ATA now undertakes an "exploratory-experience" to direct the attention of Negro Teachers to the resources which are available through the KIT and the PACKET.

(OVER)

Six Institutions (Alabama State College, Atlanta University, North Carolina College, Southern University, Tuskegee Institute, and Virginia State College) have responded to the invitation to participate in This EMPHASIS-PROJECT during the month of July. The titles of the KIT and of the PACKET are being placed on display. Some additional titles have been suggested as an ATA SUPPLEMENT. A "THIRTY-PLATE ILLUMINATED DISPLAY EXHIBIT" has been developed under the immediate direction of Dr. Walter N. Ridley of Virginia State College who is past President of ATA and who has been on loan for assistance at ATA Headquarters in Montgomery during the month of June. Presentations, Discussions and Films are being utilized.

There is the hope that this exploratory experience can be basis for an increased and widened service-effort, during this next school year, by schools and colleges, by local and state teacher organizations, by PTA and by other adult groups.

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"TO IMPROVE HUMAN RELATIONS": WHAT YOU AND I CAN DO

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YOU and I

1. CAN LEARN about and use MATERIALS designed to CREATE UNDERSTANDING of and SUGGESTING solutions to tension-producing problems.

2. CAN GAIN KNOWLEDGE about the TENSION-PRODUCING CIRCUMSTANCES around us today so that we will be able to be more OBJECTIVE and EFFECTIVE in discussion of them.

3. CAN LEARN TECHNIQUES and FACTS which will help us better to PRESENT and/or DISCUSS circumstances or problems which are sometimes tension-producing

4. CAN LEARN how BETTER to LESSEN or CONTROL OUR OWN PREJUDICES against ideas, people and circumstances around us.

5. Can LEARN ENOUGH about the U. S. CONSTITUTION, the BILL OF RIGHTS, the UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS, the GOLDEN RULE, and the AMERICAN IDEAL OF EQUALITY and FAIR PLAY to become UNDERGIRDED firmly in OUR PERSONAL FAITH in American Democracy.

6. Can SEEK to GAIN enough PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE to aid in combatting prejudices in our HOMES, GROUPS and COMMUNITIES.

7. CAN INTRODUCE into our HOMES, CHURCHES, CLUBS and OTHER ORGANIZATIONS a serious effort to study and learn "how to improve human relations."

8. Can STIMULATE in our HOMES, CHURCHES, CLUBS and OTHER ORGANIZATIONS efforts to learn enough about the laws and government of our nation, state and locality to understand more clearly the tension-producing events of today.

9. Can ARRANGE for and/or PARTICIPATE in those COMMUNITY CONTACTS and ACTIVITIES (whether individual, group, or mass) which give opportunity for improvement of knowledge and attitudes about human beings and their needs and values.

10. Can DEVELOP GOOD HUMAN RELATIONS FOR OURSELVES and THOSE AROUND US to the extent that our homes, classes, churches, organizations and communities begin to reflect a contribution to understanding of the needs and values of ALL MEN and, thus, a contribution to peace at home and abroad.

11. Can SUPPORT those agencies and PROGRAMS which foster good human relations and are thus favorable to the growth of better citizens for our American Democracy.

12. Can SELECT some FREE and INEXPENSIVE MATERIALS and send them to leaders such as ministers, governmental officials, school boards, editors, teachers and others in our communities, for the purpose of aiding them toward right decisions and actions.

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

FOUNDED IN 1904

TO PROMOTE AND TO IMPLEMENT THE FUNCTIONING—ACHIEVEMENT OF AMERICA'S OBJECTIVES:

"Equality of educational opportunity for every child; equality of professional status for every teacher."

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

P. O. Box 271, Montgomery, Alabama

APPLICATION FOR PARTICIPATION — 1957-58: No. 12
ATA PROJECT "ONE-THOUSAND" — November 7, 1957

Dr. H. Councill Trenholm, Executive Secretary
The American Teachers Association
P. O. Box 271
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Dr. Trenholm:

The undersigned School Library herewith makes application for participation in "ATA PROJECT ONE-THOUSAND" and ENCLOSES THE AMOUNT as below-checked for Group A or Group B or Group A-B of titles of textbooks and reading materials about Negroes which are being made available through the cooperative ATA-ASNLH Project as announced on Page 16 of the July-1957 Issue of THE BULLETIN and as again announced on 1956-57 ATA Memo. No. 30. Note has been taken of the titles as listed on the reverse side of this sheet.

_____ $ 6.00 GROUP A (Nine Titles for Elementary Schools)

_____ 9.00 GROUP B (Eight Titles for High Schools)

_____ 15.00 GROUP A-B (Seventeen Titles for Elementary-High School)

It is our mutual understanding that The American Teachers Association is contributing the cost of packing and shipping directly to our school from the Headquarters Office of The Associated Publishers, 1538 Ninth Street, N.W., Washington 1, D. C.

Name of School _____

Mailing Address _____

Name of Principal _____

* *

DO NOT WRITE IN THIS SPACE
(For ATA Authorization)

Date Received _____ Date Authorized _____

_____ Executive Secretary

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Vice President:

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GROUP A (NINE TITLES FOR ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS)
(List-Price Total $21.45 - ATA Project "One-Thousand" Cost $6.00)

TITLES	LIST-PRICES
1. Hambly, Wilfrid D., TALKING ANIMALS	$ 4.00
2. Johns-Trent, A., PLAY SONGS OF THE DEEP SOUTH	2.65
3. McBrown, G. P., PICTURE POETRY BOOK	1.40
4. Newsome, Effie Lee, GLADIOLA GARDEN	2.65
5. Pryde, Marion J. and Fleming, Beatrice J., DISTINGUISHED NEGROES ABROAD	2.65
6. Shackelford, Jane D., MY HAPPY DAYS	2.65
7. Whiting, Helen A., NEGRO ART, MUSIC AND RHYME	1.40
8. Whiting, Helen, NEGRO FOLK TALES	1.40
9. Woodson, Carter G., AFRICAN MYTHS	2.65

GROUP B (EIGHT TITLES FOR HIGH SCHOOLS)
(List-Price Total $27.60 - ATA Project "One-Thousand" Cost $9.00)

1. Conrad, Earl, HARRIET TUBMAN	3.25
2. Henderson, E. B., THE NEGRO IN SPORTS	4.00
3. Kerlin, R. T., NEGRO POETS AND THEIR POEMS	3.25
4. Quarles, Benjamin, FREDERICK DOUGLASS	4.00
5. Richardson, Willis, PLAYS AND PAGEANTS FROM THE LIFE OF THE NEGRO	4.00
6. Richardson, Willis and Miller, May, NEGRO HISTORY IN THIRTEEN PLAYS	4.00
7. Schoenfeld, Seymour J., THE NEGRO IN THE ARMED FORCES	1.10
8. Van Deusen, John G., BLACK MAN IN WHITE AMERICA	4.00

GROUP A-B (SEVENTEEN TITLES FOR ELEMENTARY-HIGH SCHOOLS)
(List-Price Total $49.05 - ATA Project "One-Thousand" Cost $15.00)

SEE ABOVE-TITLES FOR GROUP A AND FOR GROUP B

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
P.O. BOX 271, MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

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AT DAYTONA BEACH — 1957-58: NO. 36
.... "THE OBJECTIVE-POTENTIAL — June 28, 1958

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I. "TWO WEEKS FROM NOW"

1. It is now just TWO WEEKS before the 55th (1958) ATA Convention which meets on the campus of Bethune-Cookman College at Daytona Beach Florida, on Sunday-Monday-Tuesday, July 13-14-15.
   a. Pre-convention sessions of the Officers of two Committees (Resolutions and Audit) are scheduled for Saturday afternoon-evening (July 12), preliminary to the convention-sessions which begin on Sunday afternoon, July 13th and extend through Tuesday afternoon-evening, July 15th.

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II. THE CONVENTION-THEME

2. In ATA MEMO NO. 30, there was announcement of the Convention Theme: APPRAISING "OUR" CIRCUMSTANCE IN 1958.
   a. There was inclusion of some interpretative comments.

3. On page 3 of the now-released June-1958 issue of THE BULLETIN, there is addition of EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS ... PEDAGOGICAL OBLIGATIONS.
   a. There is inclusion also of a revised and expanded interpretative statement.

4. As a further "preparation-step", this ATA MEMO NO. 36 is released and will have inclusion also in the July-1958 convention-program issue of THE BULLETIN.

- -

III. "SOME THEME-OBSERVATIONS"

5. "THIS YEAR OF 1958" is a year of "CHANGED CIRCUMSTANCE" for the TWENTY THOUSAND ATA MEMBERS, for the states and the nation and the world in which they live, and for the children and youth whom they teach.

6. In our world and its framework of nations, there are
   a. Added concern because of satellites, "Sputniks" and associated issues of military offense and defense.
   b. Increased challenge to "UN", to "NATO" and to the associated channels of "sought" Peace, Security and Human Decency.
   c. Conflicts in the ideology and "expressed insistence" of many international leaders.
   d. Significant "problem-centers" such as in Algeria, Ghana, Nationalist-China, Indonesia, India, Israel, Lebanon, West Germany, Hungary and Russia.

7. In the UNITED STATES, there are
   a. Conflicts and pressures and dilemmas in its relationships and attempts of service-cooperation with the other nations.
   b. Challenges to its own economy because of the "recession" and the ever-increasing and almost-overwhelming demands on its insufficient "tax-dollar".
   c. Competitive issues as to the distribution of governmental-level placement of legal and administrative responsibility (National-State-Regional-Local) for the provision and financing of these public services of our Government.
   d. "Action and Reaction" in the approaches to the efforts to move forward in the implementation of PRACTICE of our national ideals of democracy and equity in human relationships.

8. For NEGROES as ADULT-CITIZENS, there are
   a. "Progress-Steps" through legislation and through judicial decrees which seek to lessen and to remove the discriminatory practices and limitations based on RACE.
   b. "Resistance-Reactions" through STATE-LEVEL legislation, through Court-appeal, through reprisal-and-intimidation and through resort to the arena of Public Opinion with intensified-expressions of prejudice and of intolerance.
   c. "Adjustment Techniques" for the "Changed Circumstance" and for continuing participation in the several channels of appeal and of action.
   d. Restriction-and-Severance of the wholesome and necessary interchange of communication and discussion between ALL citizens of the affected areas.

9. For ATA members as TEACHERS of NEGRO children, there are
   a. Increased urgency for adequate and up-to-date understanding of the rapidly-changing circumstances in World, National and Racial relationships.
   b. Imperative Urgency for interpretation of the educational implications for Negro children of the wide range of changing circumstances.
   c. Pedagogical obligations to motivate and to guide Negro youth in the now-changing emphasis of their preparation for employment and for participation.
   d. Pedagogical obligation to understand and to utilize the available resources and techniques for more effective education.
   e. Necessity for maintenance of PERSPECTIVE and for stabilization at the child-youth age-level of the "impact" of the problems and intensified conflicts of this current transition-period.

10. FOR ATA, there is the ever-imperative necessity for stabilized recognition of its BASIC FUNCTION as a TEACHER ORGANIZATION for the every-improving classroom efficiency of its membership ALONG WITH its "supplementary contributions" to the GENERAL WELFARE of the communities and of the Nation and of the World in which they live.

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IV. SOME CONVENTION-PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

11. The associated convention-program objectives include
    a. Increased understanding of the facts and the interpretations of aspects of "OUR" CIRCUMSTANCE IN 1958.
    b. Development of suggestions for differentiated group and for individual approaches in 1958-59.
    c. Evolution of types of improved pedagogical services to our children-youth and to our patron-adults in the respective service-localities of the ATA-members.

12. The ATA convention-calendar seeks to provide both for the general-session presentations and for the interest-group discussion period.

- -

V. THE "MONDAY" SESSIONS

13. There is "deliberate effort" to give concentrated and sequential emphasis to the several interpretative and pedagogical aspects of the convention-theme.
    a. There will be underlying philosophy at the sessions on Sunday afternoon and on Sunday evening.
    b. The Symposium-session at 10:00 on Monday morning will seek to provide information-orientation and background-perspective for several aspects of the convention theme.
    c. The Monday-afternoon period is reserved for interest-group interpretative-discussion (with a possibility of an additional group-discussion period on Tuesday).
    d. The program-banquet presentation on Monday evening will offer inspirational motivation to the convention-theme emphasis of the day.

14. An additional symposium on the following day (Tuesday) will give supplementary report of some pertinent efforts and projects underway.

15. The pattern of discussion-group organization is in evolving status.
    a. At the 53rd (1956) ATA-convention at ATLANTA, the ATA-Constitution pattern of departments included College, High School, Elementary, Rural-Life, Psychology and Guidance, Adult Education, Audio-Visual, Business Education, Fine Arts, Home Arts, Health and Physical Education and State-Association Officers.
    b. At the 54th (1957) ATA-Convention at DURHAM, the Work-Discussion groups included Elementary, High School, Reading Skills, Science, Adult Education, Dynamic Leadership, Inter-Group Education and Teacher-Welfare-and-Security.
    c. For the 55th (1958) ATA-Convention at DAYTONA BEACH, there is proposal for Interest-Group Discussion-Sessions relating to our circumstance in "EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS"and to "OUR PEDAGOGICAL OBLIGATIONS in the following NINE topic areas:
        A. Education Beyond The High School
        B. Motivation of Improved Learning-Achievement
        C. Differentiated Education For Our "Talent-Potential"
        D. Educational Services To Adult-Community
        E. Evolving Changes in Science Education
        F. Increasing Utilization of Educational Television
        G. Educational Legislation and Judicial Decrees
        H. Community Attitudes and Inter-Group Liason
        I. Teacher-Organization Programs and Problems.

- -

VI. THE CONVENTION-PROGRAM PARTICIPANTS

16. The ATA-Convention-preparations seek a maximum flexibility in the provision for program participation through acceptances BOTH before the convention-date AND at the time of convention registration at Bethune-Cookman College.

17. The Two-Weeks-Earlier convention-date results in some "last-minute" program-participant clearances with some resource-personnel who are gracious to respond to the appeal for program-participation assistance.

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
P.O. BOX 271, MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

****

ATA ANNOUNCES 1957-58: NO. 37
THREE GENERAL-SESSION SPEAKERS June 30, 1958

****

Montgomery, Alabama, June 30, 1958--For the 55th (1958) ATA Convention which meets at Bethune-Cookman College at Daytona Beach, Florida on Sunday-Monday-Tuesday, July 13-14-15, the three guest speakers for the general-session programs will be DR. HARRY V. RICHARDSON of Atlanta, DR. R. O'HARA LANIER of New York City, and DR. WILLIAM H. GRAY of Philadelphia.

Dr. Harry V. Richardson, President of Gammon Theological Seminary, will speak at the Vesper-Memorial Service on Sunday afternoon, July 13, at which memorial tribute will be paid to five deceased ATA Life Members of the year who include the late Miss Myra Fairfax (West Virginia), the late Miss Hattie Feger (Ohio), the late Dr. Benjamin F. Hubert (Georgia), the late Mrs. M. Alice LaSaine (South Carolina) and the late Dr. W. F. Maize (Florida).

Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier, Special Consultant for the Phelp-Stokes Fund, will deliver the Keynote Address at the Sunday Evening session. His address will be preceded by the series of expressions of welcome which will include Mayer J. Hart Long of Daytona Beach, Superintendent John T. Smiley of the Volusia County Schools, President Royal W. Puryear of Florida Normal and Industrial College, and Secretary Gilbert L. Porter of the Florida State Teachers Association. The official statement of response will be made by Dr. Charles W. Orr, ATA President for 1957-58 and Director of Instruction at Alabama A. & M. College.

Dr. William H. Gray, Pastor of Bright Hope Baptist Church in Philadelphia and Host-President to ATA at its previous-last meeting in Florida in 1947, will be the featured speaker for the annual program dinner which is scheduled for Monday night this year rather than Tuesday night. Previous Banquet-Program Speakers have included Dr. Horace Mann Bond in 1955, Dr. Charles H. Wesley in 1956 and Dr. John W. Davis in 1957.

The sessions on Monday will include the Symposium-Presentations on Monday morning and the Interest-Group Discussion-Sessions on Monday afternoon, relating to the Convention Theme, APPRAISING OUR CIRCUMSTANCE IN 1958 ... EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS AND PEDAGOGICAL OBLIGATIONS. At the Business Sessions, the Delegates will receive report of a very outstanding record-achievement of 20,000 annual members for this ATA year which is the 19th year of volunteer non-salaried service of Dr. H. Councill Trenholm as Executive Secretary. The associated Executive Officers include Dr. J. F. Drake, President of Alabama A. & M. College, as Chairman of the Trustee Board and Mr. Lucius T. Bacote of Dublin Georgia as Vice President, and Dr. Walter N. Ridley, Dean of St. Paul's College, as Treasurer.

ATA Press Service ... (Dr. H. Councill Trenholm)

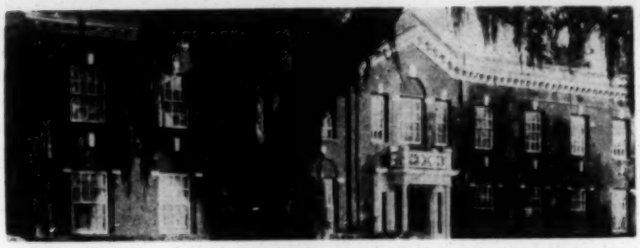
The 55th (1958) Convention-Announcement Number

The Bulletin

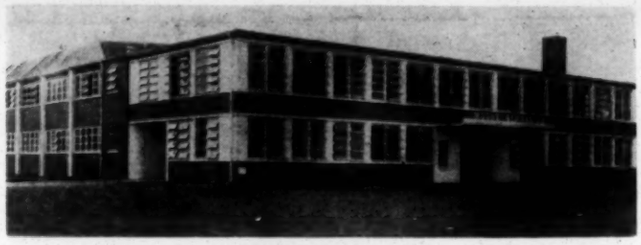
Official Organ of The American Teachers Association

VOLUME XXXII | Montgomery, Alabama, June, 1958 | NUMBER 1

BETHUNE-COOKMAN COLLEGE

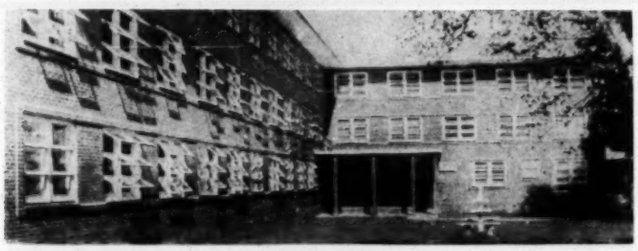


WHITE HALL
(Administration)



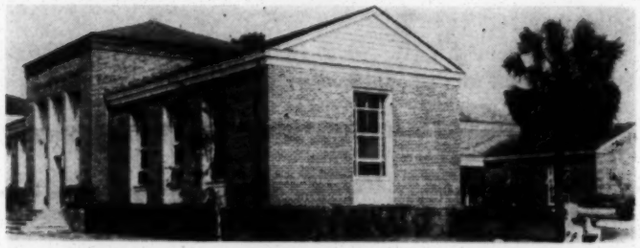
MOORE GYMNASIUM
(ATA Convention)

COOKMAN HALL
(Men)



MEIGS HALL
(Women)

SCIENCE HALL



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The 55th Convention: Daytona Beach, Florida, July 13-14-15, 1958

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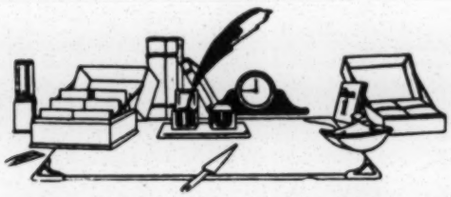

Secretarial Briefs

This Volume XXXII, No. 1 (June, 1958) issue of THE BULLETIN is the "first" issu of this 1957-58 ATA year. The last previous issue was the 48-page Volume XXXI, No. 2 (July, 1957) issue.

Again during this year, the communication-report channel has been the series of ATA MEMOS which have been released at intervals to the ATA representatives and to those in attendance at the various teacher-association meetings.

As was also the procedure last summer, there are TWO issues of THE BULLETIN within the two months of June and July. This Volume XXXII, No. 1 (June, 1958) issue is the convention-announcement number with selected information-presentations which are intended to facilitate the anticipations for the convention-experience at Daytona Beach on July 13-14-15.

The Volume XXXII, No. 2 (July, 1958) issue will feature (a) the report of the 1957 convention at Durham, (b) the program for the 1958 convention at Daytona Beach, (c) the state teacher associations and related teacher-organizations and (d) service-activities and related ATA information.

ATA can report progress both in membership and in service-activities during this year. See the membership statistics on pages 6 and 8 of this issue. Read the service-activity report-presentations on pages 5, 6, 7 and 8. Look forward to the additional report-presentations in the July convention-issue.

ATA is embarked on its program of expanded field service. Look forward to the report, in the July isue, of state-committee personnel and activities for the states of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Florida. WHAT ABOUT YOUR STATE?

At Daytona Beach on Sunday afternoon, July 13, there will be memorial tribute to the deceased ATA life members of the year. Our list includes: MISS MYRA FAIRFAX (West Virginia), MISS HATTIE FEGER (Ohio), Dr. BENJAMIN F. HUBERY (Georgia), MRS. M. ALICE LASAINE (South Carolina) and DR. W. F. MAIZE (Florida). ARE THERE OTHERS?

THE ATA OFFICERS FOR 1957-58

PRESIDENT ..... DR. CHARLES W. ORR
Alabama A. & M. College, Normal, Alabama

VICE PRESIDENT ..... MR. LUCIUS T. BACOTE
407 Hester Drive, Dublin, Georgia

EXECUTIVE SECRETARY ..... DR. H. COUNCILL TRENHOIM
P. O. Box 271, Montgomery, Alabama

TREASURER ..... DR. WALTER N. RIDLEY
St. Paul's College, Lawrenceville, Virginia

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Dr. Theodore R. Speigner ..... North Carolina College, Durham, N. C.
Mr. T. L. Upshaw ..... Rt. 2, Oakwood Drive, East Chattanooga, Tenn.

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Miss Mary L. Williams ..... 1011 Second Ave., Charleston, West Virginia
Term Expiring in 1959
Dr. Lelia Bradby ..... 1030 Barnwell Ave., Aiken, South Carolina
Mr. Elmer T. Hawkins ..... 220 Calvert St., Chestertown, Maryland
Term Expiring in 1960
Mrs. Lillian Rogers-Johnson ..... P. O. Box 94, Clarksdale, Mississippi
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VI. ARIZONA, CALIFORNIA, KANSAS, MISSOURI, NEW MEXICO, OKLAHOMA, TEXAS, WASHINGTON, WYOMING

For the THIRD time in the fifty-five years of NATSC-ATA, the annual convention is staged in Florida. It was 11 years ago (1947) that ATA last met in Florida . . . at the-now Florida A. & M. State University when ATA Life-Member WILLIAM H. GRAY was president of the host college. It was SEVENTEEN YEARS ago (1935) that NATCS met in Florida — also at the-then Florida A. & M. College . . . in the service-period at that college of the late J. R. E. LEE who was the founder—and first president of NATCS.

Florida has distinctive place in the history of NATCS-ATA. In addition to Dr. Lee and Dr. Bethune, there had been service of the late NATHAN B. YOUNG as the 5th (1915) NACTS president when he was president of Florida A. & M. and of DR. GEORGE W. GORE as the 33rd (1950 and 1951) ATA president who became President of Florida A. & M. during his service-period as ATA president. Another interim-president of Florida A. & M. College (the late W. H. A. HOWARD) served as treasurer of NATCS in 1921-26. A former vice-president and associate of Dr. Bethune and Bethune-Cookman College (the late JOHN C. WRIGHT) was an ATA life member and a past vice president in 1926 and 1927 . . . as well as the husband of the late MRS. ADDIE STREATER WRIGHT who was assistant secretary and editor of THE BULLETIN in 1929 and 1930.

The State of Florida will offer cordial hospitality and increased membership response. Mrs. Irene R. Straughter and Dr. Gilbert Porter, president and secretary, respectively, of the Florida State Teachers Association were active at Durham and look forward to cooperative stimulation of the convention preparations. Principal S. W. CURTIS of the "four-year one-hundred percent" Pinellas County, has accepted responsibility as chairman of the Florida ATA State Committee. The accepted 1957-58 membership goal for Florida is a "four-figure" total (in excess of ONE-THOUSAND annual members).

The Bulletin

VOLUME XXXII | Montgomery, Alabama, June, 1958 | NUMBER 1

55th (1958) Convention Meets At Daytona Beach

The 55th (1958) ATA Convention will meet at Daytona Beach, Florida on Sunday-Monday-Tuesday, July 13-14-15.

The historic BETHUNE-COOKMAN COLLEGE is the convention site and the college-host. The Florida State Teachers Association and ATA Region-II share the host responsibilities.

The Convention-date is TWO WEEKS EARLIER. This mid-July date is an "adjustment-courtesy" so that the ATA Executive Secretary may include "ATA representation" at the annual convention of WCOTP at Rome, Italy on July 31-August 6 in the gracious "trip-gift" which has been provided by the teachers and associated friends in the State of Alabama. There are indications that this mid-July date may become more acceptable and more convenient for subsequent ATA conventions.

THE 55th CONVENTION-CALENDAR

Saturday, July 12

2:00 P.M.—ATA Board of Trustees
400 P.M.—"Two" ATA-Convention Committees (Resolutions and Audit)
7:30 P.M.—ATA Officers

Sunday, July 13

3:30 P.M.—Vesper-Memorial Service
7:30 P.M.—Welcoming-Keynote Session

Monday, July 14

9:00 A.M.—Delegate Assembly (Information-Reports)
10:00 A.M.—Convention-Theme Symposium
2:00 P.M.—Interest-Group Discussions
4:00 P.M.—Delegate Assembly
8:00 P.M.—Program-Banquet

Tuesday, July 15

9:00 A.M.—Interest-Group Discussions
10:00 A.M.—Professional-Projects Symposium
2:00 P.M.—Delegate Assembly (Committee reports and Decisions)

The now-Customary sequence of courtesies will begin on Sunday evening and will be extended through Monday evening and Tuesday evening. The final affair is scheduled so as not to interrupt the final session of The Delegate Assembly.

THE 1957-58 ATA PRESIDENT

DR. CHARLES W. ORR
Director of Instruction, Alabama A & M College

THE 55th CONVENTION THEME
Appraising "Our" Circumstance In 1958

EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS
PEDAGOGICAL OBLIGATIONS

The United States comprise a GREAT NATION with NOBLE CONCEPTS and POWERFUL IDEAS. ATA members pledge themselves to the furtherance of these concepts and to the preservation of these ideals. ATA members associate themselves with those varied adult enterprises which strive to help America to be great.

ATA members are ALSO teachers with an immediate obligation to serve our youth for whom we are professionally employed. As a teachers' organization, ATA strives ever to stimulate its members to recognize and to understand the EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS of our struggle as an American Democracy. ATA members are challenged to face and to meet the associated PEDAGOGICAL OBLIGATIONS.

Progress and Achievements have come RAPIDLY and SIGNIFICANTLY within the past three years. However, "new" problems now arise and have "imperative-urgency" as a result of the "changes," the "repercussions" and some "resistance-reprisal-intimidation reactions."

There are associated urgencies arising from the current-year revelations and changes in the "national" and the "international" scene.

a. The increased emphasis on Science, on the Comparative Effectiveness of Education in America and on the problem of Public Concern and Adequate Tax-Support for Education are illustrations of our National Problem-Circumstance.

"THE ATA OBJECTIVE" continues to be (a) the stimulation, (b) the implementation and (c) the acceleration of the "Accepted" American goals of EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY FOR "EVERY" CHILD and of EQUALITY OF PROFESSIONAL STATUS FOR "EVERY" TEACHER.

For ATA members, there are "differentiated" problems in 1958: (a) in the COMMUNITIES in which they serve, (b) for the CHILDREN whom they teach and (c) in the PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS to which they belong.

As at the previous conventions, ATA will seek at Daytona Beach to relate itself to the current-year problem and will utilize both the presentations and the work-group discussions toward the objectives of information, of interpretation and of implementation of the problems and implications of OUR CIRCUMSTANCE IN 1958.

The 55th Convention Host-College: Bethune-Cookman College

For a tenth consecutive year, ATA is fortunate in having the advantage and the convenience of a college (BETHUNE-COOKMAN COLLEGE) as its convention site.

For the immediately-preceding nine ATA conventions, the host colleges have been North Carolina College in 1957; Clark-Morehouse-Spelman, Atlanta, in 1956; Texas-Southern in 1955; Tennessee A & I in 1954; South Carolina State in 1953; Tougalpo-Jackson in 1952; Hampton in 1951; Alabama State in 1950 and Central State in 1949. Florida A & M had been the host back in 1947.

The convention-site at Daytona Beach is on the East Coast of Florida. Many convention delegates will travel through JACKSONVILLE (location of Edwards Waters) and through the historic SAINT AUGUSTINE (location of Florida Normal and Industrial College) enroute to Daytona Beach. Some will probably extend their visit in Florida in order to travel south to Miami and Miami Beach and/or west to Tampa.

The 1958 convention-site will have additional ATA appeal. BETHUNE-COOKMAN College was founded by the gracious and dynamic MARY McLEOD BETHUNE who was the FOURTEENTH (1924) NATCS-ATA president as well as the first of our now-past five lady-presidents. There will thus become a privilege for the ATA convention-membership to see the institution which she founded and administered in such commendable manner.

BETHUNE-COOKMAN COLLEGE has very convenient location in the beautiful city of Daytona Beach. The railroad station is within eight blocks of the campus.

The campus is compact and advantageously arranged. Maximum distances between buildings are within the equivalent of just two blocks. Both the ATA Headquarters and the ATA convention sessions will be in the comodious and well-planned MOORE GYMNASIUM. Exhibit-Display areas and associated-service areas will be located in that one building. The Group-Discussion sessions will be distributed between the Gymnasium, the Library and the Science Building.

Just "across the street" are the dormitories, the Dining Hall and the Administrative Building. The school auditorium, in which the opening Vesper-Memorial services will be staged, is located in the Administration Building. The grave of the late MARY McLEOD BETHUNE is just to the east of the Auditorium and also near the now-memorial dwelling in which she resided as president of Bethune-Cookman College.

LODGING

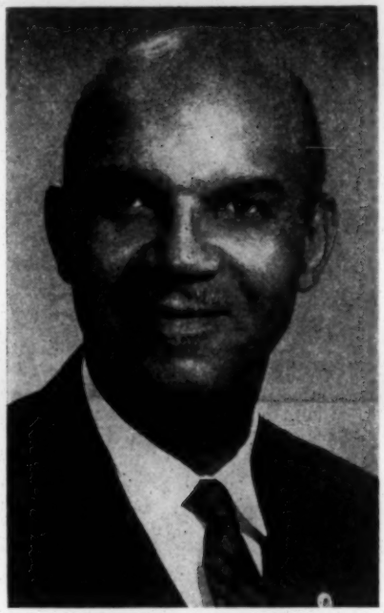
Curtis and Meigs Halls (for women), and Cookman Hall (for Men) are being reserved for the housing of ATA delegates. There will be an approved list of private homes for those delegates who may prefer to live in private residences.

The accommodations are being planned for two occupants per room, at the rate of Three Dollars ($3.00) per night, per person. Single occupancy of rooms will be available at a rate of Five Dollars ($5.00) per night, per person. These rates are the same for off-campus residence accommodations as for dormitory ones.

Payment for lodging for the desired number of nights is made to the Business Office, located in White Hall, upon arrival or during registration.

Reservations should be requested in writing. Either a letter or the ATA Reservation Request Form (Memo No. 35) should be mailed to: Mr. Paul L. Hyde, Business Manager, Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Florida.

OUR HOST-COLLEGE PRESIDENT



DR. RICHARD V. MOORE

MEALS

Meals will be available at the College Dining Hall, at the following hours, and at the indicated costs:

Breakfast	7:30 A.M.-8:30 A.M.	$1.00
Lunch	12:30 P.M.-1:'0 P.M.	1.25
Dinner	5:30 P.M.-6:30 P.M.	1.25

There will be a released list of recommended restaurants, which can be used at other hours or as desired.

As elsewhere announced, the program-banquet will be on Monday, July 14, at 8:00 P.M. and will be one of the highlights of the convention. Every ATA delegate is urged to share this now-memorable and inspiring occasion. The banquet fee will be $2.50.

CONVENTION—HOST COMMITTEES

1. **COORDINATING COMMITTEE:** Honorary Chairman: Dr. Richard V. Moore, President, Bethune-Cookman, College; Co-Chairman: Mr. James E. Huger, Administrative Assistant to the President, Bethune-Cookman College; Mrs. Henrine Banks, Dr. H. E. Bartley, Miss Martha Berhel, Mr. Marion Cruise, Jr., Reverend Rogers P. Fair, Mr. Charles W. Francis. Mr. Paul L. Hyde, Dr. William A. McMillan, Mr. Benjamin Mathis.
2. **COURTESY COMMITTEE:** Chairman: Mrs. Florence L. Small; Co-Chairman: Mrs. Georgia Shanck; Mrs. Florence L. Borders, Mrs. ;Wanda Broussard, Dr. Paul Decker, Mr. Clinton Evans, Mrs. Nadine Ferrell, Dr. Dwight Hoover, Miss Bettie Horne, Mr. James E. Huger, Mr. Edward Rodriguez.
3. **HOUSING COMMITTEE:** Chairman: Mr. Earnest Cook; Co-Chairman: Mrs. Senorita Crawford; Mrs. Henrine Banks, Mrs. Wanda Broussard, Mr. Marion Cruise, Jr., Mrs. Leola Gilmore, Mr. James E. Huger, Mr. Paul Hyde, Mr. Benjamin Mathis, Mrs. Rosa Sims.
4. **TRANSPORTATION COMMITTEE:** Chairman: Mr. William Hayes; Co-Chairman; Mr. Wilbur Johnson; Mr. William Small.
5. **BANQUET COMMITTEE:** Chairman: Mr. Charles W. Francis; Co-Chairman: Mis Martha Berhel; Mrs. Bessie F. Bailey, Mr. Clinton Evans, Mrs. Mary Ford, Mr. Harvey Lee, Mr. Benjamin Mathis, Dr. Joseph Mayer, Mrs. Willie O. Pyke, Mr. William Small, Mrs. Wilmer Smith.
6. **PUBLICITY COMMITTEE:** Chairman: Mr. James E. Huger; Co-Chairman: Miss Erma Burton; Mrs. Fannie Johnson, Mr. David L. Leaver, Mr. Harvey Lee, Mr. Benjamin Mathis, Mr. Edward Rodriguez.
7. **MUSIC COMMITTEE:** Chairman: Dr. William D. Wheeler; Co-Chairman: Mrs. Florence Small; Mrs. Annie Frank J. Little, Mr. Lymeal McClain, Dr. J. A. aVnderWaal.
8. **ROOM AND AUDITORIUM COMMITTEE:** Chairman: Mr. David L. Leaver; Co-Chairman: Mrs. Georgia L. Schanck; Mr. Thomas Ferrell, Mrs. Willie Or Pyke.

55th CONVENTION DELEGATE ASSEMBLY

The business of the American Teachers Association is dispatched through a DELEGATE ASSEMBLY. At Daytona Beach, the Delegate Assembly will:

a. Receive the official reports on Monday Morning (July 14) at 9:00;
b. Nominate officers for 1958-59 on Monday afternoon (July 14) at 4:00;
c. Ballot on nominated candidates on Tuesday morning (July 15) at 9:00;
d. Take action on reports and proposals on Tuesday afternoon (July 15) at 2:00.

The Delegate Assembly is constituted as follows:

1. Annual-Membership Delegates (1 for each 25 annual members for the preceding year of 1956-57);
2. Affiliated-Organization Delegates from organizations (state and local) paying the 1957-58 Affiliation Fee;
3. Life-Membership Delegates (both certified and "current" instllment-payment) who are in attendance at the convention.

The roster of delegates from each state is officially certified on Monday morning (July 14) by the ranking state-association officers through the respective Regional Vice President to the ATA Executive Secretary who presents the list at the Monday-Afternoon session of the Delegate Assembly for official acceptance as the membership of the Delegate Assembly for the 55th Convention. In ALMOST every instance, EVERY STATE will have as many (or more) eligible seats in the Delegate Assembly than they have members in REGISTERED ATTENDANCE at the convention. Thus the DELEGATE ASSEMBLY is a "must" for almost every ATA Member who will be at Daytona Beach.

The potential distribution of the Delegate Assembly for the 55th Convention at Daytona Beach is distributed, as below-indicated, for the TWENTY-NINE states in which ATA has either or both annual members and life members:

State	Total	Life Member Delegates	Annual Member Delegates	Affiliation Delegates
1. Alabama	730	479	249	2*†
2. Arizona	1	1	.....	NA
3. Arkansas	29	17	12	??
4. California	2	2	.....	NA
5. Delaware	3	3	.....	??
6. D. or C.	25	24	1	NA
7. Florida	44	29	14	1†
8. Georgia	123	37	86	??
9. Illinois	4	4	.....	NA
10. Indiana	5	5	.....	NA
11. Kentucky	6	6	.....	NA
12. Louisiana	19	17	1	1*
13. Maryland	23	13	10	??
14. Michigan	2	2	.....	NA
15. Mississippi	129	49	79	1*
16. Missouri	7	6	1	NA
17. New Jersey	13	11	2	??
18. New Mexico	1	1	.....	NA
19. New York	13	13	.....	NA
20. N. Carolina	148	36	110	2*†
21. Ohio	16	16	.....	NA
22. Oklahoma	3	3	.....	NA
23. Pensylvania	15	11	4	??
24. S. Carolina	125	34	90	1*
25. Tennessee	98	55	43	??
26. Texas	23	16	7	1†
27. Virginia	69	16	55	2†
28. Washington	1	1	0	NA
29. West Virginia	19	18	1	NA

* To date, the 1957-58 state-association affiliation-contribution has been received for the five states of Alabama, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina and South Carolina which are thus at present qualified for affiliation-organization delegates.

† At present the six local-organizations which have qaulified with the FIVE DOLLAR affiliation payment include Chilton County of Alabama, Osceola County of Florida, Fitts County of North Carolina, Guadulupe County of Texas, Accomack County and Louisa County of Virginia.
There will be additional associations to qualify before the convention date of July 13-15.

FIVE ATA PROJECTS OF 1957-58

I. EDUCATION FOR MORE-EFFECTIVE HUMAN- RELATIONS EDUCATION

A. Study of the evolving and changing educational problems
B. Stimulation of Need for Concern of ATA Members and their pupils
C. Continuous Revision of Suggestive Bibliographies
D. Consultative Service for Institutes and association programs
E. Provision of Exhibit-Display materials

II. TREATMENT OF THE NEGRO IN SCHOOL ENCYCLOPEDIAS

A. Analytical studies of present status in the various editions
B. Implementation of appeals for improvements in subsequent editions
C. Development of Suggestive Materials for submission to publishers
D. Development of Supplementary materials and resource suggestions for classroom teachers at the various grade levels
E. Implementation of cooperating state-level committees

III. ATA-ASNLH COOPERATIVE PROJECT

A. Increased Emphasis upon inclusion of the Negro in local, state, national and world history
B. Increased provision and utilization of available materials
C. Purchase of "PROJECT ONE THOUSAND" Negro Titles
(1) Nine Elementary-School Level $6
(2) Eight Secondary-School Level $9
D. Addition of pictures . . . periodicals . . .publications
E. "Cooperative" observance of Negro History Week ("Proud American" Buttons)
F. Support of ASNLH (Carter Woodson Dollar Memberships; contributions)

IV. PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND TEACHER SECURITY

A. Special Study of "problem situations"
B. Exchange of Information and Suggestions
C. Stimulation of Maximum-level Professional Proficiency
D. Special Assistance-Support

V. EXPANDED ATA FIELD SERVICE

A. Activitation of State-ATA Committees
B. Support of State-Committee Service-Efforts
C. Provision of Promotional and Profesisonal materials
D. Professional Contributions and official representation at State and District Meetings
E. Implementation of Requests for Professional and Promotional Services.

"A New Door Has Opened"

It is now TWENTY THOUSAND annual members for ATA.

In the record, this credit will go to an energetic and devoted Past-President and presently a member of the ATA Board of Trustees. The now-memorable date is June 18, 1958. Mrs. Lillian Rogers Johnson of Clarksdale, Mississippi, transmitted 39 memberships for LaFayette County and 165 memberships from Hinds County to bring the annual-membership figure to date for 1957-58 up to 20,049. This transmittal also brough tthe record for the State of Mississippi up to 2,145 annual memberships.

For almost a decade, ATA has wistfully looked forward to achievement of 20,000 annual members. The direction has been STEADILY FORWARD with the "18,000" category for each of the preceding three years: 18,037 in 1954-55, 18,375 in 1955-56 and 18975 in 1956-57.

THE SEVENTEEN ATA-STATES of 1957-58 sharing in this signal annual-membership response are as follows:

Rank	State	ATA Region	This Year 9½ Months
1.	Alabama	II	6,246
2.	Georgia	II	3,197
3.	North Carolina	III	2,758
4.	South Carolina	III	2,588
5.	Mississippi	I	2,145
6.	Virginia	III	1,307
7.	Tennessee	V	883
8.	Florida	II	410
9.	Arkansas	I	286
10.	Maryland	IV	175
11.	Texas	VI	58
12.	District of Col.	IV	55
13.	New Jersey	IV	15
14.	Missouri	VI	14
15.	West Virginia	V	8
16.	Louisiana	I	3
17.	Delaware	IV	1
		TOTAL	20,049

ATA is organized in six regions. The identification of the region for each state has been above-indicated. The major membership-concentration is in Region II (Alabama-Florida-Georgia), Region III (North Carolina-South Carolina-Virginia), and Region I (Arkansas-Louisiana-Mississippi). The regional distribution of the 20,049 annual memberships received to date within the first nine and one-half months of the current ATA year (which ends on August 31) is as follows:

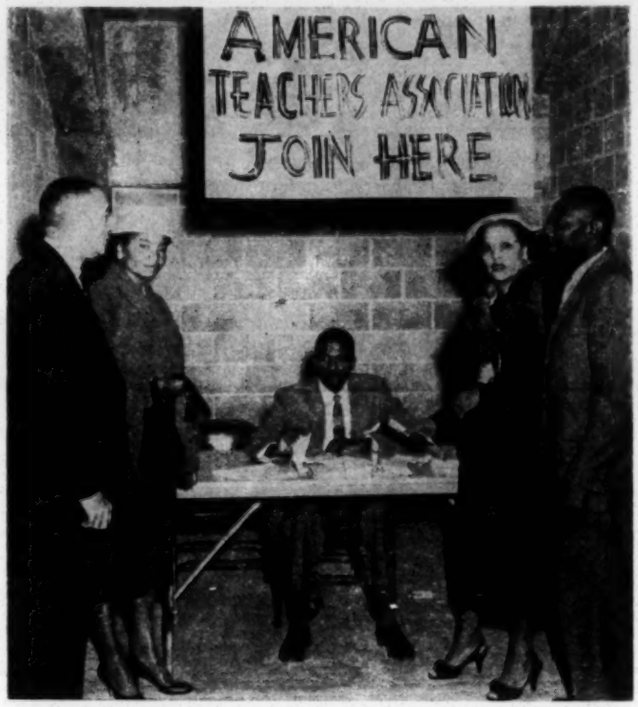
Region	Total	Region	Total
II	9,853	V	891
III	6,553	IV	246
I	2,434	VI	72

ATA AT CLEVELAND: JULY 1

Since 1926, there has been a JOINT COMMITTEE of The National Education Association and The American Teachers Association . . . with five members nominated by EACH of the two organizations.

The NEA representatives are: Dr. Omer Carmichael (Kentucky), Dr. Henry Hill (Tennessee), Dr. H. M. Ivey (Mississippi), Miss Sarah Leiter (Maryland) and Superintendent J. W. Payne (Oklahoma). The ATA representatives are: Dr. Ambrose Caliver District of Columbia), Dr. Madge P. Harper (South Carolina), Dr. Walter N. Ridley (Virginia), Dr. H. Councill Trenholm (Alabama) and Miss Mary L. Williams (West Virginia). Miss Williams is the chairman. Dr. R. B. Marston is the NEA-Liason officer.

On Tuesday afternoon, July 1, at the NEA convention at Cleveland, the NEA-ATA Joint Committe ewill stage its now-customary open-program session with addresses by DR. SEYMOUR L. WOLFBEIN, Chief of The Division of Manpower and Employment in the U. S. Department of Labor, and by DR. DAN W. DODSON of The School of Education of New York University.



ATA AT TEACHERS STATE ASSOCIATION OF TEXAS (At Waco)
Left to right: Dr. J. T. Brooks, Miss Euna Haywood (Waco), Dean Gorge W. Jones (Alabama State), Mrs. Bertha Mae Miles (San Angelo), Mr. Vernon McDaniel (now Executive Secretary of Texas Association).

"ATA is not out, but up." Within the past five years of rapid development and change in the expanding pattern of provision for school attendance of Negro children and in widening of professional-organization participation of Negro teachers, the query has recurrently been raised as to the continuing need for ATA. The increasingly-intensified resistance in the states of the major ATA-Membership constitute an inescapable evidence of the job yet to be done.

When ATA members meet at Bethune-Cookman College in Daytona Beach on July 13-14-15, there will be enthusiastic gratitude for the membership-achievement within these first nine and one-half months. There will also be reinforced effort to achieve the current-year goal of 22,500 annual members in ATA.

ATA AT ROME, ITALY: JULY 31-AUGUST 6

Through the gracious courtesy of teachers and friends in the ATA top-ranking state of Alabama, ATA will have representation at the annual assembly of THE WORLD CONFEDERATION OF ORGANIZATIONS OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION which meets at ROME, ITALY on July 31- August 6.

This "consolidated confederation" was established at Copenhagen, Denmark in August, 1952. In 1950, ATA had been admitted to membership in THE WORLD ORGANIZATION OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION. ATA contributes TWO CENTS of each annual-membership DOLLAR to this world organization.

There has been ATA representation at previous meetings. In 1950, the-then ATA President GEORGE W. GORE and Executive Secretary H. COUNCILL TRENHOLM were in attendance at Ottawa, Canada. In 1952. DR. J. F. DRAKE (now-Chairman of the ATA Board of Trustees) represented ATA at Copenhagen, Denmark. In 1953, DR. RUFUS E. CLEMENT (ATA Past-President) represented ATA at Oxford, England. IN 1954, DR. J. D. THOMPSON (ATA Life Member from Alabama) represented ATA at Oslo, Norway.

There are 73 national-organization members from 41 countries. The national-organization members from the United States are: American Federation of Teachers, American Teachers Association and National Education Association. Among the other represented countries are: GHANA and LIBERIA.

"The 1957 A T A Declaration"

EDITOR'S NOTE: As was the precedent of last year the abstracted summary of the ATA DECLARATION OF 1957 is carried in this pre-convention issue of THE BULLETIN . . . ahead of the 1957 Convention Report which will be carried in the July—1958 Professional-Number of THE BULLETIN for "first release" at the 55th Convention at Daytona Beach on July 13-14-15. This abstracted summary had prior release as ATA 1956-57 MEMO NO. 29 issued on August 15, 1957. Its inclusion in this pre-convention issue is intended to facilitate the deliberations BOTH of the 1958 Convention-Committee on Resolutions whicvh will have its initial meeting at Daytona Beach on Saturday afternoon, July 12 AND OF the members of THE ATA DELEGATE ASSEMBLY on Tuesday afternoon, July 15.

The Preamble statement was as follows:

"ACCUTELY CONSCIOUS OF THE SERIOUS AND CRUCIAL PROBLEMS BESETTING ALL AMERICANS IN THESE TRYING TIMES, WE, THE MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION, REDEDICATE OURSELVES TO THE FULFILLMENT OF OUR OBLIGATIONS AND TO THE ATTAINMENT OF OUR RIGHTS AND PRIVILEGES IN BRINGING INTO COMPLETE FRUTITION THE DEMOCRACY IN WHICH WE SO DEEPLY BELIEVE."

A. The American Teachers Association expressed REAFFIRMATION OF ITS FAITH:

1. In the Democratic concept and willingness to cooperate in every effort to make it more functional and meaningful, and
2. In the validity of the basic documents underlying the structure of the American Government and involving their intent to prevent tyranny of temporary majorities and destruction of the rights of individual citizens, and
3. In the essential decency of the American people in whom there is the confident belief that the great current issues of freedom and rights will be finally settled in such a way as to sustain and guarantee the essential dignity and worth of every child and every adult, and
4. In the United Nations and in UNESCO for emphasis upon an expanded program of instruction and implementation in our public and private schools, and
5. In the conviction that Federal Aid to Education is both desirable and necessary for the achievement of "Equality of Educational Opportunity" for every American child.

B. The American Teachers Association makes THIS OFFICIAL DECLARATIVE APPEAL:

1. For the recognition of the importance of public schools, organized and administered in conformance with the concepts of Democracy, as an absolute necessity for the training of ALL people in America in order that there may be satisfactory adjustments to the now-inevitable socio-economic changes and in order that there may be the perpetuation of the AMERICAN way of life.
2. For the recognition of the interest and welfare of children as a FIRST consideration which will require an advantageous climate for learning, both in the classrooms and through wholesome attitudes of parents in the homes, and which makes most imperative the organization and promotion of study and discussion groups of educators and other community leaders who will seek to accelerate the process of achievement of good human relations.
3. For a concern respecting the serious shortage of school buildings which constitutes a national emergency and which warrants this appeal to the President and the members of the 85th Congress to place uppermost the interest and welfare of children in a decision to provide federal funds.
4. For a recognition of the importance of attitudes of fair play and goodwill in the associated utilization of services of ALL available educational personnel in EACH local community.
5. For support of those organizations (local, state and national) which seek to accomplish practices of employment, participation and representation of ALL teachers in ALL areas of education and adjustment.
6. For policies which will implement the RETENTION of competent teaching and supervisory personnel on the basis of objective qualifications determined solely by training, experience and excellence of character.
7. For increasing participation of Negroes on school boards as "towers of strength" in the working out of school problems affecting ALL citizens.
8. For the recognition by Negro teachers of their peculiar responsibility in the changing pattern and for their determined effort to avail themselves of every opportunity for adequate and thorough training incident to the acquisition and application of those skills which make for more effective teaching.
9. For continued effort of the various state association of teachers to utilize all resources for the full implementation of the law of the land.
10. For the President of the United States to exercise vigorous leadership in the existing crisis relating to the efforts to enact constructive and effective civil-rights legislation.

C. The American Teachers Association expresses COMMENDATION:

1. To those organizations, agencies, groups and individuals whoch and who are working for improvement of the practices of Democracy in our nation through local-level acceptance and implementation of the interpretations of the COURTS and through the counteracting of propaganda which would tend to minimize the dignity and worth of every human being in a nation dedicated to the guarantee of INDIVIDUAL EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY in employment, in education and in political participation.
2. To those leaders and peoples of exploited areas around the world who repudiate colonialism, caste and other derisive exploitation of oppressed peoples.
3. To those religious leaders and church groups for steps to eliminate conflicts and remove barriers which limit individuals in the realization of their maximum potentialities as full and useful citizens in a Democratic society.
4. To those members of the teaching profession whose herioc deeds and uncompromising resistance to coercion and intimidation have set good examples of sacrifice in the face of pressures and reprisals.
5. To those classroom teachers who have remained steadfast in their efforts to perform at high instructional levels despite survival-anxieties, limitations of academic and personal freedom and adverse working conditions.
6. To those state education associations and other teacher organizations which have opened membership and participation to ALL teachers.
7. To the Southern Education Foundation for stimulative contributions to the in-service professional improvement of educational leaders.
8. To such agencies as The Phelps-Stokes Fund, The Ford Foundation, The Kellogg Foundation, The Science Foundation and the National Scholarship Service for their sponsorship of significant improvement opportunities and to those educators who are accepting the responsibility for the identification and stimulation of students and teachers who might advantageously avail themselves of the opportunities being provided through these agencies.
9. To Thhe Association for the Study of Negro Life and History for its energetic effort to improve the level of human relations through the provision of historical materials and through the encouragement of study and instructional projects which will stimulate the mutual appreciation of all groups, races and nations.
10. To ATA for its project on "Education for Improved Human Relations" which has effected increased stimulation, interest, knowledge and skills in this area.
11. To the ATA Committee on "The Negro in School Encyclopedias" for its exploration of the availability and evaluation of the text-treatment of the Negro and for those associated plans to develop constructive suggestions of improved and additional materials for availability as teaching aids.

D. The American Teachers Association RECOMMENDS:

1. That local communities organize bi-racial committees, with proportional representation, which will work toward the reduction and elimination of racial tensions wherever they exist.
2. That a message be dispatched to the President of the United States to express the disappointment of ATA members over the elimination of the major provisions of Section 3 of the pending civil-rights legislation.
3. That continuing determined effort be made to advance salaries of teachers to levels that will be comparable with other professional and industrial incomes and that will make possible the retention of competent teachers as well as the attraction to the profession of persons of outstanding ability.
4. That all boards of education seek and/or continue to implement a policy of salary schedules that will have no differentials based on race, color or creed.
5. That there be continuing differential increases in state and local appropriations toward the goal of equalization of educational opportunity for all and without differentials because of rural-versus-urban or industrial-versus-non industrial areas.
6. That school boards and other policy making boards be staffed on the basis of competence and representation without discriminatory differences because of race.
7. That philanthropic foundations, institutions of higher education and local school systems seek to increase their services in promotion of an improved program of in-service education for teachers.
8. That teacher associations, schools, pupil groups and citizen groups give regular and increased financial support to The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History.
9. That all educators give membership support and associated participation-assistance to The American Teachers Association as one channel for the stimulation of a "working and living Democracy" in all areas of our community life.
10. That ATA continue its evolution of an expanded program for profesisonal development, teacher welfare, placement research, increased Field Service and increased size of membership.
11. That ATA accelerate implementation of provision for additional professional staff service in order to advance and to make more efffective the various programs and services of the organization.
12. That pertinent sections of these Declarations, Commendations and Recommendations be abstracted and dispatched to the thus-involved agencies and organizations.

ATA "Certificated" Life-Members Continue To Increase

In addition to its TWENTY THOUSAND annual members, ATA has AN ADDITIONAL THOUSAND life members.

The fee for life memberships is TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS. There is provision for installment-payment in annual minimum-amount of FIVE DOLLARS. The life-membership certificate and the life-membership card are issued AFTER the total payment has been completed. There are thus both "CERTIFICATED" and "INSTALLMENT-PAYMENT" life

Beginning nineteen years ago (1939-40) there was initiation of a "PERMANENT-FUND" project. All life-membership payments over the years have been segregated and preserved in a separate "interest-investment" account . . . for subsequent capital-outlay utilization in the evolving service-program of ATA.

There has been steady increase in the number of CERTISICATED (completed-payment) life members each year, as may be noted from the following exhibit:

9	1939-40	58	1949-50	51	1944-45	43	1954-55
8	1940-41	47	1950-51	40	1945-46	43	1955-56
12	1941-42	55	1951-52	39	1946-47	50	1956-57
2	1942-43	38	1952-53	78	1957-58	??	1957-58
18	1943-44	40	1953-54	44	1948-49		

There is now the customary special-solicitation in the convention-month of JULY to secure the current-year installment-payment, to encourage completion of payments for the life-membership certificate, and to seek additional NEW life members. Communications are thut being dispatched accordingly and response is thus awaited.

The names of the 50 certificated life members of the preceding ATA year of 1956-57 (the administration of Dr. Theodore R. Speigner) and the names of the 14 certificated life members thus far in the current ATA year of 1957-58 (the administration of Dr. Charles W. Orr) ar eherewith indicated. WE NOW SOLICIT THIRTY-SIX COMPLETION-PAYMENTS IN ORDER THAT THE 1957-18 CURRENT-YEAR RECORD WILL BE AS GOOD AS THAT OF THE 1956-57 PRECEDING YEAR.

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STATE DISTRIBUTION OF LIFE-MEMBERSHIP CERTIFICATES

STATE	1956-57	1957-58
1. Alabama	34	11
2. Florida	2	----
3. Georgia	3	----
4. Mississippi	2	----
5. New Rork	1	----
6. North Carolina	4	----
7. Ohio	----	1
8. South Carolina	3	1
9. Texas	1	1
	50	14

"THE MISSION OF YOUR ATA"

1. To ENLIST the interest and organizational participation of ALL teachers who have concern for the achievement of the two American objectives:
   "Equality of Educational Opportunity for EVERY Child"
   And
   "Equality of Professional Status for EVERY Teacher"
2. To PROVIDE another voice to the appeal for the elimination of discriminatory differentials in the provision and administration of compulsory universal education.
3. To DIRECT attention, through publication and consultation, to those circumstances, concepts and attitudes of RACE which limit the maximum development and utilization of the diverse range of our Human Resources upon which our American Civilization must depend for its preservation in our world of TODAY and of TOMORROW.
4. To CONSTITUTE a resource for discussion and counsel respecting those educational problems which persistently handicap the realization of a wholesome pattern of life.
5. To INITIATE programs and projects which will increase the availability and dissemination of basic educational materials relating to those children and their communities for which ATA members have most immediate service-obligation.
6. To SUPPORT and SUPPLEMENT those organizational resources which are dedicated to the accelerated evolution of democratic concepts and practices in education and in other aspects of life in America.
7. To MAINTAIN liason and to seek maximum participation-opportunity for ATA members with and in the wide range of teacher organizations.
8. To STIMULATE ATA membership to maximum pedagogical efficiency and to maximum professional stature.

"FIFTY" LIFE MEMBERSHIP CERTIFICATES IN 1596-57
(ATA President T. R. Speigner)

Note: The first certificate-number was No. 838. There were error-replacements as indicated.

No. 838 CANCELLED – See No. 839
No. 839 1. DR. I. B. BRYANT, Houston, Texas
No. 840 2. MR. LESLIE C. TAYLOR, Montrose, ALABAMA
No. 841 "HELD"
No. 842 3. MRS. ELSIE MAE JAMES, Phenix City, ALABAMA
No. 843 4. MRS. BERNICE PAYNE, Mobile, ALABAMA
No. 844 CANCELLED – See No. 854
No. 845 CANCELLED – See No. 851
No. 846 CANCELLED – See No. 849
No. 847 CANCELLED – See No. 852
No. 848 CANCELLED – See No. 861
No. 849 5. MR. SAMUEL B. ETHERIDGE, Mobile, ALABAMA
No. 850 CANCELLED – See No. 857
No. 851 6. MRS. LILA E. GUICE, Birmingham, ALABAMA
No. 852 7. MR. STEPHEN B. PRICE, Birmingham, ALABAMA
No. 853 CANCELLED – See No. 861
No. 854 8. MRS. SADIE BROWN LAWSON. LaFayette, ALABAMA
No. 855 9. MISS ADELLE McSWAIN, Ashford, ALABAMA
No. 856 10. MRS. MAUDE MILDRED JEFFERS, Gastonia, N. C.
No. 857 11. MISS GENEVA V. WESLEY, Atmore, ALABAMA
No. 858 12. MRS. VALENTINE JEFFERSON, Tuscaloosa, ALABAMA
No. 859 13. MR. ANTHONY S. BUTLER, Lisman, ALABAMA (ASTA)
No. 860 14. MR. THOMAS E. McFADDEN, Mobile, ALABAMA
No. 861 15. MRS. F. SMILEY BONNER, Prattville. ALABAMA
No. 862 16. MR. HENRY L. WILLIAMS, Thomasville, ALABAMA
No. 863 17. DR. REVA W. ALLMAN, Montgomery (ASC), ALABAMA
No. 864 18. MR. L. W. BONNER, Autaugaville, ALABAMA
No. 865 19. MRS. MINNIE A. NASH, Birmingham, ALABAMA
No. 866 20. DR. J. W. HOLLEY, Albany, Georgia
No. 867 21. MRS. MARY GRANT BROWN, Montgomery, ALABAMA
No. 868 22. MRS. BESSIE M. WASHINGTON, Anniston, Alabama
No. 869 23. MRS. EMMA M. SNOWDEN, Brooklyn, N. Y.
No. 870 CANCELLED – See No. 871
No. 871 24. MR. J. H. SPRIGGS, Laurel, Mississippi
No. 872 25. MRS. EMSIE D. COLVIN, Birmingham, ALABAMA
No. 873 26. MRS. ROSA LEWIS LOTT, Montgomery, ALABAMA
No. 874 27. MRS. LELIA T. McSPADDEN, Centreville, ALABAMA
No. 875 28. REV. ROBERT MILLER, Mobile, Alabama
No. 876 29. MRS. ZELMA H. BURNS. Brewton, ALABAMA
No. 877 30. MRS. MATTIE BEVERLY PAYNE, Savannah, Georgia
No. 878 31. MISS OLLIE V. ROSS, Mobile, ALABAMA
No. 879 32. REV. A. B. WILLIAMS, Selma, ALABAMA
No. 880 33. MR. JAMES EMERY, Montgomery, ALABAMA
No. 881 34. MR. H. MANNING EFFERSON, Tallahassee, Florida
No. 882 35. MRS. SYLVIA P. SWINTIN, Columbia, South Carolina
No. 883 36. MR. ABRAHAM L. MARTIN, Opelika, ALABAMA
No. 884 37. MRS. IRENE R. STRAUGHTER, Miami, Florida
No. 885 38. MR. JOHN W. GREGG, Piedmont, ALABAMA
No. 886 39. MR. LUCIUS T. BACOTE, Dublin, Georgia
No. 887 40. MRS. ARTHUR M. NORRIS, Montgomery, ALABAMA
No. 888 41. MRS. ESTELLA IRENE AVERY, Birmingham, ALABAMA
No. 889 42. MRS. ANNA S. JOHNSON, Mobile, ALABAMA
No. 890 43. MRS. MARIE F. MITCHELL, Mobile, ALABAMA
No. 891 44. MR. N. R. BURGER, Hattiesburg, Mississippi
No. 892 45. DR. HELEN G. EDMONDS, Durham, North Carolina
No. 893 46. DR. W. J. KENNEDY, JR., Durham, North Carolina
No. 894 47. MRS. CHALICE E. COLLIER, Greneville, South Carolina
No. 895 48. REV. W. H. NEAL, Columbia, South Carolina
No. 896 49. MR. THELAND JEFFERS, Gastonia, North Carolina
No. 897 50. MRS. MARIETTA HATCHER, Selma, ALABAMA

"FOURTEEN" LIFE-MEMBERSHIP CERTIFICATES IN 1957-58
(ATA President Charles W. Orr)

No. 898 1. MRS. ELIZABETH GAMBLE, Brundidge, ALABAMA
No. 899 2. MRS. ELIZA JOHNS, Daphne, ALABAMA
No. 900 3. MRS. J. M. SESSONS, Prichard, ALABAMA
No. 901 CANCELLED – See No. 905
No. 902 CANCELLED – See No. 904
No. 903 4. MRS. MINNIE T. LETT, Daphne, ALABAMA
No. 904 5. MR. CLINTON W. WILSON, Andalusia, ALABAMA
No. 905 6. MRS. JESSIE MAE GASTON, Gadsden, ALABAMA
No. 906 7. MRS. LUCRETIA B. MONTGOMERY, Daphne, ALA.
No. 907 8. DR. LELIA A. BRADBY, Aiken. South Carolina
No. 908 9. PRESIDENT REMBERT STOKES, Wilberforce, Ohio
No. 909 10. MRS. NANINA ALBA, Tuskegee Institute (ASC), ALA.
No. 910 11. MRS. ANNA RUTH THOMAS, LaFayette, ALABAMA
No. 911 12. MR. VERNON McDANIEL, Austin, Texas
No. 912 13. MRS. GUSSIE McMILLON, Dothan, ALABAMA
No. 913 14. MISS EUNICE TUCKER, Gosport, ALABAMA

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

FOUNDED IN 1904

TO PROMOTE AND TO IMPLEMENT THE FUNCTIONING—ACHIEVEMENT OF AMERICA'S OBJECTIVES:

"Equality of educational opportunity for every child; equality of professional status for every teacher."

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

P. O. Box 271, Montgomery, Alabama

July 2, 1958

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Councill
63 Auburn Avenue, Room 432
Atlanta, Georgia

IN RE: DR. FRED ROUTH
JULY 14th AT DAYTONA BEACH

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Upon my return to my office this morning, Dr. J. T. Brooks informed me of his conversation with you respecting the interest of the American Teachers Association in having the presence and the participation of Dr. Fred Routh at our Convention at Bethune-Cookman College in Daytona Beach on Monday, July 14.

I appreciate your indication of the hope that Dr. Routh would arrange to be with us there and your indication that you would seek to do the follow-up contact.

I now enclose both the Convention-announcement issue of the BULLETIN and the ATA Memorandum #36. From these two enclosures, Dr. Routh can note our statements respecting the convention-theme.

We are particularly anxious to have his assistance for a 15-20 minute contribution at the symposium on that Monday morning and his services as a consultant for the interest-group discussion that Monday afternoon for Topic H "Community Attitudes and Inter-Group Liason". We are seeking to give consideration to the difficult area of public opinion and our present circumstance of restriction and severance of channels of communication and discussion as suggested in 8-b of ATA Memorandum #36. We will now have additional advantage of the inclusion in the Convention-Program issue of the BULLETIN of a very stimulating address at the NEA-ATA Joint Committee session in Cleveland yesterday afternoon. We would look forward to the analysis which Dr. Routh would make with respect to the nature of the problem and the types of efforts which might be undertaken in varied ways and different communities. We would look forward to additional conversation-clearance with Dr. Routh after he is back in his office.

I am taking the liberty to list the name of Dr. Routh (with a question mark) on our tentative program which now has to be sent to our printer. I do hope that we may have stimulation of his informative contribution.

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
P. O. BOX 271
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

I asked Dr. Brooks also to indicate that we would be responsible for the travel expenses of Dr. Routh. we would anticipate that he might choose to take advantage of the convenience of plane-travel schedule.

Yours very truly,

H. Councill Trenholm

HCT:hed

Enclosures

cc: Dr. J. T. Brooks
Dr. C. W. Orr

Please return for files F. S.

July 7, 1958

Dr. H. Council Trenholm, President
Alabama State College
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Dr. Trenholm:

We have been in touch with Mr. Routh and I am happy to report that he will be able to be in Daytona Beach on Monday, July 14.

As plans now stand, we will arrange a plane schedule which will allow Mr. Routh to spend all of Monday, including Monday evening, at the Convention.

Mr. Routh has asked that I express to you his appreciation at being asked to join the members of the American Teachers Association at their annual convention.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Administrative Assistant

PA:ls
Carbon copy to Dr. J. T. Brooks

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

FOUNDED IN 1904

TO PROMOTE AND TO IMPLEMENT THE FUNCTIONING—ACHIEVEMENT OF AMERICA'S OBJECTIVES:

"Equality of educational opportunity for every child; equality of professional status for every teacher."

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

P. O. Box 271, Montgomery, Alabama

July 9, 1958

Mr. Paul Anthony, Administrative Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Incorporated
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

IN RE: DR. FREDERICK B. ROUTH
JULY 14 AT DAYTONA BEACH

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I appreciate receipt of your letter in which you indicate that Dr. Frederick B. Routh may be expected for the requested program participation at Daytona Beach on next Monday. I note that his plane schedule will permit him to share the entire day (Monday) there also Monday evening for the banquet session. We will anticipate accordingly and will also desire to facilitate in every possible way the associated conveniences for him. I am sending a copy of this letter to Dr. Richard V. Moore, President of Bethune-Cookman College. I will reach Daytona Beach at 11:00 on Saturday morning and will thus be available for the concluding follow-up clearances.

Yours very truly,

H. Councill Trenholm

HCT:hed

cc: Dr. J. T. Brooks
Dr. R. V. Moore
Dr. C. W. Orr

HCF Fyi - this was the group we met with at Daytona Beach FBR

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION
THE 55th (1958) CONVENTION

No. 2 THE ATA CONVENTION-REPORTER July 14, 1958

LANIER KEYNOTES CONVENTION

Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier, Special Consultant with the Phelps-Stokes Fund, completely enraptured his audience with a spell binding discourse on "The Impact of Color in a World Crisis." The occasion was the second general session program of the 55th Convention held at 7:30 Sunday evening in Moore Gymnasium. Presiding was Dr. I. T. Brooks, Region II Vice President.

"The History of Civilization is a race between Education and Castastrophe," said Dr. Lanier. "This is not the first time, nor the last, when the world was divided into opposing camps, ideologies, and different philosophies. Today, the battle lines are clear: Democracy vs Totalitarianism; Reason, Love and Sympathy vs primacy of irrational will; struggle and competition vs survivial and cooperation.

"The World will not survive half oxcart and half cadillac. The vise of Communism is but an outward manifestation of the world revolution now in progress - a revolution of the "have-nots", not so much against the haves, as against their own lot in life.

Lanier asserted that the battleground of freedom and democracy lies in the uncommitted parts of the world - where color is king! Now is the time to break unbalanced and unnatural economic relationships and substitute another relationship based on equality.

Also appearing on the program was Dr. John A. Vander Waal, Head of the Department of Religion and Philosophy, Bethune-Cookman College, who lead the responsive readings and gave the invocation. After a selection by the host College Choir under the direction of Dr. William D. Wheeler, Jr., the following persons brought greetings to the convention:

Mr. James E. Huger, in behalf of Bethune-Cookman College; in behalf of the City of Daytone Beach, Major J. Hart Long; Superintendent John T. Smiley in behalf of the Volusia County Board of Instructors; Dr. Royal Puryear in behalf of the Florida Council of College Presidents; Dr. Gilbert Porter in behalf of the Florida State Teachers Association.

In response to all of these greetings, ATA President, Dr. Charles W. Orr stated that: "The American Teachers Association acknowledges with sincere appreciation the expressions extended to us. To appraise one must be always mindful of the means and ends. Our end is to give to America happy, healhy children who are

KEYNOTE .... Cont'd.

mentally strong and unafraid to face conditions that their parents are creating. In ATA, this can be accomplished. Thank you Florida, Bethune-Cookman College, and Datona Beach for giving us the opportunity to confer, to plan, to resolve issues, and to think about appraising our circumstances in 1958.

RECEPTION HELD

On Sunday evening, following the general session program, the delegates of the 55th convention were feted lavishly by the host college in Faith Dining Hall. The guest were greeted at the entrance by a recieving line comprising President and Mrs Richard V. Moore, ATA President Charles W. Orr, Keynote Speaker Dr. R. O'Hara Lanier, Regional Vice President Dr. J. T. Brooks, and other ATA dignitaries. A succulent and beautifully prepared buffet was satiatingly enjoyed by the appreciative delegates.

274 REGISTERED THROUGH MONDAY P M

As of 5 P. M. Monday afternoon, 274 delegates were registered for the 55th convention of ATA. The distribution by states are as follows:

Alabama	87
Arkansas	3
District of Columbia	5
Florida	61
Georgia	22
Louisanna	2
Maryland	4
Mississippi	8
New Jersey	1
New York	4
North Carolina	5
Pennsylvania	3
South Carolina	33
Tennessee	14
Texas	1
Virginia	20
West Virginia	1

THE SIX CONVENTION COMMITTEES

The six convention committees which meet and serve during the convention preliminary to their report at the 2:00 session on Tuesday afternoon are herewith listed:

THE COMMITTEE ON APPRECIATION: Mr. John R. Harper, Chr., Mrs. Minnie Chambliss, Mr. W. E. Deavers, Mrs. Alberta Despott, Mrs. Emma P. Kelly, Mrs. J. Beatrice

Owens, Miss Regina Brown, Mrs. Christine Lewis, Mr. E. J. Bonaparte, Mrs. Mattie L. Shippen, Miss Solar M. Carethers; THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS: Mr. R. J. Martin, Chr., Mr. Elmer Hawkins, Sec., Mr. Lucius Bacote, Dr. John W. Davis, Dr. J. F. Drake, Rev. L. H. Pitts, Mr. Monroe Senter, Mr. T.D. Upshaw; THE COMMITTEE ON LEGISLATION: Mr. G. W. Brooks, Chr., Mr. Lucius Bacote, Dr. J. T. Brooks, Mr. N. R. Burger, Miss Mary L. Williams; THE COMMITTEE ON AUDIT: Mr. W. J. Moore, Chr., Mrs. Lavinia Banks, Mrs. Minnie D. Bell, Miss H. Elizabeth Brown, Dr. J. H. Taylor; THE COMMITTEE ON TIME AND PLACE: Mr. O. A. Payne, Chr., Mr. W. F. Colbert, Mr. S. W. Curtis, Mrs. Aretha Davis, Dr. J. G. Hardy, Mr. Clinton Young; THE COMMITTEE ON ELECTIONS: Mrs. Bessie Estell, Chr., Mr. Alexander Boykins, Mr. A. L. Coney, Mr. R. W. Strange, Miss Ethel Wiley.

CONVENTIONS DISCUSSION GROUPS ORGANIZED

The Nine Interest Area Discussion Groups were formally organized for sessions on Monday afternoon. Group leaders, recorders, and consultants were distributed as f follows: Group A: Chairman: Dr. Reva W. Allman and Dr. Leander Shaw, Recorders: Mr. O. A. Payne, Dean E. J. Gransberry and Dr. G. T. Wiggins, Consultants: Dr. John W. Davis, Dr. J. F. Drake and Dr. W. K. Payne; Group B: Chairmen: Dr. T.A. Love, Dr. Paul Decker, Recorders: Mr. I. E. Washington, Miss Elizabeth Cooperwood, Consultants: Dr. J. Rupert Piegtt, Dr. Carol Hayes; Group C: Chairmen: Mrs. Irma Thompson, Mr. E. N. Wicker, Recorders: Miss M. Louise Allen, Mrs. Celeste DeCloux, Consultants: Dr. E. Paul Jones, Mrs. Alice C. Gaines; Group D: Chairmen: Mr. L. C. Bland, Mr. H. W. Lee, Recorders: Miss C. Russell, Mrs. Helen Gowdy, Consultants: Mr, Elzy Hunter, Mr. Isaac Goodrich; Group E: Chairmen: Mr. E. P. Caruthers, Mr. Samuel Eldridge, Recorders: Mr. E. S. Peoples, Mr. Price Jackson; Group F: Chairmen: Mr. Elisha James, Dr. W. A. Wheeler, Recorders: Mr. S. O. Cohen, Miss Clalice Collier, Consultants: Mr. Frederick Brown; Group G: Chairmen: Mr. David Byrd, Dr. Dwight Hoover, Recorders: Mr. Charles L. Butler, Mrs. Alberta T. Grimes, Consultants: Dr. Frederick Routh, Mr. W. E. Solomon; Group H: Chairmen: Dr. Vernon McDaniel, Mrs. Florence Small, Recorders: Mrs. W. L. Johns, Mrs. Eliza McDaniel, Consultants: Dr. Herman Long; Group I: Chairmen: Dr. Lelia T. Bradby, Dr. W. L. Green, Recorders: Mrs. Mabel Crooks, Dr. J. Garrick Hardy, Consultants: Mr. J. K. Haynes, Rev. L. H. Pitts.

FROM ATA-ASNLH HEADQUARTERS

(Report on "Project One Thousand")
Purchases made as of 4:00 P.M. Monday

NEW SUBSCRIBERS TO ATA PROJECT "ONE THOUSANDS"

GROUP A: 9 Elementary Titles @ $6.00 per group
Dr. Charles W. Orr, Mrs. Maybelle M. Green, Miss Elethia M. Macbeth, Mrs. Mabel J. Hurston, Mrs. Gussie McMillon, Mr. Joseph D. Murray

GROUP B: 8-High School Titles @ $9.00 per group
Mrs. Carrie Jones, Dr. C. W. Orr, Mrs. Carrie Michine, Mr. M. D. Senter, Mrs. Mabel J. Hurston and Mr. Joseph Murray

ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS - ATTENTION
Mrs. Maggie E. Honor

TAKE ADVANTAGE OF OUR SPECIAL MEMBERSHIP BARGINS! JOIN THE ASNLH DURING JULY AND AUGUST AND RECEIVE FOUR (4) ISSUES OF THE NEGRO HISTORY BULLETIN FREE (Oct, 1958 - Jan. 1959). Membership Fee $1.00

NEW MEMBERS NEW MEMBERS
Dr. C. W. Orr
Dr. W. A. McMillan
Miss Hattie M. Tolbert
Mr. M. D. Senter
Mrs. L. P. Boddie

NEW SUBSCRIBER TO BULLETIN AND JOURNAL
Mrs. Catherine N. Johnson

Purchasers of the Journal of Negro History
Mr. R. J. Martin

July 16, 1958

Dr. Gilbert Porter
P. O. Box 211
Tallahassee, Florida

Dear Gilbert:

It was good to be with you at the ATA annual convention in Daytona Beach. We here are all impressed, as I told you, with the speech of Rembert Patrick. We would like an additional twenty-five copies for distribution to key people in the South.

You will recall that I promised to send you the address of the man with CCD, and asked that you send him one hundred (100) copies for distribution to key agency personnel throughout the nation. Here is his address:

Mr. Arnold Aronson
Secretary, CCD
9 East 38th Street
New York 16, New York

I thought the ATA convention was stimulating and important. I was glad to have a small part in it.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls
c. c. Arnold Aronson

July 18, 1958

Mr. Arthur Dye, Jr.
1641 Providence Road
Charlotte, North Carolina

Dear Arthur Dye:

Frankly I am at a loss as to a suggestion for employment possibilities for you. Your interest and qualifications have been thoroughly considered by those of us here at the Council; we would like to see you well-placed, but cannot come up with a specific suggestion at this time. The reason you have not heard from me sooner is that for a period of about two weeks it looked as if the Virginia Council might work out an arrangement whereby they could use a younger man working closely with their top policy people.

Bill Williams of the Florida Council on Human Relations may still be looking for someone to serve as an intern in his program. I had thought this slot was already filled. A letter to him would be in order; if you would like copies of the letters I have received from Clyde Barrington, Courtney Siceloff, and Morris Mitchell sent to him I would be glad to do this on word from you.

It is with real regret that we face the fact that we can turn up so few opportunities for someone who is ready to go to work. We will continue to keep you in mind, and you will be notified of any possibilities that come to our attention. You have our every good wish in your efforts to find satisfactory placement.

Sincerely,

Emory F. Via
Labor Consultant

EFV:ls

Mr. William K. Williams, Executive Director
Florida Council on Human Relations
213 N. E. Second Avenue
Miami 32, Florida

July 18, 1958

Dr. H. Councill Trenholm
American Teachers Association
P. O. Box 271
Montgomery, Alabama

Dear Dr. Trenholm:

Many thanks for your letter of July 16 with a check for my travel expenses to the Daytona Beach meeting of the ATA.

It was a decided pleasure to be with you and the other members of the association. I was impressed with their seriousness of purpose, their alert attention to discussions, and their quiet determination to be a force for progress in these critical times.

Thank you for your kind words about my participation.

All good regards.

Cordially,

Frederick B. Routh
Assistant Director

FBR:ls

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION

FOUNDED IN 1904

TO PROMOTE AND TO IMPLEMENT THE FUNCTIONING—ACHIEVEMENT OF AMERICA'S OBJECTIVES:

"Equality of educational opportunity for every child; equality of professional status for every teacher."

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

P. O. Box 271, Montgomery, Alabama

July 16, 1958

Dr. Fred Routh
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia

IN RE: ATA CHECK NO. 96 - $82.00

Dear Dr. Routh:

I herewith enclose Check No. 96 in the amount of $82 which has been executed as reimbursement for your submitted travel expense incident to your trip to Daytona Beach to serve on the program of ATA this past Monday morning.

As I indicated in our very brief conversation, we are most grateful for your gracious response to our request for your assistance at the Convention. There were quite recurrent comments of enthusiastic appreciation for the value and inspiration associated with that Monday morning program. We will follow through published report and associated follow-up.

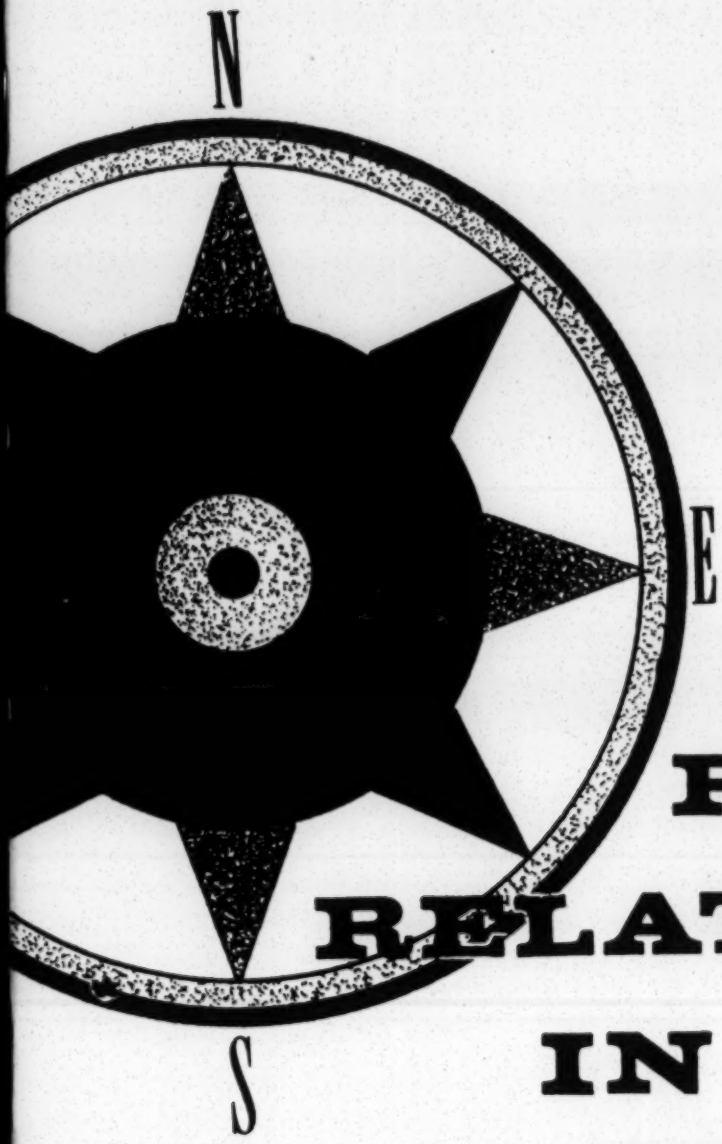
Pleased to look forward always to any contribution which can be made to your efforts, I am

Yours very truly,

H. Councill Trenholm

HCT:hed
Enclosure - Check
cc: Dr. C. W. Orr
Dr. W. N. Ridley

File Copy [redacted]



RACE RELATIONS IN THE SOUTH

THE

AMERICAN

TEACHERS

ASSOCIATION

Formerly

The National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools

Founded in 1905

1945-46

PRESIDENT ..... Mr. Walter N. Ridley, Ettrick, Virginia
VICE PRESIDENT ..... Miss Lucie E. Campbell, Memphis, Tennessee
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY... Dr. H. Councill Trenholm, Montgomery, Alabama
TREASURER ..... Dr. Howard H. Long, Washington, D. C.

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Mr. Joseph T. Brooks, Montgomery, Alabama
Mrs. Janie G. Douglass, Union, South Carolina
Mr. E. Champ Warrick, Wilberforce, Ohio
Mr. J. Stanley James, Millsboro, Delaware
Dr. G. Lamar Harrison, Langston, Oklahoma

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Dr. Horace Mann Bond, Lincoln University, Pennsylvania
Dr. Miles W. Connor, Baltimore, Maryland

ELECTED MEMBERS OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:
Mr. C. L. Harper, Atlanta, Georgia
Dr. George W. Gore, Jr., Nashville, Tennessee

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION OPERATES:

Through ANNUAL members who pay an annual fee of one dollar

Through LIFE members who pay a fee of twenty-five dollars

Through affiliated state associations who make an annual contribution of at least twenty-five dollars

Through affiliated national, district and local associations who make an annual contribution of at least five dollars

Through a Delegate Assembly composed of life members, of representatives of each affiliated organization and of one delegate for each twenty-five ATA members in the respective state for the preceding year.

Through a corps of six regional vice presidents, state directors for each state, two lay members of the executive committee, six members of the Board of Trustees and four general national officers

Through a non-salaried volunteer Executive Secretary and other associated non-salaried officers

Through cooperative solicitation of memberships by state, district and local associations, by Jeanes teachers and school principals, and by interested members

Through an increasing number of counties and schools whose teachers become 100% in their affiliation in their local, state and national professional organizations

****

1945 ..... 7206 annual members and 241 life members

1946 GOAL ..... 12,500 annual members and 350 life members

Ranking states in 1945: (Partially-paid life memberships in parenthesis)

	ANNUAL	LIFE		ANNUAL	LIFE
ALABAMA	2281	27 (4)	TEXAS	272	6 (1)
VIRGINIA	687	7 (2)	ARKANSAS	207	7 (10)
MARYLAND	561	9	GEORGIA	196	9 (4)
W. VIRGINIA	506	14 (3)	MISSISSIPPI	189	8 (1)
DIS. OF COL.	461	19 (2)	S. CAROLINA	142	3 (2)
FLORIDA	460	3 (7)	KENTUCKY	142	6 (1)
N. CAROLINA	321	12 (1)	OKLAHOMA	105	3
TENNESSEE	316	13 (20)	NEW JERSEY	90	3

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION ACTIVITIES INCLUDE:

Conduct of an annual professional national convention each summer usually within the last ten days of the month of July.

Conduct of regional conventions annually in most of the six regions on dates and at places convenient to the membership of each respective region

Participation as a constituent member of The American Council on Education in the deliberations respecting basic educational policies and programs of nationwide progress for education in America

Participation with the National Education Association through a Joint NEA-ATA Committee, composed of five representatives of each organization, which meets each fall at the NEA headquarters in Washington and which undertakes activities designed to achieve better provisions for Negro children and Negro teachers in textbooks, in films and radio in intercultural education projects, and in stimulation of cooperative full participation of Negroes in the educational affairs of the nation.

Participation in the Institute for Education by Radio held each spring at Columbus, Ohio

Participation in the programs of the Association of Rural Life Activities

Participation in all national cooperative projects designed to improve the status of the Negro

Participation in the programs of national, state and district professional organizations

Contribution of ONE TENTH of its income from annual memberships to the NAACP Legal Defense Educational Fund

Reservation of all income from life membership payments in a special fund for permanent expansion ... with the funds at present being converted into U.S. War Bonds

Publication of a professional magazine known as THE BULLETIN with one annual directory issue of national and state professional organizations.

Publication of special research studies such as THE BLACK AND WHITE OF REJECTIONS FOR MILITARY SERVICE.

THE AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION ADVOCATES:

FULL EQUALITY OF EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL CHILDREN without regard to race, sex, economic circumstance or place of residence

FULL EQUALITY in provision of length of terms, of school buildings and instructional equipment, of transportation and associated services and of qualifications and salaries of teachers.

SUPPORT of efforts through appeal and persuasion, through legislation and through court action to secure for all citizens and youth the benefits envisioned in the American ideal of "Equality of Educational Opportunity"

FULL participation of ALL teachers (without restriction or discouragement because of race) in the membership, in the programs and in the leadership participation of the respective professional organizations

FEDERAL participation in the support of public education with equality in apportionment of such funds to schools separated on a racial basis

FULL PARTICIPATION of ALL citizens in the various activities necessary for Liberty, Life and the Pursuit of Happiness

ELIMINATION of restrictions and discrimination in voting, in employment and in the administration of civil justice

EFFECTIVE cooperation and articulation between professional organizations on the national level, on the state level and on the local level

STIMULATION of the program of unified membership of all teachers in their local, district, state and national professional organizations

SUPPORT of the Joint NEA-ATA program of membership appeal for Negro teachers to widen their membership in professional organizations to include, IN ORDER, their LOCAL organization, their STATE organization, the AMERICAN TEACHERS ASSOCIATION, and the NATIONAL EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

WIDENING of the pattern of joint membership solicitation by local, state and national professional organizations; with counties and schools encouraged to affiliate 100% ... as now effectively used in the states of Alabama, Virginia, Maryland, West Virginia, the District of Columbia and begun in some counties in North Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Georgia, Mississippi, Kentucky, New Jersey, Delaware, and Missouri.

RECEIVED
MAR 21 1954
Southern Regional Council

March 18, 1954

The Committee on Community Projects
157 W. 13th Street
New York 11, N.Y.

Sirs:

In the latter part of December, this past year, the Atlanta Area Chapter of the American Veterans Committee submitted to your committee for entry in the national contest on community projects a detailed plan for integration of foreign students into the Atlanta community. Since we have received no word as to the progress of the judging we are, of course, anxious to learn whether our project is still in the running for one of the top awards. We feel that this monetary support would help make possible an activity of great value to the Atlanta community.

An early reply advising of the status of the contest would be greatly appreciated.

Very sincerely yours,

copy to Mr. George S. Mitchell
on request of Dr. A.A. Weinstein

Morris A. Gordon
Secretary
Atlanta Area Chapter

Harold

COPY

The National Association of Foreign Student Advisers

New York University, 15 Washington Mews, New York 3, N.Y.

October 29, 1954

Mr. Andrew E. Rice
Executive Director
American Veterans Committee
1751 New Hampshire Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. Rice:

I apologize for not answering your communication of October 8 enclosing the proposed community project of the Atlanta Chapter of the American Veterans Committee. I have been away from my office a good deal and a quick glance at the proposed community project convinced me that it needed very careful reading.

I am very much interested in the proposed community project. As I read, I noted some comments in the margin and I would like as I dictate just to comment upon aspects of the report.

1. I am wondering why the students from the Extension School of the University of Georgia are not available to the Atlanta Chapter. You know, I believe that I am also the General Secretary of the Committee on Friendly Relations among Foreign Students. I believe that we could make such a list of students available to you. If this would be helpful, let me know.

2. It is my belief that international students cannot actually achieve their educational objective unless community resources are utilized to supplement educational interests and objectives. The argument that institutions in the city of Atlanta are essential to the program is entirely correct.

3. I compliment the Atlanta Chapter on its forward inter-racial program, in its genius in planning such a program with full consideration of the realities of local segregation laws.

4. I would have some questions as to the effectiveness of four major meetings with nationally recognized personages. It is my own feeling that smaller meetings and the field trips far outweigh major meetings in importance. In the same manner on the proposed budget, I would say that $2,000 for the major meetings might better be distributed through the twenty minor meetings, the field trips, and the clerical services.

I do not know when I am likely to be in the South because I am planning a trip to the Near and Middle East shortly after the end of the New Year. However, I would like very much to have the opportunity to meet the Atlanta Chapter of the American Veterans Committee I hope sometime this present academic year. I do get into Washington frequently, and I hope that I may have the pleasure of meeting and talking with you.

You will recognize, I am sure, that in my capacity as President of the National Association of Foreign Students Advisers or the General Secretary of the committee on Friendly Relations among students I have nothing to do with the program of the Williamsburg meetings. I will, however, be present in Williamsburg. I am sure that Mr. James Kline of the Institute office in Washington will make the necessary arrangements for you for consideration of this plan at the Williamsburg meetings.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ J. Benjamin Schmoker
President

COPY

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
NATIONAL OFFICES
1751 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W.
WASHINGTON 9, D. C.

November 16, 1954

Mr. Robert A. Thompson
239 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Bob:

The committee for Ten Million is underway. Frankly, they look suspicious to me and I would like us to get a line on them as quickly as possible. We ought to find out the background of as many of them as we can and then see what it adds up to.

Would you try to find out all you can about EDMUND C. ARMES of Birmingham, Ala., Mrs. LOLA LEE BRUINGTON of Pensacola, Fla., Chairman of the Defense Committee of the Daughters of the American Revolution, WILLIAM H. HOOVER of Birmingham, PAUL A. REDMOND of Birmingham, DR. WELBORN REYNOLDS Of Marietta, Ga., DR. DAVID F. SELLERS of Mobile, Ala., ROSCOE F. SMITH of McKenzie, Tenn., and LANDON THOMAS of Augusta, Georgia, and send the information back to me as quickly as possible.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Mickey Levine

If you have information about any of the above named persons please let me know or write directly to Mickey Levine.

Thanks

Bob

B ob Thompson

440

AVC AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE INCORPORATED

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS 1828 JEFFERSON PLACE, N.W. • WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • EXECUTIVE 3-1477

To Achieve a More Democratic and Prosperous America and a More Stable World

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Vice-Chairman

Andrew E. Rice
Executive Director

Samuel Tappis
Administrative Director

Phineas Indritz
National Counsel

March 23, 1955

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Harold :

This is just a note of appreciation for your prompt response to my request for data on local school financing problems. The clipping does tell the sad story well and it will be very useful to us. Thanks to you and to the Atlanta Chapter.

Best regards,

Andy Rice

Andrew E. Rice
Executive Director

cc: John Glustron

Affiliated with
World Veterans Federation

AVC National Corporate Offices, 110 West 42nd Street, New York 36, N. Y.

VIA AIR MAIL April 1, 1958

Mr. Kenneth M. Birkhead
Executive Director
American Veterans Committee
1830 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Ken:

Enclosed are thermofax copies of a few items bearing on Legion-segregationist relations. You probably know of the several incidents covered, but these clippings may add a detail or two.

You will see that one of the enclosures is a reproduction of the WCC's monthly paper reprinting The Firing Line's smear of the Southern Regional Council. This issue of The Firing Line has been reproduced and distributed in some quantity by the Georgia Education Commission, the official state agency for segregationist propaganda. So that you can see how ill-based the smear is, I'm also sending along our analysis of it.

You probably know that The Firing Line has also run an article or two of the same sort attacking the NAACP. If you don't have this and need it, we could probably turn it up with a little effort.

The picture of Faubus receiving the Legion award was a real hair-curler. We'll be looking forward with interest to the results of your current study.

All best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures

P.S. I've been itching to get to Washington for sometime now. If I make it, I'll be seeing you.

H.C.F.

Encls: 9 Thermofaxed clips bearing Legion-segregationist relations.

1 Copy of Firing Line Analysis

440

Rec'd 3/21/58

AVC

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE

NATIONAL OFFICES • 1630 JEFFERSON PLACE, N.W. • WASHINGTON 6, D.C. • EXECUTIVE 3-1477

To Achieve a More Democratic and Prosperous America and a More Stable World

"CITIZENS FIRST, VETERANS SECOND"

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Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
The Most Rev. Bernard J. Sheil
Harry S. Truman

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National Service Officer

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Shanley N. Egeth*
Vice-Chairman

Kenneth M. Birkhead
Executive Director

March 19, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

We are doing a study of how the American Legion has cooperated with, been used by and associated with the White Citizens Councils and other hate groups in the South. We are having a very difficult time getting much information on this and it occurs to me that you might have some knowledge of this. We would very much appreciate your advice and counsel on the subject. Do you have any information or know where and how we could get information of such activities? We will be most grateful for your suggestions.

With every good personal wish.

Sincerely,

Ken

Kenneth M. Birkhead

P.S. Any chance that you'll be coming to Washington in the near future?

15th Anniversary Convention, Apr. 24-27

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE

THE AVC BULLETIN

TO ACHIEVE A MORE DEMOCRATIC AND PROSPEROUS AMERICA AND A MORE STABLE WORLD

Vol. 13, No. 2 • "Citizens First, Veterans Second" • February, 1958

HAROLD C FLEMING
2892 BRIDGEMORE RD N W
ATLANTA GA
276-47

Legion Award To Faubus

Convention Announcement

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MALs who plan to attend the Convention, April 24-27, and desire MAL Proxy Votes should transmit the form printed on Page 4 of this issue of the BULLETIN to AVC National Headquarters so that their name may be on the proxy list.

National Leaders At Convention

NEW YORK, N. Y.—Nearly a score of national leaders from Congress, government and leading organizations will be at AVC's 15th Anniversary Convention, April 24-27, the Convention Committee headed by former National Chair-

Levine

AVC Board Acts On The Recession, Vets Affairs

CHICAGO, ILL.—AVC's National Board took action in three major areas in its quarterly meeting here.

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Legion Award To Faubus

LITTLE ROCK, ARK.—Last month this same space in the BULLETIN displayed a picture showing the nine Negro pupils at Central High School here receiving AVC's Americanism Award from National Chairman William R. Ming, Jr., and Americanism Chairman Chat Paterson.

This month this space displays a copy of a photograph showing the presentation of another Americanism Award given one day before AVC's. This Award, given by the American Legion, goes to Gov. Orville Faubus, second from the left. Also shown are, extreme left, Erie Cocke, Jr., former National Commander of the Legion who made the presentation to Faubus, and, to the right of Faubus, National Legion Vice Commander Harry Miller of Fayetteville, W. Va., and Dr. Garland Murphy, Little Rock.

The BULLETIN is convinced that these two photographs rank near the top of the reasons why AVC, celebrating its 15th anniversary, has achieved a unique place among veterans organizations and has proved its worth in the struggle for a "More Democratic and Prosperous America and a More Stable World." Happily we can report that we have the enthusiastic applause of members throughout the nation as evidenced by a few samples of their response reproduced on Page 2.

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Levine

Already commitments have been received from several members of Congress to be at the Convention and other plans for additional figures from Washington are being developed daily, Mauldin and Levine announced.

Mauldin

Among the national dignitaries to be at the Convention will be many who have formerly held high positions in AVC and thus will not only be able to speak to the delegates and guests on matters of importance to the nation but will be able to relate their views to the continuing program of AVC.

The Convention Committee states that the announcement of the full list of the leaders who will be at the Convention will be made in a few days and all Chapters and delegates and those attending the Convention will be informed as soon as all of the final plans are completed. The next issue of the BULLETIN will carry a full story on those who will attend the Convention and participate in its deliberations.

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On veterans affairs the Board called for a big reduction in non-essential spending for veterans programs with the money saved to be used for expanding Federal assistance to education, health and other vitally needed social welfare activities. A text of this statement which received nationwide press association and radio and TV coverage also appears on Page 3 of the BULLETIN.

In other action the Board began a sweeping study of international affairs, discussing the Rockefeller Report, the Gaither Report and other recent studies on American foreign policy. AVC International Affairs Commission Chairman Bernard J. Cogan declared: "The work begun by the Board and carried on by the Chapters and members leading up to the April Convention will keep AVC in the leadership in this vital area.

The Board also adopted an AVC study on the Status of Forces Agreements, set plans to call upon the nation's governors to again declare a "Servicemen's Voting Week," and developed final plans for the April Convention.

The Board was heartened by reports for the Administrative Department headed by Sam Tappis of New York that 1958 membership was running well ahead of 1957 and that overall support of AVC was also surpassing 1957.

Washington Site Of Many National Conferences

WASHINGTON D. C.—Many of the nation's and the world's problems may not be closer to solution because of the inactivity of the government here, but this city has never been busier with meetings, conferences, and dinners. AVC is lending its support and sponsorship to many of these activities.

Already on the schedule are:

Birkhead Chairs

February 25-26—Conference on Foreign Aid with the White House, Congress and national organizations participating. AVC Executive Director Kenneth M. Birkhead will chair one of the special workshop sessions.

Birkhead

March 6-7—10th Annual Conference of the National Civil Liberties Clearing House. AVC is a sponsoring organization and Birkhead, Clearing House Vice Chairman for Civil Liberties, will chair a panel on "Individual Freedom and the Common Defense" introducing John A. Johnson, General Counsel of the Department of the Air Force, Walter Millis, the historian and author, and Dr. Harrison Scott of the California Institute of Technology.

March 10-12 — National Workshop for Religious Liberals. Birkhead will participate in a panel on Housing. Other participants in the Workshop include Herblock, Senators Paul Douglas, Richard Neuberger, Joseph Clark, Jacob K. Javits, and Hubert Humphrey, Director of the Bureau of the Budget Percival Brundage, Marquis Childs, and Paul Blanshard.

AVC Dinner

March 14—Washington AVC Chapter's 10th Annual Bill of Rights Award Dinner. Honorees include Senator Paul Douglas, Angier Biddle Duke, President of the International Rescue Committee, Morris Milgram, famed builder of open-occupancy housing projects, and David Scull, who is often referred to as the "conscience of the decent people of Virginia who are fighting against the segregationists and racists of that state."

AVC To Support Reciprocal Trade

WASHINGTON, D. C.—AVC will join an impressive array of national leaders and organizations when it presents its views on the reciprocal trade program on March 19th to the Congress.

A staunch supporter of the principles of reciprocal trade since its inception, AVC will call for a five-year extension of the trade act and also for government assistance for those few industries who are hard hit by the competition of foreign trade.

AVC has worked closely with the Committee for a National Trade Policy which has spearheaded the liberal trade proponents' efforts on Capitol Hill. The organization participated this month in an educational program on the reciprocal

(See TRADE, Page 2)

AVC Joins In Action On Mallory Case

WASHINGTON, D. C.—AVC joined six other national organizations in an action supporting civil liberties this month.

In a letter to a Special House Judiciary Subcommittee Congress was urged not to override the Supreme Court ruling in the Mallory case. The organizations stated that such a reversal "would be tantamount to a congressional declaration of support for illegal police action" and a reversal of the "trend of the past several hundred years away from convictions out of the mouths of the accused."

The other organizations signing the letter were: ADA, ACLU, Friends Committee on National Legislation, UAW, IUE, and the Workers Defense League.

Citing Bar Association studies which "leave no doubt that indigent and ignorant defendants in the federal courts are daily being denied their constitutional and statutory rights in the course of criminal proceedings against them," the organizations' letter urged the Judiciary Subcommittee "to address itself to these problems and not devote its energies to eliminating one of the most vital safeguards of the rights of all of us as free men."

The AVC Bulletin

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(Affiliated with the World Veterans Federation)

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AVC's 15th Anniversary Convention, April 24-27, can well be the most important Convention in AVC's history. It must not be a Convention of meaningless phrases and platforms covering the waterfront and yet grappling with no problem.

The answer that most conventions bring forth today is, if we're worried about Sputniks, let's build more Sputniks. The answer to the threat of Russian military strength seems to be to build bigger guns and planes than the Russians. The answer to economic difficulties at home seems to be to pump a little more money into the economy

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Some Responses To Little Rock Action

Following are a few of the many responses AVC has received from people throughout the nation after the announcement last month that almost at the same moment AVC was presenting its Americanism Award to the nine Negro pupils at Little Rock's Central High School, the American Legion was presenting its Americanism Award to Gov. Orville Faubus.

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If the AVC award to the nine Little Rock pupils was the only action ever taken by AVC, it would more than justify all dues ever paid, past, present and future.

Leonard S. Zubrensky
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Gilt-Edged Investment

A good day for a good job! Herewith $10 for 1958. Financially I can't afford it; morally it's a gilt-edged investment.

My congratulations to all of you who had any part in recognizing the nine heroes and heroines at Little Rock. That's real, fighting Democracy.

As ACLU quoted Edmund Burke, "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing." I'm humbly grateful to have any part in an outfit which is doing something—for the good of all.

George T. Beck
Cody, Wyoming

Commands Respect

Column X

At Cleveland AVC's last meeting, views were exchanged on the nation's economy and "how it got that way" . . . In an unusual celebration of AVC's Fifteenth Anniversary, the Freedom Chapter held a theatre party and saw Machiavelli's "The Love Apple" . . . Former National Chairman Chat Paterson talks to the chapter at its next meeting on his visit to Little Rock in company with AVC Chairman Bob Ming to present the AVC Americanism Awards to the nine Negro school children at Central High School . . . Cleveland AVCers are going all out to aid the International Student Trust Fund which has supported four Japanese boys in college here. Anyone desiring to help the Chapter keep the boys in school should address the AVC National office or the Freedom Chapter at 11125 Magnolia Drive in Cleveland . . . A plethora of Cleveland AVCers running for publicoffice—Chat Peterson trying again against Mrs. Bolton for Congress; Steve Young, who will make a bid for Senator Bricker's seat; Shelton Schecter running for State Legislature; Lockwood Thompson trying for Democratic State Central Committeeman .

Los Angeles AVC has come-up with a "painless" money-raising scheme. An auction will be held at the next meeting of the chapter at Phil Klein's. The things being auctioned will be disguised by unlabeled boxes; a number of assorted and interesting prizes have been pledged by the members—rumors are that LA AVCers are liable to draw among other things a Norden bombsight or twenty Brunswick recordings of Vincent Lopez playing "Nola" . . .

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Maybe the answers satisfy some of the people. Maybe they satisfy the politicians. But they shouldn't satisfy AVC. In fact, we might say if they satisfy AVC then AVC has outlived its usefullness, its ability to create, its unique qualities of looking ahead and thinking ahead.

Leadership Built Reputation

AVC was thinking ahead on housing after World War II and led the fight for a decent housing program. AVC conceived and worked for the establishment of a Bradley Commission five years before the President set up the Commission. AVC called for the censure of Joe McCarthy three years before the Senate acted. These are examples of the kind of leadership, foresight, and action AVC has been noted for, and on which it has built its reputation and respect.

The 15th Convention must come up with comparable thinking and action. Every AVCer and AVC Chapter should have discussed and collected thoughts and recommendations on the Rockefeller Report, on what has been published of the Gaither Report, and on the other studies on defense and foreign policy in a space age.

The 15th Convention must be ready to make its concrete proposals, backed by a program, to look forward on defense, disarmament, foreign policy, national affairs, and veterans affairs.

Won't Win Popularity Contest

This issue of the BULLETIN reports the action of AVC's National Board in calling for a reduction in unnecessary Federal expenditures for veterans programs and the use of this money for the whole population by building schools, expanding health research and other welfare programs that will benefit citizens-veterans most by benefiting the whole of the nation.

This action by the AVC Board is certainly not designed to win any popularity contest. It will be violently attacked by the professional veterans and by many politicians. Yet it is this kind of forceful, realistic and forward looking action that has made it possible for AVC to carve its niche in the nation's recent history. It is the kind of action that must be taken at the Convention.

Even though this kind of action is not easy to take, we have a feeling that it will be taken and that the 15th Anniversary will go down as one of the most productive and meaningful Conventions in AVC's history.

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Commands Respect

Hearty congratulations on the January issue of The AVC Bulletin and the award to the nine Little Rock Pupils. This is Americanism at its best. Your legislation-support is certainly heartening. Such Americanism commands respect at home and aboard.

Rev. Albert W. Kauffman
Baraboo, Wisconsin

Sound A Tocsin

Please, sir, sound a tocsin for all who will frame our platforms and resolutions in the Poconos in April. They'd better be very, very good this year.

The usual 199 bored feet of platform just isn't going to do. We've already got our long-playing record on virtually all questions of public policy.

Our 1958 convention could be both unique and heroic if we could come out with but one or two great pronouncements. It is not within the writer's poor powers to prescribe how this can be accomplished—but there may be a good lesson for us in what William E. Bonn had to say about a pretty fair publicist on U. S. ways and means named Abraham Lincoln . . .

"To speak this supremely is among the most distinguished of human achievements. It goes furthest and strikes deepest." Could we speak thus?

Robert McDevitt
New York City

Trade

(Continued from Page 1)

trade program which was seen nation-wide on television.

Stating that the reciprocal trade program was vital to the interests of the United States in the free world, AVC executive director Kenneth M. Birkhead said that we cannot afford to let down our allies by raising tariffs and leave the field free for the Soviet Union. Both Europe and the underdeveloped nations will have to turn to other markets, unless we maintain our free trade leadership, Birkhead said.

Column A

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Hyde

February is Brotherhood Month—and the Ernie Pyle Chapter in Boston is commemorating it in a special way. Their February Chapter meeting observes the event at a meeting to "broaden our understanding and knowledge of others." A discussion on the problems of the South by J. Westbrook MacPherson, Director of the Urban League of Greater Boston, in connection with the film "Face of the South" will form the chief activities of the meeting. The film to be shown at the meeting stars George S. Mitchell, executive director of the Southern Regional Council, one of the South's most important bodies seeking inter-racial understanding and advancement of human rights . . . AVC is one of the seven sponsors of H. 535 in the State Legislature—to double state aid to public schools; and Mass. AVCers are working hard for the bill . . . Ernie Pyle's Legislative Committee is sparking a campaign among members urging State Legislature to extend the life of the Commission Investigating Capital Punishment for one year.

Chub Peabody is heading Massachusetts AVC's drive for the Red Cross Bank Chub, incidentally is making a

(Continued on Page 3)

Do You Want To Help?

Mr. Williams R. Ming, Jr.,
National Chairman, AVC,
1830 Jefferson Place, N.W.,
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mr. Ming:

I want to help AVC celebrate its 15th Anniversary, and I am enclosing a special birthday gift of $15 to help AVC carry out its program working for a peaceful, decent and free world.

_____
(Name)

_____
(Street)

_____
(City)

Please make checks payable to "AVC's Fifteenth Birthday" Contributions to AVC are tax deductible.

☐ **Check here if you want a receipt. Otherwise your cancelled check will be your record.**

Resolutions Passed By National Board

Statement On Veterans Programs

The cost of veterans programs, the largest item in the Federal budget outside of defense and interest, can be enormously reduced, possibly by as much as $1 billion dollars a year without reducing necessary veterans' service and without reducing aid to disabled veterans or survivors of the war dead.

The following are areas in which the cost of the veterans programs can be reduced:

VA Operations

1. Operation of Veterans Administration offices. For example, a recent report indicated that the Cleveland VA Regional office had reduced its yearly expenditures by $4 million between 1950 and 1958, while, at the same time, increasing the number of cases it handles. If comparable reductions were made in the other 67 VA installations more than $250 million could be saved in this one activity alone.

2. Tightening restrictions in the free, non-service connected disability use of VA hospitals by those able to pay for hospital care or by those already covered by private or company group hospital plans.

Other Economies

3. Including social security income in figuring a veterans' total income for purposes of non-service connected pensions. AVC said that there is an income limitation on receiving non-service connected pensions, but that social security payments are not included.

4. Integration of the veterans housing program into the Federal Housing Administration to eliminate the duplication of administrative costs for both programs.

5. Reduction and even elimination in some cases of payments for many service-connected disabilities which have proved of absolutely no hinderance to the veteran in carrying on his livelihood.

Savings Benefit Whole Nation

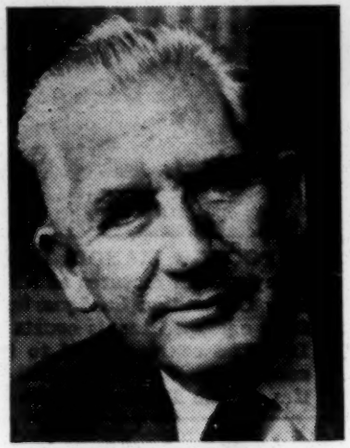
The $1 billion saved could be used for many and worthwhile activities by our government. Some of it could be used to give needed additional aid to the truly disabled veterans and their survivors. The remaining funds can be used for health research, education, and many other welfare services that will benefit the whole population and therefore the veterans who really benefit most by the general good of the nation's health, economy and general well-being.

Sen. Douglas At D. C. Banquet

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Plans for the Tenth Annual Bill of Rights Dinner are now completed, Washington AVC Chapter Chairman Raymond D. Watts has announced.

The awards dinner, one of the highlights of the Washington Chapter's yearly activities, will take place at the Hotel Continental on Friday evening, March 14th. A reception will precede the dinner.

Senator Paul Douglas, a member of AVC's National Advisory Council, will be honored



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for his valiant service for the civil rights action taken in the last session of Congress.

Also receiving awards will be Angier Biddle Duke, President of the International Rescue Committee, for the organization's work in behalf of the Hungarian refugees; David H. Scull, a Quaker leader in Virginia for his work in fighting the segregationist forces in that state and Morris Milgram for building open-occupancy housing in Philadelphia.

Reservations for the dinner

Mass. AVC Freedom Award

Springfield, Mass.—Massachusetts AVC presents its Freedom Award to Rev. Charles V. Bergstrom, Pastor of Bethesday Lutheran Church of Springfield. Springfield AVCer Mal Webber, right, and Treasurer Bernard Brandwene, center, are seen making the presentation at an award luncheon held by the Springfield Chapter. Rev. Bergstrom was honored by Massachusetts AVC for his work in organizing and spearheading the Citizens Committee on Police Practices, an organization formed to obtain better supervision of the Police Department by the appointed Police Commission.

Column X

(Continued from Page 2)

bid for 1958 campaign for Attorney General . . . Former Mass. State Chairman Bert Bigelow is the commander of the ketch Golden Rule sailing into Eniwetok waters to protest continuing nuclear bomb tests on the basis that "all nuclear explosions are monstrous, evil, unworthy of human beings." . . . Harry Hartog of Dorchester succeeds Frank Kelley, who has migrated to New Jersey,

By National Board

Statement On Veterans Programs

The cost of veterans programs, the largest item in the Federal budget outside of defense and interest, can be enormously reduced, possibly by as much as $1 billion dollars a year without reducing necessary veterans' service and without reducing aid to disabled veterans or survivors of the war dead.

The following are areas in which the cost of the veterans programs can be reduced:

VA Operations

1. Operation of Veterans Administration offices. For example, a recent report indicated that the Cleveland VA Regional office had reduced its yearly expenditures by $4 million between 1950 and 1958, while, at the same time, increasing the number of cases it handles. If comparable reductions were made in the other 67 VA installations more than $250 million could be saved in this one activity alone.

2. Tightening restrictions in the free, non-service connected disability use of VA hospitals by those able to pay for hospital care or by those already covered by private or company group hospital plans.

Other Economies

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Statement On Nation's Economy

While U. S. military superiority is being seriously challenged, national production, national income and job opportunities are falling. Only unemployment and the cost of living are rising in the United States.

Pious statements from government leaders in Washington that the difficulties will ease in three months, six months, or some day in the future, will not solve the problems of those who are suffering now, and who may be facing more troubles in the months to come.

Urge Accelerated Programs

The American Veterans Committee believes that the present serious national unemployment, business failures, and falling consumer buying power demand immediate and forceful governmental action.

Rather than cutting back on the present level of social services as the Administration has proposed, which will only further injure those people already suffering from the current conditions, AVC urges, in addition to the contemplated increases in defense spending, which we support, immediate adoption or accleration of programs of:

1. School construction
2. Housing construction
3. Highway construction
4. Other public works construction

In addition, we urge increases in social security benefits, extension of the maximum period for payments of unemployment compensation beyond the present 26-week limit, increase in the personal exemptions for income tax from $600 to $800, and the elimination of unjustified tax subsidies such as statutory depletion for oil and other minerals, dividends credit and deduction, and others.

Improve Economic Circumstances

Such a program will not only strengthen the national economy but will do so by directly improving the economic circumstances of the vast majority of Americans as distinguished from the trickle down philosophy of the present national Administration. At the same time it will produce additional revenues from increased business and the elimination of tax subsidies.

The citizens-veterans of the nation benefit most from the strength of the nation's economy. They are suffering now with the rest of the citizens because of our current economic difficulties and the threat of worsening conditions.

Have You Renewed for '58?

$15 for 15 Years

At D. C. Banquet

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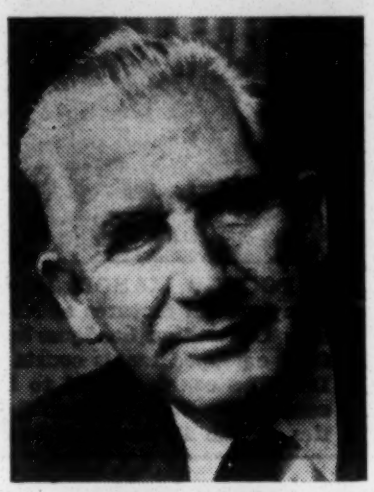

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Reservations for the dinner and reception are being accepted now and it is expected that many national organizational leaders as well as AVCers will join in the gala affair. Further information and reservations can be obtained from AVC's National Office.

Ivor Wayne is acting as Dinner Chairman. Assisting in the publicity, ticket sales, and many other arrangements for the Dinner are Washington AVCers including Ann Ewing, George Idelson, Phineas Indritz, Clifford Carr, Robert Menke, Dr. Paul Cooke, and Rudolf Sobernheim.

Encampment For Citizenship

The Encampment for Citizenship has called upon AVC again to help select and sponsor applicants for the 1958 Encampment sessions. They will be held this summer, from late June to early August at the Fieldston School in New York City and International House in Berkeley, California.

This is the thirteenth session of the outstanding summer program to provide special education in citizens affairs to young men and women between the ages of 18 and 23 who are leadership potential. Participants in the Encampment have the experience of living together and working in a self-governing, democratic community that represents most of the cultural and geographic segments of the American community.

Some scholarship aid for Encampment applicants sponsored by AVC is available. AVCers who know of qualified young men and women who would profit from this exciting summer session should contact the national office, 1830 Jefferson Place, N.W., Washington, D. C. as soon as possible. The deadline for obtaining scholarship aid is March 30, 1958.

Springfield, Mass.—Massachusetts AVC presents its Freedom Award to Rev. Charles V. Bergstrom, Pastor of Bethesday Lutheran Church of Springfield. Springfield AVCer Mal Webber, right, and Treasurer Bernard Brandwene, center, are seen making the presentation at an award luncheon held by the Springfield Chapter. Rev. Bergstrom was honored by Massachusetts AVC for his work in organizing and spearheading the Citizens Committee on Police Practices, an organization formed to obtain better supervision of the Police Department by the appointed Police Commission.

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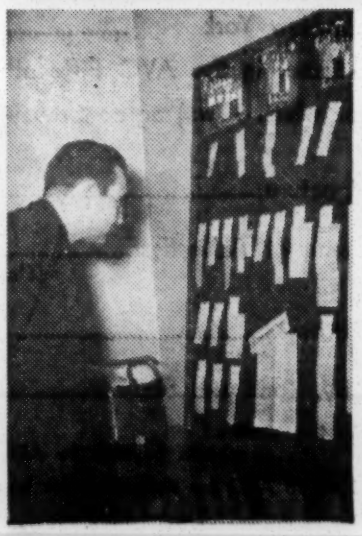
Peabody

The Long Island Daily Press reports: "If other Queens agencies take the hint offered by the AVC's Laurelton-Rosedale Chapter, Creedmoor State Hospital won't need a refurbishing for some time to come." The newspaper reported that the AVC Chapter this month presented the hospital with another present—a completed Operation S-11, which is the name given by the AVCers to the project of redecorating Ward S-11 at the hospital, which began last year.



CHICAGO, ILL.—Scenes as the AVC's National Board meets at its quarterly meeting here, February 8-9.

Top picture: seated AVC Board member John Fernbach. Standing, left to right: Board members Rudolf Sobernheim of Washington, D. C., Hubert Will and Marshall Holleb of Chicago.

Bottom picture: AVC National Vice-Chairman Shanley N. Egeth of New York, examines a bulletin board displaying some of the publicity given to the work of the Board during its meeting.

MEMBER AT LARGE PROXY FORM:

PLEASE MAIL NO LATER THAN . . . MARCH 20th TO
AVC Convention Committee,
1830 Jefferson Place, N.W.,
Washington 6, D. C.

☐ **PLEASE LIST MY NAME ON THE PROXY FORM FOR THE 15th ANNIVERSARY CONVENTION**

_____
(Signature)

_____
(Address)

Pre-Convention Rules

Here is a summary of the most important provisions of the Pre-Convention Rules for the AVC Fifteenth Anniversary Convention (April 25-27, 1958, Pocono Manor, Pocono, Pa.). The complete text of the rules will be sent to all chapter chairmen. The new changes to the rules are printed in italics.

Delegates: Five types: 1) chapter delegates; 2) members-at-large holding proxies of at least nine (9) other members-at-large; 3) chairman of state councils; 4) elective national officers; 5) members of the National Planning Committee.

Chapter Representation: On the basis of one delegate for every ten (10) members (or major fraction thereof) in good standing; each chapter, however, is entitled to at least four (4) delegates and no chapter is entitled to more than ten (10) delegates. Each chapter will designate at least one delegate to serve on each of the four convention committees: International, National, Veterans, and Internal affairs. Chapter membership, for the purpose of convention representation, will be based on the national membership records as of November 1, 1955.

Proxies: Chapters which are unable to send one or more of their own members as delegates may elect any other member or members of AVC as their proxy-delegates. A member-at-large may give his proxy (proxy forms to be fur- ployees of the National Office may not hold proxies. Proxies must be mailed to the National Office at least fifteen (15) days before the convention.

Chapter elections: Chapter delegates may be nominated and elected up to fifteen (15) days prior to the National Convention. Notices of meetings held to nominate or elect delegates must be mailed to all chapter members and to the National Office at least seven (7) days prior to the meetings. Delegates may be elected by mail balloting.

Alternates: Each chapter is entitled to as many alternates as delegates.

Registration fee: $5.00 per delegate and alternate.

Platform:

a. The chairman of the permanent Commissions will submit the first draft platform to the National Office no later than seventy (70) days before the opening of the National Convention.

b. The draft platforms shall be sent to all chapters no later than sixty (60) days before the opening of the National Con- duly elected delegates and alternates, together with instructions as to how proposals for amendments may be made, no later than ten (10) days before the opening of the National Convention.

Plus Debates, Platforms And Caucuses

POCONO MANOR, PA.—Another of the many special features of AVC's 15th Anniversary Convention headquarters are the beautifully equipped tennis courts at Pocono Manor Inn. The courts, added to the top-flight golf course, the boating facilities, and the beauties of the Poconos in the spring make this the most beautiful AVC Convention site in the organization's history.

And, of course, all of these are in addition to the platform writing, resolution work, debating and caucusing that are always highlights and the stimulation of every AVC Convention.

SMALL FRY

This year's convention will again be a "family affair" with the small fry having a number of activities planned around them. There will be games, supervised play, and excursions, to divert the small and not so-small youngsters. The woodland surroundings of the Pocono

Chapters To Start Work On Platform

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The draft platforms, developed by AVC's National Affairs, International Affairs, and Veterans and Armed Forces Affairs Commission are being completed and distributed to Chapters throughout the nation to start the work of preparing the final

ters on the platform is of great importance for the coming Convention, for much of the success of an orderly and successful Convention will depend on having the platforms in well-organized form for consideration by the delegates.

Furthermore, in this first year of the space age there will be much that will be new and subject to discussion in the platforms. The early efforts by the Chapters will allow full deliberations by all AVCers on the platforms and the develop-

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Chapter elections: Chapter delegates may be nominated and elected up to fifteen (15) days prior to the National Convention. Notices of meetings held to nominate or elect delegates must be mailed to all chapter members and to the National Office at least seven (7) days prior to the meetings. Delegates may be elected by mail balloting.

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a. The chairman of the permanent Commissions will submit the first draft platform to the National Office no later than seventy (70) days before the opening of the National Convention.

b. The draft platforms shall be sent to all chapters no later than sixty (60) days before the opening of the National Convention.

c. The chapters shall send all recommendations for changes and/or additions to the respective Commission chairmen no later than thirty (30) days before the opening of the National Convention.

d. The final proposed draft platforms shall be sent to all duly elected delegates and alternates, together with instructions as to how proposals for amendments may be made, no later than ten (10) days before the opening of the National Convention.

POCONO MANOR, PA.—Another of the many special features of AVC's 15th Anniversary Convention headquarters are the beautifully equipped tennis courts at Pocono Manor Inn. The courts, added to the top-flight golf course, the boating facilities, and the beauties of the Poconos in the spring make this the most beautiful AVC Convention site in the organization's history.

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At the last convention, Barbara Sobernheim and Barbara Birkhead supervised these activities. Plans are now under way to have an enlarged program under the guidance of the staff and volunteers.

Chapters To Start Work On Platform

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The draft platforms, developed by AVC's National Affairs, International Affairs, and Veterans and Armed Forces Affairs Commission are being completed and distributed to Chapters throughout the nation to start the work of preparing the final drafts to be considered at the 15th Anniversary Convention, April 24-27.

The platform on Veterans and Armed Forces affairs has been sent to the Chapters. The platform on National Affairs is being reproduced for distribution now, and the International Affairs document will be completed at an early date for distribution.

The early work by the Chapters on the platform is of great importance for the coming Convention, for much of the success of an orderly and successful Convention will depend on having the platforms in well-organized form for consideration by the delegates.

Furthermore, in this first year of the space age there will be much that will be new and subject to discussion in the platforms. The early efforts by the Chapters will allow full deliberations by all AVCers on the platforms and the development of the most meaningful planks to guide AVC during the coming year.

Chapters are urged to hold meetings and "bull-sessions" on the platforms to stimulate full debate throughout AVC. All of the suggestions and comments from Chapters will be considered by the Platform Committee at the Convention for presentation to the Plenary Sessions.

Deadline for Incentive Plan Soon

NEW YORK, N. Y.—No actual deadline for Incentive Plan Ads for the 15th Anniversary Convention Journal has been set by the Journal Committee but, since the dates for the Convention are now less than two months away, a deadline will have to be set soon.

Until the deadline is set all those who want to attend the Convention can take advantage of the generous provisions of the Incentive Plan which will provide a weekend for one or two at no cost at the beautiful Convention site for the selling of ads in the Journal. The plan works as follows.

A $25 Ad—free banquet ticket for the gala Saturday night banquet.

A $50 Ad—Special arrangements to cover the cost of Banquet tickets and other meals for the Convention.

A $100 Ad—A complete weekend for one—this covers room, all meals and the Banquet.

A $200 Ad—A complete weekend for two—this covers room, all meals and the Banquet for two.

Many AVCers have already taken advantage of the Journal Incentive Plan. They have found local businessmen, organizations and others more than willing to take ads.

Crystal Anniversary

Of course, the fact that this is AVC's 15th Anniversary adds much impetus to buying tickets. Many want to buy ads to help the organization celebrate its Crystal Anniversary.

An ad form is printed below to help you get started. If you need additional forms or if you would find a copy of last year's Journal helpful in contacting prospects, don't hesitate to write to AVC Convention Program, 45 East 65th St., New York, N. Y.

AVC's 15th Birthday Parties

From New York to California, from Massachusetts to Georgia, AVC Chapters are holding parties in honor of AVC's 15th Anniversary.

AVC Administrative Director Sam Tappis states that before the conclusion of all the parties, several thousands AVCers will have participated in the Crystal Anniversary celebrations.

In Washington, D. C., AVC founder and former National Chairman and Board member Gil Harrison, publisher of the NEW REPUBLIC was honored.

In New York more than 20 parties have been held. Chicago, Ill., led with parties in the middle west. The party there was held at the time of the National Board meeting and members of the Board were honored guests at the party.

National Chairman William R. Ming, Jr., has appeared at several of the parties including that held in Minneapolis. Ming also appeared at the special 15th Anniversary activities at Little Rock, Arkansas, when AVC presented its Americanism Award to the nine pupils at Little Rock's Central High School.

Although the parties were held for fun and relaxation, typical of AVC is the photograph below as former National Chairman and now Board member Mickey Levine is shown in the midst of the celebrants in serious discussion with several of the Chicago AVCers.

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE (AVC)

FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY CONVENTION PROGRAM

April 24th - 27th, 1958

ADVERTISING CONTRACT

AVC FIFTEENTH ANNIVERSARY,
45 East 65th Street, New York 21, New York ....., 195....

You are hereby authorized to insert in the AVC Fifteenth Anniversary Convention Program our advertising indicated below, for which I (we) agree to pay the sum of ..... ($.....).

ADVERTISING RATES

Full Page	$400.00
Half Page	200.00
Quarter Page	100.00
Eighth Page	50.00
ANNIVERSARY GREETINGS (Two Lines Only)	25.00

Special Rates for Back and Inside Covers upon request

Signature.....

Name of Advertiser.....
(Please Print)

Address.....

City, Zone and State.....

It is requested that payment accompany this contract.
Make all checks payable to AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE (AVC)

NOTE: Contributions to AVC are deductible for income tax purposes.

If you wish to contribute instead of purchasing space, please check here ☐

April 14, 1958

Mr. Kenneth M. Birkhead
Executive Director
American Veterans Committee
1830 Jefferson Place, S. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Ken:

We are always glad to cooperate with AVC and will make such further efforts as we can to turn up information for your study through our normal channels. However, I don't think we had better undertake any formal responsibility for the project, for two reasons. First, we are already loaded beyond the capacity of our staff. Secondly, and quite frankly, we have so many battles to fight already that we are not eager to get involved in a knock-down-drag-out with the Legion.

This doesn't alter the fact that a temporary project person employed by AVC would have our cooperation and, I'm sure, that of other organizations with like purposes.

Do let me know what you finally work out and if we can be of further help in this or any other matter of common concern.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

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AVC

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE

NATIONAL OFFICES • 1630 JEFFERSON PLACE, N.W. • WASHINGTON 6, D.C. • EXECUTIVE 3-1477

To Achieve a More Democratic and Prosperous America and a More Stable World

"CITIZENS FIRST, VETERANS SECOND"

HONORARY MEMBERS
Dr. Ralph J. Bunche
Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt
The Most Rev. Bernard J. Sheil
Harry S. Truman

NATIONAL BOARD
Bernard Bellush*
Julius Bernstein
Charles G. Bolte
Michael Brahms
Curtis Campaigne, Jr.
Bernard J. Cogan
Morris U. Dane*
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Marshall Holleb
Arthur Horowitz
Frank H. Iglehart
Kurt Landsberger
Martin L. Larner
Mickey Levine*
Julian Mack
Bill Mauldin
Joseph Mazur
Lester C. Migdal
Chat Paterson
Andrew E. Rice
Rudolf Sorbernheim*
Michael Straight
Robert A. Thompson
Hubert Will

*denotes member National Exeutive Committee

NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL
Cong. John Blatnik
Cong. Richard Bolling
Dave Breger
Cong. Charles C. Diggs, Jr.
Sen. Paul Douglas
Clark M. Eichelberger
Irving M. Engel
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Rabbi Roland B. Gittelson
Dr. Mason W. Gross
Gen. Paul Hawley
Sen. Richard L. Neuberger
Ronald Regan
Cong. Henry Reuss
Gen. Telford Taylor
Cong. Frank Thompson, Jr.
Thornton Wilder
Cong. Sidney R. Yates

Samuel Tappis
Administrative Director

Phineas Indritz
National Counsel

R. Hal Silvers
National Secretary

Herbert Rothschild
National Treasurer

Jess E. Weiss
National Service Officer

William R. Ming*
Chairman

Shanley N. Egeth*
Vice-Chairman

Kenneth M. Birkhead
Executive Director

April 3, 1958

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Thank you very much for your letter and enclosures. You have thrown more light and given us more information on our subject than we have run into so far -- which gives me an idea. Would it be at all possible for you people to do this project - at least a pilot one to begin with, and then if, in your judgement a more thorough one could be done then go ahead with that? We have already raised some money for this and hope to be getting more. But, you know AVC, we will not be able to raise too much. Please advise me as to whether you think the SRC could give us its professional help on our project and then perhaps vaguely what kind of a project you visualize. We could get people to do research in New York (where we feel the NAACP files should reveal somethings) and here in Washington where you might have suggestions for library research. That would leave the rest up to you or one of your associates, directing the thing and ferreting out information in the South.

Please let me have your reactions to this, as to whether the idea is reasonable and feasible.

Sincerely,

Ken

Kenneth M. Birkhead

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friends from

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ty Bus Terminal, New

ach privileges at a private
ave exclusive use. Deadline

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ner Valley Chapter, AVC

ver ..... reservations for ..... adults and
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dividual or couple, $3 a family (3 or more persons).

adelphia Liberal Religious Fellowship, the chapter heard National Executive Director Andrew E. Rice discuss the history and program of AVC.

AVC Initiative Ends Roanoke Segregation

WASHINGTON—Restrooms in the Roanoke, Virginia, railroad station are no longer designated "White Ladies" and "Colored Women" thanks to the initiative of an AVC staff member.

While travelling by train in March 1957, Mrs. Mabel Hairston, who has served for more than ten years as an AVC employee and now holds the position of National Comptroller, noted the segregated facilities. Upon her return to Washington, AVC brought the offensive signs to the attention of the Interstate Commerce Commission.

Over a year passed while the Commission investigated the complaint. Finally, fourteen months later, the ICC announced that the case was closed: toilet facilities at the Roanoke terminal henceforth will be open to all without segregation.

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AVC Bulletin
May 1958

December 24, 1959

Mr. Mickey Levine
American Veterans Committee
1830 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mickey:

I find that I never replied to your letter of November concerning the proposed survey of discrimination against Negro servicemen and veterans. This is just to let you know that my silence doesn't indicate any lack of interest or willingness to cooperate in whatever plan is finally agreed upon.

Shortly after your letter was received, I had a talk with Vernon Eagle and, as he requested, gave him such ideas as I had about the fact-finding aspect of the project. I am all too conscious of the lack of systematic, documented evidence on this subject; we are all familiar in general with the discriminatory pattern, but proving it in court -- or in Congress -- is another matter. Hence my suggestion that someone be commissioned to do a fast but thorough job of fact-finding before you and Lou Warshaw come South. Bob Thompson would be a good choice.

In any case, call on me and the Southern Regional Council for whatever help we can give.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE

avc

NATIONAL OFFICE • 1830 JEFFERSON PLACE, N.W. WASHINGTON 6, D.C. • EXecutive 3-1477

To achieve a more Democratic
and prosperous America
and a more stable World

"CITIZENS FIRST, VETERANS SECOND"

November 19, 1959

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
2892 Ridgemore Road, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Fleming:

The American Veterans Committee (AVC) has formulated plans to conduct a nationwide investigation to determine to what extent the Negro veteran has been discriminated against in attempting to obtain his legal rights and privileges under the GI Bill of Rights, including housing, education, farm and business loans, disability claims, pensions and hospitalization benefits. The survey will transcribe somewhat the boundary of veterans' rights and include treatment of Negro servicemen on and off military bases, as well as personnel and hiring policies toward Negro veterans in private industry and in all branches of government.

Our schedule includes a survey on a uniform basis in selected Northern and border states (Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, District of Columbia, Ohio, Illinois, Oregon and California) conducted by local AVC units and sending to Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama and Arkansas, Lou Warshaw, a Board member and myself.

The survey will include on the spot reviews of government bases and Veterans Administration facilities and also interviews with officials and Negro veterans. It will also provide information concerning use of various benefits by white veterans in these areas, as contrasted with Negro veterans.

Since Congress enacted the GI Bill and other post war veterans' legislation, billions of dollars have been appropriated. We have a legitimate curiousity to learn how the Negro veteran fared.

There are now plans to extend the GI Bill to peacetime veterans. Passage of such legislation is inevitable. Now is the time to learn how legislation for World War II and Korean veterans was carried out and to immediately provide for a fair distribution of benefits for the future.

Our completed survey will be brought to the attention of the President, the two National Conventions of the major political parties and to all organizations concerned with civil rights.

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There is no other organization better qualified to conduct this survey than AVC. We have always been in the forefront of the dramatic civil rights struggle and we are, in fact, the only veterans organization in the country concerned with civil rights action.

I am forwarding for your information a copy of the "Draft" Plan of Action which was submitted to the National Board of AVC and also a list of installations to be surveyed (please note that one part - the US Defense Installations has not been completed).

We would be very grateful for your comments and advice on this program and of course for your cooperation.

Sincerely,

Mickey Levine

Mickey Levine

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE
National Offices • 1830 JEFFERSON PLACE, N.W. • WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

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Mr. Harold C. Fleming
2892 Ridgemore Road, NW
Atlanta, Georgia

Executive Director,
Southern Regional Council

STATE	VA HOSPITAL	REGIONAL VA SERVICE OFFICE	DEFENSE INSTALLATION
ALABAMA	Tuscaloosa Tuskegee Montgomery	Montgomery	Maxwell Air Base
ARKANSAS	Little Rock	Little Rock	
CALIFORNIA	Palto Alto Los Angeles	Los Angeles	March Field
CONNECTICUT	West Haven	Hartford	
GEORGIA	Atlanta	Atlanta	
ILLINOIS	Chicago	Chicago	Great Lakes Naval Station
INDIANA	Indianapolis	Indianapolis	
MARYLAND	Baltimore	Baltimore	
MASSACHUSETTS	Brockton Boston	Boston	
MINNESOTA	Minneapolis	St. Paul	
MISSISSIPPI	Jackson	Jackson	
NEW JERSEY	East Orange	Newark	Fort Dix

STATE	VA HOSPITAL	REGIONAL VA SERVICE OFFICE	DEFENSE INSTALLATION
NEW YORK	Montrose Northport Bronx Brooklyn New York City	Brooklyn New York Buffalo	Governors Island Fort Schuyler
NORTH CAROLINA			
OHIO	Cleveland Dayton	Cleveland	Wright Field Paterson Field
OREGON	Portland	Portland	
PENNSYLVANIA	Philadelphia	Philadelphia	
VIRGINIA			
WASHINGTON	Seattle	Seattle	
WISCONSIN	Madison	Milwaukee	

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE (AVC)
1830 Jefferson Place, N.W.
Washington 6, D. C.

FROM: Mickey Levine, National Chairman

TO : Members of National Board
Members of Veterans Affairs & National Affairs Commissions

SUBJECT: AVC AUDIT OF NEGRO VETERAN AND SERVICEMEN.

(Draft Report prepared for your consideration and comment. Please let us know your views by December 1.)

1. Aims

A - To ascertain additional facts about "benefits" Negro veterans have received under provisions of "GI Bill" - type of service rendered by VA offices - kind and quality of treatment received in VA hospitals - treatment of Negro serviceman (spot check on several Defense Installations) and role of other veterans organizations to ensure equal treatment of Negro veterans and servicemen.

B - Report to be presented to National Board in March.

C - Report and Recommendations to be presented by National Board to AVC Convention in June.

D - Convention to authorize National Officers to present AVC Report and Recommendations directly to platform committees of two major political parties.

2. Budget and Fund Raising

For complete audit and follow-up program - audit in the South and "spot" audits in North - report to Conventions - estimated budget is $10,000.

3. AVC Team in South

National Chairman Mickey Levine
National Vice-Chairman Louis Warshaw
Two members of Board - Research expert or graduate student in field - and AVC Director of Veterans Affairs.

4. "Audit in North"

National Director Arthur Dembner, will enlist local chapter assistance in California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Washington, Wisconsin and the District of Columbia.

5. Probable Dates & Itinerary of Southern Audit

February 19th, 1960 to March 7th, 1960 - Little Rock, Arkansas; Clarksdale, Mound Bayou, Greenville, Yazoo City, Jackson, Mississippi; Tuskeegee and Montgomery, Alabama; Athens and Atlanta, Georgia; Greenville, South Carolina and Charlotte, North Carolina.

6. Research - Contacts

A - Research - Study of original "Survey" - pertinent reports of VA - GI Bill - U.S. Census Reports on Housing Mortgages.

B - Contacts - Mrs. Daisy Bates (Little Rock) - AVC contacts in Mississippi - Dr. Martin Luther King - (Montgomery) - AVC Chapter in Atlanta, Georgia; Harry Golden (Charlotte) - Civil Rights Committee of United Auto Workers - Harold Fleming - Executive Director of Southern Regional Council - NAACP - Urban League; Anti-Defamation League - Jewish Labor Committee.

All contacts will be written to prior to February. Letter will outline purpose of Audit and information to be sought.

Official contact will be made with Defense Department and Veterans Administration to visit installations - hospitals and service officers both in South and selected Northern areas.

7. Sources of Study

VA hospitals - VA Service Offices - Negro Colleges - Defense Department Installations - interviews with Negro veterans in South - AVC members and friends in South.

8. Areas of Study

A - Education: - Have Negro veterans been able to effectively utilize provisions of GI Bill - effect of segregation - quality and quantity of assistance to veterans at Negro Colleges.

B - Housing: study of latest U.S. Census on Residential Financing - Comparison of percentage of VA insured home loans to Negroes in South and North and to rest of population. Experience of Negroes in dealing with banks and applications for loans - private and multiple dwellings (cooperatives) - use of direct loan privileges.

C - On job training - did it exist in South - role of Labor Unions.

D - Business and Farm Loans - " "

E - VA Services - application to Negro Veterans - number of Negro Contact and Service Officers and other personnel.

F - Veterans Preference in Civil Service - what validity does this provision have in South - in North.

G - VA hospitals: - kind of treatment provided Negro veterans and servicemen - is there actual or veiled segregation in IN-PATIENT Departments - use of Negro Personnel - Doctors - Administrators - Clerical, etc.

H - Defense Installations: - is alleged policy of integration an actual fact. Treatment of Negro servicemen on posts - where do they reside, eat, relax - what rank can they and do they achieve. Facilities for married personnel - housing - education. Type of assignments. View of Negro servicemen. Treatment in Community - transportation - eating places, movies - bars - clubs, etc.

Effect of transfer from Federal to State contraol of service-installations.

I - Role of Veterans Organizations in South (and North): - Membership - are they segregated. Service offered to Negro members - their attitudes on integration.

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE

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1/13

PR - Will you lay some plans on this & let's discuss next week.
Should this be raised at interagency meeting.
Will you check with Bob Thompson re: Atlanta?
HCF

6 January 1960

Dear Harold:

I am sending you a copy of our outline of the AVC audit with emphasis only on the interviews with Negro veterans. We have obtained remarkable cooperation from the Defense Department, the Veterans Administration, and various civil rights groups.

You can be of inestimable assistance in helping us set up contacts directly with Negro veterans in the various communities we plan to visit. This is the part of the audit that we need to be able to meet directly with people in order to obtain from them the mass of statistical material necessary for these purposes.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Mickey Levine

Mickey Levine
National Chairman

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

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"CITIZENS FIRST, VETERANS SECOND"

Rec'd 6/20/60

18 January 1960

Dear Harold:

As a postscript to our letter of 6 January 1960, Louis Warshaw and I will be in Atlanta, Georgia, during the period of February 20, 24.

I hope we can arrange to see you and everyone else who you think will be helpful during that time.

We are actually starting with Atlanta and working our way into Mississippi and then Little Rock.

Look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Mickey Levine

Mickey Levine
National Chairman

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Room 432
63 Auburn Ave., N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

ML/mrh

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March 16, 1960

Mr. Mickey Levine
National Chairman
American Veterans Committee
1830 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Mickey:

It was a pleasure seeing you and Lou, and I am glad to find that you successfully penetrated McClelland's would-be iron curtain.

I'll look forward to seeing your report, from which we can learn a great deal.

Meanwhile, we'll be prepared to cooperate in every way we can with your additional survey next fall.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE

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"CITIZENS FIRST, VETERANS SECOND"

8 March 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Room 432
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold:

Lou, and I, want to thank you for your hospitality, interest, and co-operation.

We are hopeful that many things can, and will, be done.

Some have happened already. In Charlotte, Montgomery, Tuskegee, Jackson, the Delta area of Mississippi, and Little Rock, negro veterans are forming associations, more or less connected with AVC, which we are servicing.

After we have finished this Audit, next fall, we will initiate another, dealing with the Reserve, National Guard, and ROTC.

Looking forward to continued co-operation.

Sincerely,

Mickey Levine

Mickey Levine
NATIONAL CHAIRMAN

ML:ea

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American Veterans Committee
1830 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

For further information call:
Irvin Lechliter
EXecutive 3-1477

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

Attorney General William P. Rogers has been asked by the American Veterans Committee to institute an investigation of what AVC terms "official incitement to riot" in Alabama and Georgia as a result of Negro "sitdowns".

Dr. Paul Cooke, Chairman of AVC's National Affairs Commission, supported the contention of incitement by quoting Mayor Earl James of Montgomery, Alabama, as warning "the Negro people of this community that the tempers of the white citizenry of our city are being pushed to a point beyond their power to control".

Also cited by AVC was a statement by Georgia Attorney General Eugene Cook that demands by Negroes for food counter service is public advocacy of violation of Georgia laws that will be met with both local and state resistance. AVC's letter quoted from a February 24 editorial in the Atlanta Constitution which said, "It seems to us that this is an example of grave official irresponsibility. For the State's Attorney General to say that he expects violence is an encouragement to those who might wish to create it".

AVC informed Attorney General Rogers that in its view such conduct by State officials will lead to an infringement of the constitutional rights of Negroes in the areas involved to a degree sufficient to warrant the intervention of the United States Department of Justice.

Attachments: Press clippings
Letter to Rogers

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"CITIZENS FIRST, VETERANS SECOND"

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE INCORPORATED

NATIONAL OFFICES • 1830 JEFFERSON PLACE, N. W. • WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • EXECUTIVE 3-1477

To Achieve a More Democratic and Prosperous America and a More Stable World

2 March 1960

My dear Mr. Rogers:

National Chairman Mickey Levine and Vice Chairman Louis S. Warshaw of the American Veterans Committee are presently conducting a survey of the status of Negro veterans in Veterans Administration facilities and Defense Department Installations in certain areas of the South. Similar surveys are being conducted in northern areas by other members of AVC.

A by-product of the survey in the South has been the disclosure of evidence that public officials and certain newspapers, particularly in Alabama and in Georgia, are inciting their communities to riot as a result of Negro "sitdowns."

Enclosed with this letter are photostated reprints of newspaper accounts and editorials indicative of the temper of certain officials in Georgia and in Montgomery, Alabama.

The purpose of this letter is to urgently request that the Department of Justice conduct an investigation of this situation in both areas with a view to preventing any infringement of civil rights or civil liberties among Negro residents of the areas involved. Your cooperation will be genuinely appreciated.

Respectfully,

Paul Cooke
Chairman
National Affairs Commission

The Honorable
The Attorney General
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

PC/mrh

July 19, 1960

Mr. Paul Cooke
American Veterans Committee
1830 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Paul:

For whatever help I can be at this distance, I'll be glad to accept membership on the National Affairs Commission. And, apart from my personal connection with AVC, the facilities of the Southern Regional Council are at the disposal of the Commission.

It was good to see you in Atlantic City, and I congratulate you for the good work you did there, as you do year-around.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE

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To achieve a more Democratic
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"CITIZENS FIRST, VETERANS SECOND"

8 July 1960

Dear Harold:

I enjoyed seeing you at the Convention. I have been reappointed as Chairman of the National Affairs Commission and would very much like it if you would serve on the Commission. I am particularly interested in the help you can give me in civil rights problems and their application to the South.

I hope you will accept.

Sincerely,

Paul Cooke

Paul Cooke

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
126 The Prado North East
Atlanta 9, Georgia

PC/mrh
Enc.

HONORARY MEMBERS DR. RALPH J. BUNCHE • MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT • THE MOST REV. BERNARD J. SHEIL • HARRY S. TRUMAN **OFFICERS** MICKEY LEVINE, CHAIRMAN • LOUIS S. WARSHAW, VICE-CHAIRMAN • IRVIN LECHLITER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • SAMUEL TAPPIS, ADMINISTRATIVE DIRECTOR • PHINEAS INDRITZ, NATIONAL COUNSEL • R. HAL SILVERS, NATIONAL SECRETARY • JUSTIN BLACKWELDER, TREASURER • BERNARD R. BEDER, ASSOCIATE TREASURER • JESS E. WEISS, NATIONAL SERVICE OFFICER • QUENTIN WRIGHT, NATIONAL VAVS OFFICER **NATIONAL BOARD** BERNARD R. BEDER • JULIUS BERNSTEIN • KENNETH M. BIRKHEAD • IRVING BIRNBAUM • JUSTIN BLACKWELDER • BERNARD J. COGAN • PAUL COOKE • MURRAY M. CORAN • S. ARTHUR DEMBNER • VERNON A. EAGLE • SHANLEY N. EGETH • GILBERT A. HARRISON • TIBOR HEISLER • FRED HUSA • MARTIN KEEN • JOSEPH A. MAZUR • WILLIAM R. MING, JR. • CHAT PATERSON • HERBERT ROTHSCHILD • JOSEPH T. RUSSO • PETER J. SCOTT • PAUL SIFTON • JACK SOSKIN • MICHAEL STRAIGHT **NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL** CONG. JOHN BLATNIK • CONG. RICHARD BOLLING • CHARLES G. BOLTE • DAVE BREGER • CURTIS CAMPAIGNE, JR. • CONG. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR. • SEN. PAUL DOUGLAS • CLARK M. EICHELBERGER • IRVING M. ENGEL • ABE FORTAS • GOV. ORVILLE L. FREEMAN • RABBI ROLAND B. GITTELSON • DR. MASON W. GROSS • GEN. PAUL HAWLEY • BILL MAULDIN • ROBERT NATHAN • SEN. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER • CONG. BARRETT O'HARA • RONALD REAGAN • CONG. HENRY REUSS • GEN. TELFORD TAYLOR • CONG. FRANK THOMPSON, JR. • THORNTON WILDER • CONG. SIDNEY R. YATES **NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE** KENNETH M. BIRKHEAD • S. ARTHUR DEMBNER • SHANLEY N. EGETH • MICKEY LEVINE • HERBERT ROTHSCHILD • PETER J. SCOTT • LOUIS S. WARSHAW **COMMISSION CHAIRMEN** PAUL COOKE, NATIONAL AFFAIRS • BERNARD J. COGAN, INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS • JOSEPH A. MAZUR, VETERANS AND ARMED FORCES AFFAIRS

NATIONAL AFFAIRS PLATFORM OF THE AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE, ADOPTED AT THEIR 1960 CONVENTION, JUNE 10-12, AT ATLANTIC CITY, NEW JERSEY.

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES

AVC stands for the Bill of Rights as a living force animating the political life of our Nation and as a firm limitation on the arbitrariness of government.

AVC stands for the Bill of Rights as a guarantee of our freedom to speak, to assemble, to believe, and to dissent without fear from the conformities of the day.

AVC stands for the constitutional guarantees of equality for all regardless of race, color, ancestry, national origin, and religion.

AVC stands for responsible, efficient and honest government and for the merit system in government employment.

AVC stands for a government possessing and willing to exercise all powers necessary to bring about a solution of our national problems.

AVC stands for the just representation of the people in their legislatures within the framework of our national Constitution.

AVC supports the basic economic policy of the Employment Act of 1946 which holds out the promise of economic security for all.

AVC supports the active intervention of government, primarily of the Federal Government, in the economy and general welfare of our country to stimulate and provide employment, to improve the physical conditions of our cities and towns, of our housing and our schools, to bring all the greatest benefits from the development and conservation of our natural and industrial resources and to provide for the general welfare and health of our people.

AVC supports a tax policy based on ability to pay and opposes regressive sales and excise taxes.

AVC stands for the recognition of equal rights for labor and management and for improved social benefits of employees.

AVC supports an educational system and a public health service which will give the American people, and America's youth in particular, the knowledge, skills, and training, and the physical and mental health and stamina, to continue their forward march toward America's democratic fulfillment.

GOVERNMENT AND LIBERTY

I. The Nation's freedom - the Bill of Rights

1. We reaffirm the basic right of all Americans to due process of law, the right to counsel and to freedom from unlawful search and seizure. We oppose all efforts to suppress freedom to believe, speak, write, assemble, criticize, and dissent.

2. A. We urge the passage and enforcement of Federal legislation and regulations which will insure to the citizens of the United States and of the several States the full measure of their privileges and immunities of due process of law and the equal protection of the laws guaranteed to them by the Constitution, regardless of race, color, ancestry, national origin, religion, or sex.

B. In furtherance of the decision of the U.S. Supreme Court calling upon the States to integrate their school systems "with all deliberate speed" we urge the passage of Federal legislation which will:

(1) Direct the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare to give technical assistance to communities engaged in integration - as well as draw up plans for any community which has failed to initiate such integration plans of its own.

(2) Give the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare the further duty of seeking assistance from the Attorney General to enforce the above through all legal means at hand.

(3) Provide Federal funds to help support school systems deprived of State financing because of State or local laws designed to hinder or evade integration.

(4) Empower the Attorney General to seek injunctions or proceed under law on behalf of persons claiming deprivation of civil rights or liberties.

C. We urge the enactment of Federal, State, and local legislation to prevent discrimination, whether through segregation or otherwise, because of race, color, national origin, ancestry, religion, or old age and also the denial of equal opportunity in:

(1) Voting: (a) by abolition of poll tax and any other undue restriction or voting rights; (b) by legislation which makes it mandatory for all State voting registrars to maintain their records; (c) by legislation empowering the Justice Department to obtain such records under orders from any Federal District Court.

(2) Housing: By legislation aimed at cutting off Government aid at all levels to builders practicing racial or religious discrimination.

(3) Employment: By creation of a Federal Commission on equal job opportunity under Government contracts; and legislation at all levels aimed against segregation in employment.

(4) The use of facilities and accommodations open to the public.

D. We urge inclusion in all Federal legislation making loans or grants to states, municipalities or private institutions, of a provision requiring these loans or grants to be used without discrimination on the basis of race, color, ancestry, national origin, religion or sex (recognizing, however, the right of any institution to limit its religious services to the members of a particular religious denomination or to limit its services to the members of one sex).

E. We urge protection by Federal law of all members of the Armed Forces from physical violence, because of race, color, ancestry, national origin or religion.

F. We urge making lynching a Federal crime, as well as making provisions for compensation to the families of lynching victims.

G. We favor Federal legislation making it a crime to bomb or to conspire to bomb school, church and other public and quasi-public property.

H. We believe in the principal of church-state separation and are therefore opposed to the use of public funds for church-administered schools, the display of religious symbols on public property and sectarian instruction in public schools.

I. We favor freedom from censorship of newspapers, magazines, radio, television, motion pictures and other media by the Post Office, Customs Bureau, police departments and other units of government as well as by private pressure-groups.

J. We oppose wire-tapping and electronic eavesdropping, whether by private individuals or Government officials, elected or appointed.

3. A. The right against self-incrimination. A personal right to refuse to testify on any matter which he fears may tend to incriminate him a fundamental constitutional right which should not be diluted or impaired. No inference of guilt in any legal proceeding should be drawn in regards to any person solely because such person exercises this right.

B. The right to travel. The right of an American citizen to travel abroad should not be arbitarily abridged by the Federal Government. A citizen should be free to leave this country without an "exit permit" which the passport has in recent years in large part become.

C. Immigration and Naturalization. We urge revision of the immigration and naturalization laws to eliminate racial and religious discrimination, to eliminate the outdated national origins quota system and to do away with distinction in the treatment of native born and naturalized citizens.

We urge that all hearings on immigration and naturalization matters be subject to the safeguards of the Administrative Procedures Act.

We urge revision of our nationality laws to remove from them the provisions on loss of citizenship except for loss of citizenship through voluntary expatriation.

We urge a revision of the statutes and practices governing deportation

(a) to provide a reasonable statute of limitations precluding deportation of any person on the basis of any act or event which occurred prior to the limitation period.

(b) to preclude deportation of those charged with activities which were legal when undertaken.

(c) to preclude deportation of those who arrived in the United States as children and who have spent the major portion of their lives in the United States.

II. The Nation's Government

1. Freedom of information: The right of the people to full knowledge of governmental affairs must not be abridged, except where disclosure would imperil the national security or where disclosure would, without substantial public benefit, encroach on the right of the individual to personal liberty or freedom.

2. Congress: We urge proper changes in the rules of the Congress of the United States which will make it possible for the majority of the Members to vote cloture or close debate on legislation after a reasonable period, and which will make merit, not tenure alone the standard to be used in the selection of committee chairmen.

3. State and Federal relations: Federal payments to the States for aid to schools in federally impacted areas, for assistance to the blind, disabled, dependent children, and the aged, for slum clearance, waste treatment facilities, vacational education, and hospital construction must be continued. We favor Federal supervision which assures minimum standards in the performance of these cooperative programs.

4. State and local government: We urge reapportionment within the States to provide for equitable representation based on current population distribution.

5. The Federal civil service:

A. Apart from discharges based on reorganization of Government activities or reductions in force, Government employees should be discharged only for cause and through due process of law. The employee should be presented with a written statement of charges, have the right to a hearing before an impartial board. He shall have the right to present evidence,

be confronted with adverse witnesses, cross-examine witnesses, and receive a transcript of the hearing free of charge. Action toward his separation from the Government service should be taken only on the basis thus made.

B. The rights granted to veterans in the Veterans Preference Act in regard to discharge procedures and appeals should be extended to all Government employees except those in probationary status.

6. District of Columbia: We urge that the District of Colubia receive:

A. The right to full local self-government;

B. The right to vote in presidential elections and to representation in the electoral college in proportion to its population;

C. The right to elect one nonvoting Commissioner to sit in the House of Representatives and to represent the District in Congress;

D. A fixed annual contribution in lieu of real and personal property taxes on federally owned property within the District of Columbia.

ECONOMIC SECURITY

III. Basic economic policy

1. We continue to support the Employment Act of 1946 which states it is the policy of the Government to create and maintain "conditions under which there will be afforded useful employment opportunities, including self-employment, for those able, willing, and seeking to work and to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power."

2. To insure the interest of the consumer, we urge Congress to establish a Department of the Consumer, to be headed by a Secretary of Cabinet rank.

3. We know from our national experience that maximum prosperity, without inflation, can only be attained and maintained so long as the national economy continues to expand its consumption and investment with increased leisure at a rate equal to our population growth, plus rising productivity per man-hour. National policies and programs to insure this rate of national economic growth should be established.

IV. Monetary and tax policy

1. Monetary policy:

A. We urge the increase of and additional appropriations for much-needed social, welfare and economic measures as sound investments in the well-being of our Nation.

B. We urge easier credit for small business, home building, and the family farm.

C. We urge the establishment of a Federal capital budget for reimbursable public works projects with a life in excess of five years, in order to rationalize public works appropriations and to improve the accounting and budgetary operations of the Government.

2. Tax policy:

Increased economic activity together with stricter enforcement of our tax laws should produce much of the income needed to finance the Government programs which we support.

We urge the elimination of special provisions in the internal revenue laws which are discriminatory in nature. As blatant examples, we point to the favored tax treatment of the extractive industries, the restricted stock options for corporate executives, the retirement income credit, the preferred tax treatment of profits on stock market transactions, and the dividend exclusion and credit provisions.

We also call for an end to the abuse of the deductibility of business expenses to finance luxurious travel, vacations, and entertainment for business management, professional men and sales executives.

V. Housing and urban renewal

AVC is vitally aware of how closely the country's economy and well-being are dependent upon the building and housing industries and of the continued need for additional housing at reasonable rents. With this in mind we offer the following housing program:

1. That the FHA and VA insure mortgages for a term up to 40 years with low downpayments and that the Federal Government make said mortgages attractive investments to lending institutions.

2. An enlarged and vigorous middle income program both publicly owned and Government stimulated and privately sponsored including consumer cooperative housing as the best method of meeting the needs of an ever-growing middle class.

3. That the Government (municipal, State, Federal) pursue a vigorous program of urban renewal planning and make provisions for the smaller builder-owner and individual owner to participate actively.

4. Vigorous enforcements of present Government anti-discrimination clauses in FHA and VA loan provisions and a Federal law insuring open occupancy in all sales and rentals.

5. Continued and expanded publicly owned housing for low income groups, together with a Government stimulated, privately sponsored program to provide housing for said groups with a view toward giving subsidies, grants-in-aid, mortgage guarantees, site clearance aid and real estate tax abatement.

6. That the Government (Federal, State, and municipal) make allowance in the form of subsidized additional mortgage guarantees and real estate tax abatement to builders and owners who make special provisions for the disabled and the aged.

VI. Conservation and development of natural resources

We view the development and conservation of our natural resources as a vital part of the Government's role and policymaking function in the economy. Because of the scope of the subject, we state, however, our proposals in this field under a separate heading.

1. Department of Natural Resources. We suggest the reorganization of the Department of Interior as a Department of Natural Resources to promote effective application of the principles of conservation and development to all segments of our national life concerned with natural resources, and to center Federal responsibility in this field clearly within a single agency.

2. Soil and Forest Conservation. We urge the Department of Interior and Agriculture to continue and expand their programs of education and control designed to encourage wise conservation practices. We further request the appropriate committees of Congress to remain constantly vigilant to detect and prevent by appropriate legislation any unnecessary destruction or loss of the truly irreplaceable resources of soil and forest.

3. Water conservation. We recognize that, if water use continues to increase at its present rate, we shall be faced within a century with the necessity of using and reusing every gallon of water available from natural sources within our country.

A. We, therefore, reaffirm our strong support of the comprehensive river basin development (one river - one plan) principle first proclaimed by Theodore Roosevelt in his message to Congress of February 26, 1908.

B. We urge the accelerated application of this principle to our great river basins in order to assure their full development and to prevent the waste of a large proportion of their resources, and condemn the abandonment of this principle by the present administration in the Hells Canyon conflict and the violation of the comprehensive plan for the Columbia River Basin.

C. We favor enactment of legislation to establish a coordinated Great Plains Administration and the coordination of separate regional developments of this type, both with respect to river valley considerations and to national economic policies.

D. We urge the Federal Government to undertake the planning and construction of multi-purpose water and power projects similar to the one provided for in the Tennessee Valley. The value of the social and economic benefits provided by these projects to these areas and their inhabitants are far in excess of the investment made by the Government in their development. Their very scope and vastness preclude their proper development by the short-term, piece-meal operations of private interests.

E. With the limitations of fresh water from natural sources clearly in view, we ask for development and conservation of all our water resources for maximum domestic, agricultural, industrial and recreational uses.

F. We urge the Department of the Interior to expedite the program to develop economic means of converting brackish and saline waters into usable fresh waters at economic cost.

4. Energy resources conservation: We call for the establishment of a rational, comprehensive national policy to guide the development and use of our energy resources and a positive, dynamic Federal program to effectuate that policy, especially:

A. The maximum feasible development of our only prepetually renewable energy resource, the hydro-electric power of our great river systems, including Federal construction of such multi-purpose power dams as Hells Canyon Dam, the Trinity River project and other waterpower, irrigation, flood control and navigation works, using standards of feasibility for such projects based upon their reasonably expected service life.

B. A continuation and acceleration of the Federal programs to develop and stimulate development of effective processes for the utilization of our immense reserves of oil, shale and coal.

C. The speedy development of atomic energy (both fission and fusion type) for power and other peaceful purposes, including the construction of atomic power reactors and powerplants by the Government, to develop atomic technology and ultimately to provide for low-cost atomic power.

D. With our production and consumption of electric energy increasing at phenomenal rates, we urge the establishment of a rational and coherent national policy to maximize the benefits available from the great strides technology has made in high-capacity, high-voltage generation and transmission and to assure to every part of the Nation the economic stimulus of abundant low-cost power.

5. Wildlife and recreation: We urge an increasing expansion of our national park system, national monuments and national forests for recreation of the people of the United States and for preservation of wildlife and the conservation of the few remaining wilderness areas in our country in their natural state.

6. Public lands and Indian rights: We strongly recommend enactment of laws making it mandatory for the executive branch to submit to Congress for prior approval any proposal to sell or grant proprietary privileges in Federal-owned land or resources to private interests. We oppose revocation of Federal commitments entered into by treaty between the U.S. Government and various Indian tribes. We shall support efforts to safeguard Indian lands and resources from exploitation and expropriation in violation of treaty obligations.

VII. Agriculture

We believe that the land, water and other natural resources should be used and conserved by owners and operators in such a manner as to pass on these irreplaceable natural resources undiminsihed to future generations.

We are convinced that families on family farms can best conserve these priceless national assets and that they are an essential balancing force in the social, economic, and political structure that is vital to the stability, preservation and improvement of representative democratic government.

We support the right of farm families to earn and receive income from their work, management, and property ownership equivalent to those earned and received by people in other walks of life from similar productive resources.

We believe that these aims can be attained through combined individual and cooperative private action with and under programs of democratic government.

Industrialized agriculture, which now is able to use unprotected and sweated farm labor, domestic and imported, in competing unfairly with family type farming, must be brought into compliance with all labor and welfare legislation which now protects non-farm industrial workers, including the Wage Hours Act, social security, unemployment compensation, the Taft-Hartley Labor-Management Relations Act and State workmen's compensation, health and safety laws. Only as these long overdue extensions of coverage are made can more than 2 million migrant farm workers - the most depressed, helpless, and exploited remaining segment of our society - be given first class citizenship in our economy; only as this is done can family farm operators be assured of the fair competition needed for their survival at a truly American standard of living.

VIII. Labor and social policy

We urge:

1. An increase in the Federal minimum wage to $1.25 and extension of Federal minimum wage legislation to cover employees now excluded. We favor similar extension of coverage for the Fair Labor Standards Act as a whole.

2. Federal standards to increase unemployment insurance benefits, more realistic eligibility standards and lengthening of the period for which benefits are paid to 39 weeks.

3. Improved social security benefits, including earlier optional retirement. We warn against the tendency of administrators of the act to construe the act narrowly in many individual cases, so as to deny social security benefits contrary to the spirit of the act.

4. Amendment of the Taft-Hartley Act to outlaw State right-to-work laws, to compel the NLRB to accept jurisdiction whenever an employer is actually engaged in inter-state commerce, to grant strikers the right to vote in certification elections and generally to establish labor's equality with management in labor's own sphere. Such changes in the law are necessary since the Taft-Hartley Act has not brought about friendly relations between management and labor but has unjustifiably limited - especially as currently administered - the sphere of union activity and has unjustly prevented workers, in many parts of the Nation, especially in the South, from exercising their right to organize.

5. Enactment of laws for the full disclosure of the administration of pension and health and welfare plans, whether administered by unions or management or jointly by both. Federal law should follow existing Federal securities legislation and State laws such as that of the State of New York, except for the exemptions contained in the latter.

6. The recently disclosed abuses in labor union management call for labor vigorously to clean its own house with the aid of Federal remedial legislation. Caution should be exercised in regard to legislation dealing with internal union management so that it will strengthen, not weaken, an independent democratic labor movement. In particular, we oppose proposals to bring the labor union under the sway of the antitrust laws.

7. Legislation requiring unions to admit to membership qualified applicants witout regard to race, color, ancestry, national origin, religion or sex.

8. Legislation granting official recognition to Federal employee unions.

IX. Education

Impressed by the fresh insights and persuaded by the soundness of the Rockerfeller Brothers Fund 1958 Report on Education in America, we call for active governmental leadership, community interest and support;

1. To promote widespread recognition of the fact that "in the quality of education lies the fate of freedom itself," to provide educational opportunity for every American to the limits of his capacity, and to identify the talented among us and challenge them to their highest achievement.

2. To insure the availability of adequate funds for public school construction and raising teachers' salaries, such as in the revised Murray-Metcalf bill (or similar legislation) and for necessary expansion of the physical plant in tax-supported institutions of higher learning, all on a scale sufficient to satisfy the demands imposed by continuing increases in student population and the cost of living, to improve the quality of education and to elevate the status of the teaching profession to a level commensurate with its social importance; also to explore the practicability of the creation of a large fund to provide loans repayable by the borrowers over long terms out of excess earnings attributable to education above minimum levels.

3. To improve and extend existing scholarship and loan programs for college and university students.

4. To extend scholarship and exchange programs for study by Americans abraod and by nationals of other countries in the United States.

5. To appropriate adequate Federal aid to communities impacted by Federal programs.

X. Public health

We urge:

1. Increased Federal expenditures for research in the prevention and cure of illness.

2. Expansion of medical insurance and group medical care plans, including a plan for national health insurance.

3. Expansion of public health facilities and services, hospitals and nursing homes and facilities for the rehabilitation of the aged and disabled.

4. Access by patients to all health facilities and services, hospitals and nursing homes without regard to race, color, ancestry, national origin, religion or sex.

XI. Civil defense

Aware of the importance of a vigorous civil defense effort to the very survival of the United States and its people, AVC favors effective action at all levels of governmental and individual effort in order to secure the maximum degree of protection.

August 17, 1960

Mr. Paul Cooke, Chairman
AVC National Affairs Commission
1830 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Paul:

With the hope that this is still in time to be of some help, here are some suggestions toward the statement on school desegregation:

(1) Since AVC's recommendations will presumably be based on experience and evidence, I suggest that the statement include a brief bibliography that will support the suggestions made. I am sending separately a few appropriate publications, in case you haven't seen them; others can be selected from the bibliography in the SRC pamphlet referred to immediately below.

(2) In a recent pamphlet, SRC tried to sum up what we now know about school desegregation. The pertinent section for this purpose reads as follows:

> <u>What are the requirements of a good desegregation plan?</u>
>
> Although the methods for desegregating and administering a school system should be left to professional educators, there are some principles of common sense which any plan ought to observe.
>
> In the first place, the initiative for desegregation should rest with school officials, and not with the Negro child and parents. The school administrators

are responsible for the soundness of the educational system. To thrust upon the Negro parent and child the psychological and and social burden of starting the desegregation process is unjust, inhumane -- and irresponsible. It is the professional educators who, if left free of political control, can intelligently decide where desegregation should begin, how differences in achievement and ability can best be accommodated and overcome, and what is most advantageous for the individual child.

Moreover, no plan is good which treats children as if they were things, and not sensitive personalities. To place one or two children in a school with scores or hundreds of children of the other race, and to do so with the deliberate intent to purchase thereby continued segregation of all other children, is an act of punishment. It converts children into objects of curiosity, and occasionally of persecution; it makes of them scapegoats for the failure of laws and political policies.

Another common-sense principle is, that a plan should be geared to ending abnormal conditions as rapidly as possible. Token desegregation means continually disturbed school conditions, for the white students as well as the Negroes.

And finally, a good plan is one which is conducive to community peace. No plan can either wholly cause or wholly prevent violence and disorder. There are, nevertheless, some features which experience has shown to invite trouble. For example, as one prominent official has been quoted as saying, "no one hits a six year old." The implication of this is that those school systems which begin desegregation at the senior high school level, do so at the very place where violent reaction is most likely. Likewise, prudent planning will provide a safety valve, perhaps in the form of relatively free transfer-out privileges, for those parents who are too passionate to tolerate any desegregated education for their children.

(Taken from: School Desegregation: The First Six Years. SRC pamphlet, May 1960)

(3) In addition to a good plan, sound preparation is essential. On the basis of careful study of desegregation experiences, Wey and Corey concluded in Action Patterns in School Desegregation: "Scattered localities

reported success with minimum public preparation. But the vast majority of school officials' reports and extensive on-the-spot research point up the importance for at least some preparing, either through overt or subtle means. In fact, for most communities, an attempt to desegregate without some public conditioning is an invitation to failure and the possibility mounts in proportion to local sentiment against desegregation."

(4) A major part of preparation should include community education to explode the myths about school desegregation that have been spread by extremist propaganda. For example: It is the overwhelming conclusion of social science that there are no innate differences in intelligence attributable to race. There is not a single shred of evidence that desegregation lowers academic standards or increases juvenile delinquency; on the contrary, some school systems have reported an improvement in both respects after desegregation was put into effect. The Washington, D. C., school system -- the most extensive school desegregation yet effected -- has been deliberately misrepresented to the American public; objective study has demonstrated steady improvement in academic and behavior standards since the Washington schools were desegregated. And so on.

(5) Preparation of teachers is critically important. In her authoritative booklet on desegregation, Jean Grambs wrote: "Attitudes of teachers do not change overnight, any more than do attitudes of children. It has been found, however, that where teachers of both groups can meet on a professional level to discuss mutual problems, many of the stereotypes and distortions fade away; they begin to see each other as equals and as persons worthy of respect. This feeling is then apt to carry over to children, and teachers are then more able to see each child as he is." The implications for the administrator are clear. One of them is that faculty integration, along with pupil integration, may do as much as anything to facilitate a successful experience.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

Separate mailing:

Action Patterns in School Desegregation,
Wey and Corey.

A Guide to School Integration - Grambs

Emotional Aspects of School Desegregation,
Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry

School Desegregation: The First Six Years,
SRC Pamphlet, May 1960

Addendum: A Five-Year Report on Desegregation
in the Washington, D. C. Schools, Hansen.

"L" Reports # 13, 16, 17

LWD - For advice Monday afternoon. Thanks. HCF

Washington, D. C., Chapter

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE (AVC)

Citizens First, Veterans Second

1830 JEFFERSON PLACE, N.W. WASHINGTON 6, D.C. EXecutive 3-1477

August 6, 1960

IVOR WAYNE
Chapter Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN
Vice Chairman
CLIFFORD CARR
Recording Secy
R. HAL SILVERS
Corresponding Secretary
PAUL COOKE
Treasurer

Dear Harold,

Thanks for agreeing to serve on the AVC National Affairs Commission. And you are at the right distance to help.

I should like to send out from the Commission at letter to each school district integrating (or desegregating, technically) this September. In the letter AVC would urge the school board (Houston, Texas; Fairfax County, Virginia, for example) to take such steps as we believe would accomplish the changeover in fair and effective fashion.

Acknowledged 8/12/60

Possibly, we would say something about the importance of a carefully prepared policy for children and teachers. Or the importance of planning for integration as well as desegregation. Or the need for educating the school personnel to their full job.

Now, almost by return mail, would you send me the statement you would recommend being sent--or the framework or basic elements of such a statement? It could be particularized for Houston, etc, or general to apply to all such cities in the near future.

I should appreciate this very much. Thanks.

Action Pattern, esp Part I & II
Ad Day, esp 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22
L 13, 16, 17
Emotional, esp 37-end
Addendum
Thanks

Yours truly,

Paul Cooke, Chairman
AVC National Affairs Commission

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Avenue, NE
Washington, D.C.

ANNUAL AVC BILL OF RIGHTS AWARD DINNER – SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1959

Executive Committee: John Fauntleroy, George Idelson, Phineas Indritz, Ann Ewing McCarthy, Robert Menke, Matthew Mitchell, Irving Panzer, Cody Pfanstiehl, Al Raisen, Chester Shore, Rudolf Sobernheim, Raymond D. Watts.

AVC

"CITIZENS FIRST, VETERANS SECOND"

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE INCORPORATED

NATIONAL OFFICES • 1830 JEFFERSON PLACE, N. W. • WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • EXECUTIVE 3-1477

To Achieve a More Democratic and Prosperous America and a More Stable World

19 August 1960

To: Members of the National Affairs Commission, AVC

From: Paul Cooke, Commission Chairman

I. Meeting Reminder

The Commission holds its first meeting (in accordance with the memorandum of 2 August)

Friday, 26 August 1960, promptly at four p.m.

AVC National Office, 1830 Jefferson Place, N. W.

II. Agenda

		Time
1.	Review of programs and projects in action. (See attachment)	4:00 - 4:20 P.M.
2.	Setting of priority programs to implement platform. (In 1959-60 (1) Civil Rights and civil liberties (2) Reapportionment.)	4:20 - 4:35 P.M.
3.	Study of Audit responsibilities of the Commission.	4:35 - 5:00 P.M.
4.	Determination of new projects.	5:20 - 5:30 P.M.
5.	Consideration of resolutions for September National Board Meeting.	5:30 - 5:55 P.M.
6.	New Members	5:55 - 6:00 P.M.

III. Dinner

Commission will have dinner together promptly at six. Members expecting to be present and not yet advising the National Office should write. (Envelope enclosed) 6:00 - 7:30 P.M.

IV. Information for Commission

If you cannot attend the Commission meeting, please send in proposals on items 1 - 5, on II, above.

Paul Cooke

CURRENT NATIONAL AFFAIRS COMMISSION PROGRAMS AND PROJECTS
Report at 26 August 1960, Commission Meeting

Project and Commission Member	Commission Action and Status
1. Prince Edward County School situation (INDRITZ)	Request to Department of Justice to enter (amicus curiae) in Federal court in behalf of plaintiffs now receiving no public education in the County.
2. Federal aid to Public Education (BIRKHEAD)	Letter urging support of S-8, particularly emphasizing use of funds for construction or salaries, and urging that funds be denied school districts not complying with the 1954 school decision (To Lister Hill and Cleveland M. Bailey).
3. Repeal of disclaimer in National Defense Education At (YARMOLINSKY)	Telegram urging support of S.2929 which repeals the disclaimer affidavit in the Act. (To House Subcommittee on Special Education)
4. Immigration matters and Veterans (WILL)	Letters urging approval of (1) H.R.7209 to ease naturalization proceedings for Korean veterans, of (2) second bill easing re-enlistment of aliens. To House Judiciary Committee.
5. Reapportionment leaders conference (RICE)	First plans for recovening group on reapportionment, meeting to be held in Washington in mid-November. Also letter to Maryland AVCers urging their support of new Maryland group testing in court apportionment.
6. Presidential election - D.C. vote in 1964 (SHORE)	Draft letter to go to all governors urging their active support of constitutional amendment approved by Congress to give D. C. residents a vote in the presidential election.
7. Arkansas General Hospital and Vocational Rehabilitation Center (COOKE)	Letters to Cong. Norblad, Armed Services Committee and Director of Arkansas Vocational Rehabilitation Service on issue of segregation in the new rehabilitation center
8. Desegration and Integration for first time (FLEMING)	Letters to school boards with detailed suggestions (1) for "fair and peaceful desegration" and (2) for immediate start on "real integration."

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American Veterans Committee (AVC)

1830 Jefferson Place, N. W.

Washington 6, D. C.

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August 30, 1960

Mr. J. Arnold Feldman
Executive Director
American Veterans Committee
1830 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Arnold:

I am sorry that your letter of August 17 has gone unanswered while I have been traveling around.

Actually, there are five colleges in the Atlanta University system -- Clark, Morehouse, Spelman, Morris Brown and the Interdenominational Theological Seminary. In order to try to advise you about establishing relations with students in these and other Negro colleges in Georgia, I need to know a little more about your objective. Does this relate to AVC's veterans services, to the sit-in movement or to the student protest movement or what?

Of course, the normal channel for any such approach would be through the student government, or the student body presidents. If you feel that these are the names you need, let me know and we will try to round them up. In the case of the sit-ins, other student leaders might be more appropriate, at least in some cases.

I promise to answer your next letter more promptly.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE

avc

NATIONAL OFFICE • 1830 JEFFERSON PLACE, N.W. WASHINGTON 6, D.C. • EXecutive 3-1477

To achieve a more Democratic
and prosperous America
and a more stable World
"CITIZENS FIRST, VETERANS SECOND"

Student body presidents?

17 August 1960

Dear Harold:

We now have a complete list of Negro colleges and universities. According to our compilation, the colleges in Georgia are: Albany State College - Albany; Atlanta University - Atlanta; Clark College - Atlanta; The Fort Valley State College - Fort Valley; Georgia Baptist College - Macon; Morehouse College - Atlanta.

As we are most anxious to establish relationships with students in these colleges, we would appreciate any advice you may offer as to whom we should contact.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold

J. Arnold Feldman
Executive Director

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
126 The Prado N. E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia

JAF/mrh

HONORARY MEMBERS DR. RALPH J. BUNCHE • MRS. ELEANOR ROOSEVELT • THE MOST REV. BERNARD J. SHEIL • HARRY S. TRUMAN **OFFICERS** MICKEY LEVINE, CHAIRMAN • LOUIS S. WARSHAW, VICE-CHAIRMAN • IRVIN LECHLITER, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR • SAMUEL TAPPIS, ADMINISTRATIVE DIRECTOR • PHINEAS INDRITZ, NATIONAL COUNSEL • R. HAL SILVERS, NATIONAL SECRETARY • JUSTIN BLACKWELDER, TREASURER • BERNARD R. BEDER, ASSOCIATE TREASURER • JESS E. WEISS, NATIONAL SERVICE OFFICER • QUENTIN WRIGHT, NATIONAL VAVS OFFICER **NATIONAL BOARD** BERNARD R. BEDER • JULIUS BERNSTEIN • KENNETH M. BIRKHEAD • IRVING BIRNBAUM • JUSTIN BLACKWELDER • BERNARD J. COGAN • PAUL COOKE • MURRAY M. CORAN • S. ARTHUR DEMBNER • VERNON A. EAGLE • SHANLEY N. EGETH • GILBERT A. HARRISON • TIBOR HEISLER • FRED HUSA • MARTIN KEEN • JOSEPH A. MAZUR • WILLIAM R. MING, JR. • CHAT PATERSON • HERBERT ROTHSCHILD • JOSEPH T. RUSSO • PETER J. SCOTT • PAUL SIFTON • JACK SOSKIN • MICHAEL STRAIGHT **NATIONAL ADVISORY COUNCIL** CONG. JOHN BLATNIK • CONG. RICHARD BOLLING • CHARLES G. BOLTE • DAVE BREGER • CURTIS CAMPAIGNE, JR. • CONG. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR. • SEN. PAUL DOUGLAS • CLARK M. EICHELBERGER • IRVING M. ENGEL • ABE FORTAS • GOV. ORVILLE L. FREEMAN • RABBI ROLAND B. GITTELSON • DR. MASON W. GROSS • GEN. PAUL HAWLEY • BILL MAULDIN • ROBERT NATHAN • SEN. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER • CONG. BARRETT O'HARA • RONALD REAGAN • CONG. HENRY REUSS • GEN. TELFORD TAYLOR • CONG. FRANK THOMPSON, JR. • THORNTON WILDER • CONG. SIDNEY R. YATES **NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE** KENNETH M. BIRKHEAD • S. ARTHUR DEMBNER • SHANLEY N. EGETH • MICKEY LEVINE • HERBERT ROTHSCHILD • PETER J. SCOTT • LOUIS S. WARSHAW **COMMISSION CHAIRMEN** PAUL COOKE, NATIONAL AFFAIRS • BERNARD J. COGAN, INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS • JOSEPH A. MAZUR, VETERANS AND ARMED FORCES AFFAIRS

MEETING OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS COMMISSION, AVC
26 August 1960

PRESENT: Balfe, Birkhead, Cooke, Feldman, Indritz, La Brecque, Lechliter, Mapes, Redfield, Shore, Sobernheim and Weil. Allinger, Fleming, Rice and Watts sent letters that they were unable to attend.

REVIEW OF PROGRAMS

Prince Edward County School Situation. The Department of Justice asked our assistance in obtaining copies of papers and briefs that were filed in the private suit pending in Prince Edwards County. As soon as we obtain the material we will send it.

Federal Aid to Education. Birkhead reported that this legislation is blocked in the House Rules Committee and is dead for this session. A motion was passed that AVC write to all House and Senate Candidates stating AVC's support for Federal Aid to Education.

Repeal of Disclaimer in National Defense Education. A telegram was sent by AVC to the House Sub Committee on Special Education urging support of S.2929 which repeals the disclaimer affadavit in the Act.

Immigration. Letters will be sent on two bills (1) H.R. 7209 easing naturalization proceedings for Korean veterans so that they can follow the same procedure as World War II veterans (2) A bill in the Senate Judiciary Committee easing the re-enlistment requirements of aliens so that such aliens so not have to come back to the United States to file a declaration of intent to become an American citizen prior to re-enlistment but can do so at their overseas station.

Reapportionment. A motion was passed that Andrew Rice be given authority to reconvene a group of interested organizations on reapportionment similar to the group that AVC had convened last November. June Bellish, Henry Stoner

and Walter Redfield were added to Rice's sub-committee. Redfield's suggestion that AVC support State unicameral legislatures was referred to the subcommittee with the request that if such subcommittee should approve the principle it should report to the full committee whether AVC could support the principle under our existing platform.

Presidential Election - D.C. A motion was passed that after the elections, AVC send out a letter to the Governors of all states and the presiding officers of all state legislatures urging their support of the proposed constitutional amendment, and that the individual Chapters be requested to urge the individual members of their state legislatures to support such amendment.

Arkansas General Hospital. Letters were sent to Congressman Norblad, Armed Services Committee and to the Director of the Arkansas Covational Rehabilitation Service pointing out that any provision in law or any promise not to discriminate in the use of the Rehabilitation Service does not preclude such Service from segregating their facilities, and specific assurance of non-segregation should be obtained.

Desegregation and Integration for the First Time. Letters are being sent to school boards with detailed suggestions for fair and peaceful desegration and for immediate start on real integration for the districts that have already started desegregating.

PRIORITIES

A motion was passed that the priority program to implement the platform remains as in 1959-60. (1) Civil Rights and Civil Liberties and (2) Re-apportionment.

NEW PROJECTS

Lechliter was appointed in charge of a sub-committee to take appropriate action in cases in which a civil rights violation injures our international relationships. Weil was also appointed on this sub-committee.

Birkhead was appointed in charge of a sub-committee on legislative reform. Shore was placed on this sub-committee.

The problem of water pollution was considered as a new project.

RESOLUTIONS FOR NATIONAL BOARD MEETING

A resolution was passed that the Commission and National Board prepare a statement in the nature of national needs to be presented to the new Congress.

VETERANS AUDIT

It was decided to write to the Civil Rights Commission regarding the proposed investigation of the Civil Service Commission in regard to unequal job opportunities for Negroes as well as the Civil Service Commission.

NEW MEMBERS

Harry Merican, Washington, D. C. and Henry Stoner, Avon Park, Florida were appointed to the National Affairs Commission.

It was reported that AVC will write to the Rockefeller Foundation in regards to what happened to an AVC official who was told she could not use the swimming pool in Williamsburg, Virginia.

NEXT MEETING

Executive Committee, 14 October - noon; Commission, 18 November - 8:00 P. M.

MF - File AVC

NATIONAL AFFAIRS COMMISSION

MEMBER	ADDRESS	SPECIAL AREA
Martin Alliger	775 Nostrand Avenue Brooklyn, New York	Housing
Harry Balfe	Montclair Academy Montclair, New Jersey	Youth Conservation Program
* Kenneth Birkhead	653 Queen Anne Terrace Falls Church, Virginia	Reapportionment
* Paul Cooke, CHAIRMAN	1203 Girard Street, N.W. Washington, D. C.	Education
S. Arthur Dembner	140 Cabrini Blvd. New York 33, New York	Reapportionment
J. George Fiedler	18 West 70th Street New York, New York	"Real" Integration
Harold C. Fleming	126 The Prado Northeast Atlanta 9, Georgia	Integration & Civil Rights in the South - Especially in the South.
* Walter Golman	5217 - 4th Street N.E. Washington 11, D. C.	
* Frank Iglehart	204 Courtland Avenue Towson 4, Maryland	Civil Defense
* Phineas Indritz	1725 Dublin Drive Silver Spring, Maryland	Civil Rights
Richard La Brecque	46 Irving Street Cambridge 38, Mass.	Platform, Philosophy and Approach
Milton Mapes	1308 Hewitt Street Falls Church, Virginia	Natural Resourses
Walter Redfield	110 West 96th Street New York 25, New York	
* Andrew Rice	111 Roney Lane Syracuse, New York	Reapportionment
Herbert Rothschild	88-35 Elmhurst Avenue Elmhurst 73, New York	Fiscal Policy
* Chester Shore	1320 Vermont Avenue N.W. Washington, D. C.	D.C. Home Rule Immigration

* Executive Committee Members
\# Committee Members in Advisory Capacity

MEMBER	ADDRESS	SPECIAL AREA
* Paul Sifton	3150 Highland Place N.W. Washington 8, D. C.	Labor Agriculture
R. Hal Silvers	25-A Ridge Road Greenbelt, Maryland	Aged/Aging
* Rudy Sobernheim	4200 Cathedral Ave. N.W. Washington, D. C.	Fiscal Policy
# Raymond Watts	811 East Jefferson Rockville, Maryland	Integrated Housing
Frank E. G. Weil	416 Lafayette Street New York 3, New York	Immigration
# Adam Yarmolinsky	Route 2, Box 438 McLean, Virginia	Civil Liberties

* Executive Committee Members
\# Committee Members in Advisory Capacity

AVC

"CITIZENS FIRST, VETERANS SECOND"

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE INCORPORATED

NATIONAL OFFICES • 1830 JEFFERSON PLACE, N. W. • WASHINGTON 6, D. C. • EXECUTIVE 3-1477

To Achieve a More Democratic and Prosperous America and a More Stable World

COPY

4 August 1960

Dear Mr. Barrett:

You will recall that on September 3, 1959, representatives of AVC's National Affairs Commission conferred with you, in your office. We discussed with you the action of the authorities of Prince Edward County, Virginia, closing the County's public schools to avoid complying with the decrees of the Federal courts that colored children be admitted into the previously white schools.

At that time, we suggested several courses of action that the Federal Government might take to prevent this outrageous denial of public education to many hundreds of pupils solely because of race.

There were then pending in Congress various civil rights bills, some of which included the so-called Title III provisions; and you indicated that if such authority were available, the Federal Government would certainly consider instituting a suit to require the County authorities to open the schools on a non-racial basis.

Pending the enactment of such legislation, you then indicated that the Department of Justice would consider filing an amicus curiae brief in any case that might be initiated by private parties in the Federal courts to compel the opening of the Prince Edward County schools.

St. John Barrett, Esq.
Civil Rights Division
Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Within the past few weeks, such a suit was instituted in the United States District Court in Virginia. It is now pending there and will be heard in the near future.

In the light of our previous conversation concerning this matter, we respectfully urge that the Department of Justice enter into this case as amicus curiae to help protect the constitutional rights of the children of Prince Edward County.

The Department of Justice has in past years frequently participated as amicus curiae in civil rights cases for the purpose of aiding the courts in the protection of the constitutional rights of colored people. Thus, the Attorney General specifically noted the Department's interest in protecting the constitutional rights of American citizens, in the Government's briefs in Shelley v. Kraemer, 334 U.S. 1; Hurd v. Hodge, 334 U.S. 24; Takahashi v. Fish and Game Commission, 334 U.S. 410; Henderson v. United States, 339 U.S. 816; District of Columbia v. John R. Thompson Co., 346 U.S. 100; the Public School Segregation Cases, 347 U.S. 483; Cooper v. Aaron, 358 U.S. 1, and in many other cases, both in the Supreme Court and also in lower federal courts.

There is no higher duty of Government than the protection of the constitutional rights of American citizens; and we urge that the Department of Justice should therefore file an amicus curiae brief in the pending Prince Edward County case.

For your convenience there is attached a copy of our letter to you of September 2, 1959, together with a copy of the attachment to that letter.

Sincerely yours,

/s/ Paul Cooke
Chairman
AVC National Affairs Commission

PC/mrh
Enclosures

September 15, 1960

Mr. J. Arnold Feldman
Executive Director
American Veterans Committee
1830 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Arnold:

Listed below are the names of student body presidents of the various colleges in the Atlanta University Center. We have not been able to get the names for the other Negro colleges in Georgia. I suggest that the simplest thing to do would be for you to write them by title and trust that the institutions will see that they reach the right students.

I think this approach will be a wise and useful one.

Mr. Ben Brown
Clark College
Atlanta

Mr. William Hixon
Morris Brown College
Atlanta

Mr. John Bullock
Morehouse College
Atlanta

Miss Herschell Sullivan
Spelman College
Atlanta

Mr. Ed Harper
Atlanta University
Atlanta,

Mr. Melvin Tolbert
Interdenominational Theological Center
Atlanta

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE

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To achieve a more Democratic
and prosperous America
and a more stable World
"CITIZENS FIRST, VETERANS SECOND"

1 September 1960

Dear Harold:

Our purpose is, at least in part, to have regular Southern contacts in order that the Negro veteran in the South can have some constant flow as to his rights as a veteran; in other words, to help carry out the recommendations of the 1960 Audit.

We would appreciate the names of the student government leaders in the colleges you mentioned.

I will forward your letter to Bernie Bellush, who can answer you in greater detail.

Sincerely yours,

Arnold

J. Arnold Feldman
Executive Director

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Room 432, 63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

JAF/mrh

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September 27, 1960

Mr. Bernard Bellush
14 Poplar Avenue
Pelham, New York

Dear Bernie:

Thanks for your letter of September 13. You should have received by now my second letter to Arnold listing the names of student body presidents at the Atlanta colleges. If we can help further, let me know.

I have a copy of the audit as it was distributed at the Annual Conference. I assume that this was the final or near final form, but if there have been significant changes, I would greatly appreciate a copy of the latter version.

With best regards,

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

The City College
BERNARD M. BARUCH SCHOOL OF BUSINESS AND PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION
17 LEXINGTON AVENUE
NEW YORK 10, N. Y.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

14 Poplar Avenue
Pelham, New York
September 13, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming, Exec. Director
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear ~~Mr.~~ Harold Fleming:

Your recent letter to Arnold Feldman of the American Veterans Committee was forwarded to me for reply because of my recent appointment by Mickey Levine to direct AVC's campaign to contact key students on Negro college campuses in the South.

Of course, AVC remains interested in, and will cooperate with, the sit-in and student protest movements, in accordance with its longtime traditions and desire of its membership. Nevertheless, it was the decision of the delegates at the last national convention of AVC, implemented by National Board action, that we bring to the attention of key campus contacts the work and conclusions of AVC's latest Audit, the individuals who cooperated with us, and our plans to establish and service AVC Chapters in the South , and also service those Negro veterans who are not members of our organization.

In view of what I hope has been a clarification of our desires, I would be more than grateful if you would send me the names of student contacts, and others in the Atlanta University system, who would be helpful in furthering our long range plans. Naturally, we will be guided by any suggestions on your part.

Our National Board will be meeting this weekend in Washington, prepared to kick off our Southern campaign immediately thereafter.

Many thanks for your interest and cooperation.

Sincerely,
Bernie
Bernard Bellush

Bernard Bellush,
AVC National Board Member

P.S. By the way, do you have a copy of our final audit report?

AVC file

MINUTES OF MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
NATIONAL AFFAIRS COMMISSION
October 6, 1960

PRESENT: Cooke, Feldman, Birkhead, Shore, Rice, Indritz and Lechliter.

Reapportionment - (Rice) Andy advised that he had met in New York with members of the Political Science Association; had discussed the matter with Jewel Bellush; had obtained records of the preceding convention from Birkhead; had discussed the matter with Dave Williams of A.D.A. and corresponded with Henry Stoner.

A motion was passed that A.V.C. set up a convention of persons interested in reapportionment; and that A.V.C. also investigate the possibility of taking action in the Supreme Court cases dealing with reapportionment in Virginia and Maryland. Also that A.V.C. should bring to the attention of the convention the Supreme Court cases.

It was decided to hold the convention Monday, November 28; that the convention should be an all day conference announced as closed to the press; that A.V.C.'s sessions should be as follows: 10:00 - 10:30 plenary session; 10:40 - 12:00 group working sessions; 12:15 - 1:45 luncheon reporting sessions and discussions by persons who have fought for reapportionment; 1:45 - 5:00 group working sessions. It was decided that the conference cost should be $2.50 over the cost of the luncheon and that this should include a coffee break. Invitations will be sent six weeks in advance by letter.

Veterans Audit - We had sent copies of the Audit to the President's Committee on Government Employment Policy and the Civil Service Commission. They both replied to the effect that they could do nothing unless we should give them specific information as to qualified Negro veterans who were denied employment on the basis of race. They also stated they would welcome informal discussions.

It was decided that the replies we received were inadequate, that the important factor is not specific individual cases but rather a pattern of discrimination as shown by the practices and small number of Negroes employed. It was decided we should send a new letter to the President's Committee (copy to Civil Service Commission) pointing out the specific patterns and practices set forth in the audit.

Letter to Secretary of State Christian Herter - A letter will be sent to Herter requesting that he take active steps to remove discrimination in housing for diplomats and referring to A.V.C. activity in securing the removal of racial designations in real estate advertisements.

Armed Services Designation of Race - Rice reported that he noted that Air Force Recruits sent to Lockland Base, Texas had their race listed on their orders. This matter was referred to the Executive Director for action by him or the appropriate Commission.

via air mail

November 28, 1960

Mr. Paul Cooke
Chapter Chairman
American Veterans Committee
1830 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Paul:

I am honored, of course, to be chosen for the Washington AVC Chapter's annual Bill of Rights award. My personal efforts scarcely deserve this recognition, but I am assuming that the overall work of the Southern Regional Council is the real honoree.

In those terms, I will be glad to accept the award and will plan to be in Washington on February 22 or 23. Naturally, I will also be happy to speak at the Howard University luncheon if that is arranged.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

MEMORANDUM

FROM

Dear Harold,

Your travel and hotel expenses for the occasion will be met, but for the moment I did not want to put the item in the formal letter of invitation.

Actually, what I expect is that Howard University will invite you to speak at a luncheon the same day (the dinner is at night), that H.U. will pay for your trip.

Please clear that Thursday or Wednesday of the February 22 holiday (at least it's a holiday in D.C.).

Paul

PAUL COOKE

Washington, D. C., Chapter

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE (AVC)

Citizens First, Veterans Second

1830 JEFFERSON PLACE, N.W. WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

Fe 8 1455

IVOR WAYNE
Chapter Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN
Vice Chairman
CLIFFORD CARR
Recording Secy
R. HAL SILVERS
Corresponding Secretary
PAUL COOKE
Treasurer

November 20, 1960

Mr. Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
126 The Prado, NE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Harold,

I am most pleased to tell you that the Washington, D.C., Chapter of the American Veterans Committee (AVC) has unanimously voted to award to you its Annual Bill of Rights recognition, begun in 1947 and maintained continuously. The Chapter members judged your work in group relations to be of great importance in support of the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution.

Our awards are traditionally made at a Bill of Rights Award Dinner on this occasion to be held on February 23, 1961.

Please let us know whether you will accept our award.

Yours truly,

Paul Cooke
Chapter Chairman

ANNUAL AVC BILL OF RIGHTS AWARD DINNER – SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1959

Executive Committee: John Fauntleroy, George Idelson, Phineas Indritz, Ann Ewing McCarthy, Robert Menke, Matthew Mitchell, Irving Panzer, Cody Pfanstiehl, Al Raisen, Chester Shore, Rudolf Sobernheim, Raymond D. Watts.

via air mail

December 15, 1960

Mr. Paul Cooke
American Veterans Committee
1830 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Paul;

The change of date poses no problem for me. I have reserved Friday, March 3, for the dinner, pending later word from you about time, place, and any other details I will need to know about. For example, will I be expected to make a speech at any time while I'm there? I take it my role at the dinner will be passive, but you earlier mentioned the possibility of a Howard luncheon.

Among other things, it will be a special pleasure to see the National Board members again.

Cordially,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE

"CITIZENS FIRST, VETERANS SECOND"

NATIONAL OFFICE • 1830 JEFFERSON PLACE, N.W. WASHINGTON, 6, D.C. • FEderal 8-1455

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To achieve a more Democratic and prosperous America and a more stable World

J. Arnold Feldman
Executive Director

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Gen. Telford Taylor
Cong. Frank Thompson, Jr.
Thornton N. Wilder
Sen. Harrison A. Williams, Jr.
Cong. Sidney R. Yates
Sen. Stephen M. Young

December 12, 1960

Mr. Harold C. Fleming
126 The Prado, N. E.
Atlanta 9, Georgia

Dear Harold:

We are most happy here at AVC that you will accept our Bill of Rights Award. I am sorry that I have to write to ask you to change the date on your calendar. The reason for the change is that the National Board will meet in Washington Thursday, March 2nd to Saturday, March 4th. We are going to set the dinner on Friday night in order that the National Board will be present for the dinner. This we have done on previous occasions and the dinnerhas always been a gala affair. I hope this meets your approval. Please let me know as soon as possible.

Sincerely,

Paul Cooke

Paul Cooke,
Chairman
Washington Chapter No. 1

PC/sh

8

February 13, 1961

Mr. Paul Cooke
American Veterans Committee
1830 Jefferson Place, N. W.
Washington 6, D. C.

Dear Paul:

Thanks for the word about the progress of plans for the March 3rd luncheon and dinner. I'm looking forward to the date.

As for our report, I trust you received the copy I sent you recently. Enclosed are two more copies.

For general purposes, our price if .50 per single copy, .35 each in quantity. If you find uses for more, I'll be happy to supply them at the latter price, which is approximately our cost.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Harold C. Fleming
Executive Director

HCF/mf
Enclosures - 2.

Washington, D. C., Chapter

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE (AVC)

Citizens First, Veterans Second

1830 JEFFERSON PLACE, N.W. WASHINGTON 6, D.C. EXecutive 3-1477

IVOR WAYNE
Chapter Chairman
MARVIN CAPLAN
Vice Chairman
CLIFFORD CARR
Recording Secy
R. HAL SILVERS
Corresponding Secretary
PAUL COOKE
Treasurer

February 7, 1961

Dear Harold,

Our plans move along slowly but reasonably steadily.

Your report has been received here with considerable favorable comment. (By the way, can you send me a couple of copies? What are the selling prices, also?

I expect in a few days to be able to invite you formally for Howard University for the luncheon earlier the same day -- Friday, March 3. The dinner is that night.

At the dinner Senator Maurine Neuberger will speak -- "New Frontiers and the Bill of Rights." And, of course, we look for you to say a few words, especially about the report and the recommendations.

Yours truly,

Paul Cooke

Mr. Harold Fleming
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Washington, D.C.

ANNUAL AVC BILL OF RIGHTS AWARD DINNER – SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 21, 1959

Executive Committee: John Fauntleroy, George Idelson, Phineas Indritz, Ann Ewing McCarthy, Robert Menke, Matthew Mitchell, Irving Panzer, Cody Pfanstiehl, Al Raisen, Chester Shore, Rudolf Sobernheim, Raymond D. Watts.

1203 Girard Street, NW, Washington, D.C.

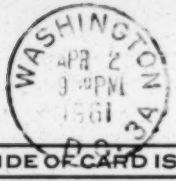
Dear Harold,

Thanks again for both your appearances here. People at the luncheon I am still runhing into and hearing kind remarks about your talk.

Sending to Jack Metz

Please send a couple of copies of THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE to Miss Velma Crank, 1702 Summit Place, NW, Washington, D.C. She heard you speak at the dinner and asked for a copy for herself and one for her dinner guest. Thank you.

Paul



THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Mr Harold Fleming
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street NW
Atlanta, Georgia

AMERICAN VETERANS COMMITTEE (AVC) AUDIT OF NEGRO VETERANS AND SERVICEMEN

The American Veterans Committee has from its earliest days been among the leaders in the battle for civil rights, cooperating with the NAACP, with the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, and other similar organizations. Only recently we have been honored by being placed as one of the "public enemies of the White Citizens Council."

Back in 1956, AVC conducted an informational, on-the-spot check of the extent of discrimination against Negro veterans in relation to the Veterans Administration and particularly the GI Bill.

We now plan to extend the scope of our original survey and to include a report on the treatment of Negro veterans and servicemen in Veterans Administration hospitals, Defense installations, and regional offices of the Veterans Administration. This is a timely subject, since it is quite likely that Congress will enact a new GI Bill for peacetime servicemen. It is essential that an effective effort be made to expose publicly the type of discrimination that was inherent in legislation administered by local authorities in the South and the North, and to attempt to prevent similar evasions of the law in the future. Results of the AVC Audit will be presented to the platform sessions of the two national conventions in July. In planning our report, we have consulted with our friends and allies in the field of civil rights, and their reaction has been unanimously enthusiastic.

Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary of the NAACP, stated, "More power to AVC on its survey of the Negro veteranunder the GI Bill." The National Urban League stated they wished to cooperate with AVC in this report. The Southern Regional Council and its Director, Harold C. Flemming, noted that AVC should, "Call on me and the Southern Regional Council for whatever help we can give." Congressman Charles C. Diggs, Jr., stated he "was most happy to learn of AVC's plans to conduct a nationwide investigation of discrimination against Negro veterans in regard to legal rights and privileges under the GI Bill of Rights and in other related areas against Negro servicemen. Certainly, this is a step long over-due." Senator Paul H. Douglas' office stated that "AVC is to be commended for looking into this important aspect of the operation of our democracy in behalf of all of its citizens' equality of opportunity." Similar indications of assistance have come from the American Jewish Committee, the Anti-Defamation League, and many other Members of Congress.

THE AVC AUDITING TEAM

The AVC team in the South will include National Chairman Mickey Levine, National Vice Chairman Louis Warshaw, and perhaps one or two other members of the National Board. They will visit Little Rock, then tour the Mississippi Delta and go on to Tuskegee, Montgomery, Athens, Atlanta, Greenville, Charlotte and Richmond.

A similar Audit will be conducted in northern areas such as California, Connecticut, Illinois, Indiana, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, Ohio, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Washington, Wisconsin, and the District of Columbia.

SOURCES OF STUDY

The areas to be studied include VA hospitals, VA regional offices, Negro colleges, Defense Department installations, and interviews with Negro veterans in the South.

AREAS OF STUDY

(A) Education - What happened when Negro veterans applied for educational assistance under the provisions of the GI Bill? What percentage were accepted?

(b) Housing - Were Negro veterans able to obtain VA-insured home loans? If not, why not? (What excuses were given?) How did they eventually obtain mortgage assistance?

(C) On-the-job training - Were Negro veterans able to utilize this provision of the bill?

(D) Business and farm loans - Were Negro veterans able to utilize this provision of the Bill?

We will also seek information as to how Negro veterans are treated in the Veterans Administration regional offices. Are Negroes employed as service officers? To what extent does discrimination exist in the attitude of VA service officers toward Negro veterans? We shall visit VA hospitals to try to estimate the kind of treatment provided Negro veterans and to test the hiring policy of the VA hospitals, particularly with reference to administrative positions. Finally, we shall visit Defense installations to determine how far there has been an effective policy of integrating all troops. We will want to know the number of Negro personnel on any base, married and single, those who reside on the base with their families. We will be interested in seeing the kind of facilities offered to Negro servicemen on the base, including housing, PX's, clubs, and off the base, particularly the housing facilities, quality of housing, and the cost; the schools that are available to them, churches, cafes, bars, and recreational and social activities.

AVC ENLISTS YOUR SUPPORT

It is our earnest plea that when the AVC team visits your area that you will be able to overwhelm them with information and statistics, and most important of all, to set up an informal meeting where they will be able to speak to and interview many, many Negro veterans. We earnestly believe that a serious and significant contribution can be made in the veteran area of civil rights by producing a detailed, objective, and yet, incisive report.

AUDIT QUESTIONNAIRE

Veterans Administration Hospitals

1. Are Negro patients segregated?
2. Have Negro patients been forced to travel to "all-Negro installations" which were far from their homes?
3. What are the personnel practices of Veterans Administration hospitals?
4. In integrated hospitals, are Negroes hired as doctors and members of the administrative staff?

Defense Installations

1. Are Negro servicemen integrated into over-all outfits, or are they still serving in separate Negro companies?
2. What type of treatment does the Negro serviceman receive on the base, so far as housing is concerned, clubs, recreational facilities?
3. What type of housing is provided for Negro personnel who are married and living on the base with their families?

Off-Base Facilities

1. What housing facilities are available for married Negro personnel?
2. What is the quality of this housing and the cost?
3. What is the experience of Negro servicemen, so far as other facilities are concerned: local transportation, restaurants, clubs, churches, and recreational sources?
4. For Negro servicemen who are married and have children, what type of schooling is given to their children, both on the base and in the local community?

GI Bill

We are anxious to ascertain if Negro veterans were discriminated against in the educational provisions of the GI Bill, as well as such other provisions as housing, on-the-job training, business and farm loans.

Veterans Administration Regional Offices

1. Is the policy of segregation enforced in the local Veterans Administration office?
2. Does the Negro veteran receive the same treatment as all other veterans?
3. Does the Veterans Administration employ Negro service officers?
4. Are Negroes employed in any other service capacity in the Veterans Administration

write her a letter
I'm glad, fully views
GBJ

Box 73
Tryon, N.C.
1 May
1 9 4 4

My dear Guy:

Always after a conference, I wished for some one ~~who~~ to tell me, just how it went and to evaluate the results. You may not want this but I am going to pass on to you my observations for what they may be worth.

You had the work well organized and so well presented that you were able to arouse full discussion, especially on those items which could well become points of attack by the Negro press. None of these were passed automatically and so no excuse can be offered by anyone present that he did not know what he was voting for. It was especially fortunate that our resolutions covered only the Supreme Court decison and the political campaigns. Otherwise the edge would have been taken off these immediately pressing points.

There were two questions raised which were important and since they were not disposed of they may well arise later. One of them was raised by Forrester Washington in regard to the program. Mr. Reid and Mnsg McNamara hushed him up and, as I recall, there was no general expression of opinion from the group. You will recall that he said the program presented was a case of old wine in new bottles and that he thought committees should be appointed to study industry and employment and the status of civil and political rights. I did not gather from his remarks that he meant that these committees should be official or that they should begin work but that they should be studying the whole field with the purpose of making recommendations to the Executive Committee or the Board as to future procedure. You can refer to Miss Clay's notes to see whether or not Mr. Reid's defense of the program disposed of this subject satisfactorily. If I understand what was in Mr. Washington's mind correctly, then certainly Mnsg. McNamara's dictum of "exceeding our authoirty" did not apply.

We are committed as I believe to the creation of a National Advisory Committee both in our original resolutions passed August 4th last year and in your article in reply to the attack of Saunders Redding- which, by the way, I think is a most excellent presentation of the purposes and policies of the Southern Regional Council. I was interested in the statements made by Mr. Brown, ably supported by Mr. Jaffe. There may have been others who turned thumbs down on such a committee but these two I recall most vividly. Mr. Brown, according to the Negro press, determines the policies of his bank in Richmond, which the Negro press maintains discourages accounts of Negroes. He, also, is the one who, when the question of dividing our funds between the white and Negro banks, suggested that the names of the banks not be designated but that the committee designate "such banks" as they should see fit.

It was late, I know, and it was apparent that opposition to a National Advisory Committee would develop and prolong the meeting but it does seem that it is going to have to be created in line with our policy and that it must be done without creating a rift.

There are other points which offer food for thought but in comparison to these two, they are minor ones.

By the way, in reference to Miss Smith's failure to be invited to the April meeting to which you refer in your article in COMMON GROUND. As far as I can recall, and I have racked my brain on this, no one of the couple of dozen people who sent in ~~nam~~ names suggested that she be invited. It must have been a clear oversight. She had not published her best seller at that time and evidently no one even thought of her. If you look over the names of those that were asked, you can readily see that there was no attempt to get like minded people there. I think that it might be better to let her and the public think she was deliberately left out than that no one remem-

bered her.

You are off to a good start now, especially since you have been able to get Miss Martin as your private secretary. I say this, not because I know Miss Martin but because you tell me that in addition to being able to take dictation, which is quite necessary as a mechanical aid in getting work out, she has a backgound in this field and has worked under you in college so that she knows your ways and your ideas and attitudes. Oridnarily, there is a long and trying period of time consumed in training a secretary in the work even though she may be a most proficient stenographer.

This meeting was an unusual experince for me. It was the first time that I was on the giving end and not the receiving end of an interracial meeting. Always in the past, it has been my job to see that the work voted by others was carried out. It is a refreshing experience, somewhat clouded, however, by the knowldge of the task that confronts you.

Sincerely your friend,

Jessie Daniel Ames

October 6, 1944

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
Box 73
Tryon, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Ames:

I understand that you are coming to the church conference on demobilization which is to be held in Atlanta on November 1-2. I want very much to see you, so don't let anything change your plans. There is a lot to talk about.

For instance, I am wondering whether you would be willing to help us on the preparation of a pamphlet or manual for use in state and local groups in promoting our program. But more of that when I see you.

You will be amused at the story of my housing problem. I bought two houses, but of course I have sold one of them. We are living at 95 East Wesley Road, N. E., and we even have a guest room. Benny, by the way, is a freshman at Chapel Hill. He came with us when we moved late in August and spent three weeks here. It was awfully hard for us to give him up.

Best wishes from Guion and me.

Cordially yours,

GBJ:m

June 20, 1945

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
The Wren's Nest
Lynn Road
Tryon, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Ames:

I was glad to have your letter of June 18 concerning FEPC and other matters. I quite agree with you that there is "an astonishing difference between endorsing the principle of a bill and endorsing the bill itself." For trying to be honest in my statements to various individuals to the effect that I had reservations as to the wisdom and enforceability of the Norton FEPC bill, I have been beaten over the head around here lately. I am not at all sure that the majority of the SRC members are in favor of this particular legislation, since there was no discussion whatever of the resolution or of the question of approving a particular legislative approach at the time the resolution was passed at the annual meeting. The memorandum which we sent out was by way of suggesting to members that they can take certain steps if they feel so inclined.

I have read the Norton bill but have written out no analysis of it. My judgment is that it is well written, that it has at least a fifty-fifty chance of being declared constitutional, and that the enforcement provisions are in line with other federal practices, namely, citation to court after non-compliance with a Commission order. My reservations have to do with the practicability of enforcement and with the whole question of whether this is the best strategy for dealing with a problem which is so deeply involved in attitudes and personal economic morality.

I regret very much that I did not get to see Lulu when I was in Austin. I was there only a few hours, and did not get to see more than half the people I had wanted to see.

The Fort Worth meetings were quite well attended and, I hope, were of some value from the standpoint of public education. I sat with the Executive Board on the morning of June 9, and I

was pleased with the progress which they made toward closer cooperation with SRC.

I think that there will be some further action in the Prairie View situation. As you know, the suit for admission to the University of Texas has been instituted, and this will probably throw a scare into the legislature. Our clippings show some very good editorials lately calling attention to the importance of making Prairie View a real Negro university.

Guion went with me to Texas and had a visit with her parents and her three sisters. I took two days off and visited my father in Abilene. I had not seen him in nearly eight years.

All good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

The Wren's Nest
Lynn Road
Tryon, N.C.

18 June, 1945

My dear Guy:

The call for action sent out by you to members of the Board of Directors of SRC came last Friday. I have been wondering whether or not you have made an analysis of the FEPC bill and if so, will you send a copy to me.

You know that there is an astonsihing difference between endorsing the principle of a bill and endorsing the bill itself. Proponents of a measure are usually the last resort to go to for unbiased information. The bill is the thing.

Lulu wrote me that you had been in Austin and that she regretted not seeing you. She was to see Harry later and find out how things look to you in Texas. The Training School is in good hands and will, I think, be the best eelyomosinary institution in the state since it is being handled by a member of the Board of Control whom Lulu has been educating for four years. The two of them put their heads to-gether quite unofficially, and Lulu has squeezed me dry for information and sources.

The Prairie View situation is definitely not good. I am sure you learned about the runaround the Legislature gave that school. It was such an obvious course to pursue that to me the only wonder is, why it was not done sooner.

Cordially yours,

Bessie Daniel Ames

July 3, 1945

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
The Wren's Nest
Lynn Road
Tryon, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Ames:

Thanks for the ballot and for your note about the implications of the Executive Committee meetings.

There are indeed some interesting questions in the background, but they don't worry me very much. Like you, I can watch "with a certain degree of excitement and with no illusions."

Are you doing any writing these days? If you have any time on your hands, why not let us inveigle you into doing a Council pamphlet on the problem of domestic service? I know that this is one of your greatest interests and that you could do a swell job with it.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

The Wren's Nest
Lynn Road
Tryon, N.C.
29 June, 1945

My dear Guy:

Herewith is the slip with my vote designated.

The minutes of the last two meetings of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council have been read with more than passing attention. They point to a change in direction of the Council of which I approve though I admit to some apprehension as to the results for the Council.

Drs. Odum, Johnson and Alexander are clever and shrewd but they may be engaging with forces shrewder and cleverer than they are. On the other hand, they may have a complete and frank understanding with the CIO, know what is expected of them in return for money, and plan to grind a few axes of their own.

I shall watch developments with a certain degree of excitement and with no illusions.

Mr. Bulwinkle sent me a copy of the Norton Fair Employment bill. It raises many questions in my mind, none that I feel competent to answer. Was it not another Dr. Johnson who spoke of a state on mind which swings between "conviction and hypocrisy" ?

Cordially yours,

Jessie Daniel Ames

20 July, 1944 Mrs. Ames

My dear Guy:- The reprint did come and I thank you. It now lies smoothly and quietly between the pages of Common Ground so that all three articles are handy and maybe are acting one upon the other. Also the reprint of the 10th man and the compilation of the documents, data and so on setting out the history of the origin of the SRC. Glad to hear that you have a house and that your wife will join you next month. The Charlotte Observer carried a news story from Chapel Hill giving the long-term, new faculty members and "Mr Guy Johnson, assistant professor of history" was among them. I am relieved to find out that this is a mistake. The use of a postcard to acknowledge both the material and your letter is quite deliberate. There are subjects about which one is in danger of saying too much if one speaks at all. So the postcard. I can observe, without space to enlarge on it, that sometime during the recent past Miss Smith either has taken a refresher course in psychoanalysis or has read a book. I had seen most of her letter to you in PM. I am happier now than I have been in years and have had no twinge of regret over my decision last January. JDA.

THIS SIDE OF CARD IS FOR ADDRESS

Dr. Guy Johnson
710 Standard Building
Atlanta, 3
Georgia

July 24, 1945

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
The Wren's Nest
Lynn Road
Tryon, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Ames:

I appreciated your letter of July 10. I am sorry that you are not going to be in a position to do something on the domestic service question, but it sounds as if you are having a much more interesting time with all of the other things which you are turning over in your mind. I guess we will have to see what else we can do, but whatever we do, we certainly want your wise advice.

All good wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:m

The Wren's Nest
Lynn Road
Tryon, N.C.
10 July, 1945

My dear Guy:

You are right. I am interested in domestic service but my interest ties into a program of action, not so much to improve the conditions of emplyment in this field as to use the field as a means to open up for women in the south the whole problem of race, economics, and religion.

Right now, I am swimming around in a lot of water which, at times, is over my head. I have been asked to do some rather important w writing for the Baptists women which I am viewing with eagerness and reluctance. I may and I may not. Sometime this month we are going to have a small commitee meeting and then I shall decide either to accept the commission or to outline the subject matter, a submit it, and decide whether I want to or they want me to.

Also, I am collecting by way of correspondence and through clipping a considerable amount of material on a phase of the race situation which is interesting me to the point of raisin my blood pressure. I can support my thesis all right with what I have on hand but I am not sure that my thesis is correct. I am in danger of establishing a conclusion and then working up the proper premises to support it.

Dr. Bond, in a recent letter, gave me food for thought and also a source of information that I have to investigate. I don't know that anything will come of this trail I am on and I won't until some time later. But until I run this down to a satisfactory end, I won't be good for any special writing. There are other avenues incidentally, that I am trying to work my way through, connected with the Methodist women and the church organization. I think that in this latter instance my conclusions were reac ed logically from premises first established but I am not sure.

My doctor daughter is spending her vacation with me now and I confess to letting everything go, more or less, while she is here. She has two more weeks to stay and then there will be some other guests through August and I don't work well with my mind when I have to work too much with my body.

If you still want something on domestic service along about the first of the year , and if you still want me to try out something, then let me know and, I hope, I will be in a position to do something

Your friend,

Jessie Daniel Ames

August 14, 1945

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
The Wren's Nest
Lynn Road
Tryon, N. C.

Dear Mrs. Ames:

Thank you for your letter of August 7, which has gone unanswered until now because I have been away on a little vacation for the past week.

I am glad that you liked the SRC pamphlets. I thought the suffrage pamphlet was quite good, but a bit one-sided. Of course, you know that we are interested in fighting all barriers to free suffrage. I continue to believe that the white primary is a much worse problem than the poll tax, but I believe that within the next two years the courts are going to make it pretty hard for the white primary to exist.

No, we have not struck a gold mine. We did get a special grant from the Rosenwald Fund for George Mitchell's work on veterans and we had a sizeable amount left over from one of the foundation appropriations on last year's budget. We would like to lay hands on a financial wizard who could bring in support from many different sources and make us more and more independent of the foundations.

All good wishes.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

The Wren's Nest
Lynn Road
Tryon, N.C.
7 August, 1945

My dear Guy:

Not until this morning did I get around to reading the supply of pamphlets that the Southern Regional Council mailed out to me sometime last week. They are excellent.

Naturally, the one on the ballot interested me most. I have wondered many times if the forces so valiantly fighting to rid the seven poll tax states of this incubus a re also working to prevent the enactment of discriminatory laws to supersede the poll tax. Usually, reform is fulfilled in one field but reformers fail to to work out measures which will make their reforms reformatory in fact.

I am also interested in the sources of the income which must be pouring in to the coffers of the SRC, if the new staff members are not giving voluntary services. I recall that in January our financial outlook was none too bright and here in less than six months we seem to have money in large quantities.

I have concluded that you have been successful in securing the services of a financial wizard whose identity must be kept secret. I hope this is the situation for I am still of the belief that "whose bread I eat, his song I sing."

Very sincerely yours

Lessie Mae Rice

Enclosed check for membership dues in the sum of $ 1.00

October 12, 1945

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
The Wren's Nest
Lynn Road
Tryon, N. C.

Dear Mrs. Ames:

Thank you for y ur note of October 10, giving your comments on the Executive Committee minutes. Your comments are always appreciated. Your surmise about something being "eliminated from the official record of the meeting" is wholly unfounded. If there is one thing we try to do, it is to keep fair and honest minutes. I had hoped that there would be some real discussion of Mr. Wesley's criticism, but there was not.

I know you are very happy in the expectation of seeing your son out of the Navy soon. I hope that six months from now he will be toasting his toes before a cozy fire at the Wren's Nest.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON,
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

The Wren's Nest
Lynn Road
Tryon, N.C.
10 October, 1945

RECEIVED
OCT 11 1945
Southern Regional Council

My dear Guy:

I have read the minutes of the two meetings of the Executive Committee with interest and pleasure. You know that it delights me that the SRC has found a Public Relations Director more than any other action that you report.

Your report of the criticisms made by Carter Wesley of the SRC made me quite thoughtful. There is more in what he says than the minutes indicated. That doubtless came out in the discussion afterwards which, naturally, was eliminated from the official record of the meeting. I have been, and still am, reading several Negro newspapers and, from time to time, h having some correspondence with both white and Negro persons. It

From my own experience of years in this work of race relations and from the direction in which the SRC is going, I wonder whether or not persons who are in the thick of the problems and who are charged with the responsibility of leading us out of the woods do not miss the forest entirely. The trees cut off the over all view.

This is merely a tentaive judgment. Maybe Mr. Warwick will be able to get the whole picture and devise ways of projecting it before the eyes of the people since that is his one and only job.

I am living right now in twittering expectation of the retirement of my son. He is almost sure, almost qualifies the unpredictable acts of the Navy high ups, that he will be out in another month. Six and a half months is a long time for a man to be idle even if he is a casualty. He is coming to Tryon for a visit when he is out and that keeps me on my toes.

Cordially your friend,

Regina Anderson

October 18, 1945

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
Lynn Road
Tryon, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Ames:

Thank you for your card of October 17, which has reached us while Dr. Johnson is out of the office. We are sorry to say that our supply of reprints of Dr. Johnson's article in Common Ground has been exhausted.

Sincerely yours,

Secretary

17 October, 1945 My dear Dr. Johnson:

RECEIVED
OCT 18 1945
Southern Regional Council

Have you an extra reprint of the article you wrote in reply to those by Saunders Redding and Lillian Smith in which they analyzed the SRC ? I think it appeared in the Summer issue of COMMON GROUND, 1944.

I gave some material and your address to a Mrs. Ludlum, or a name quite like that, just as she was about to return to Florida. I could not decide whether she was interested or whether she was drawing me out for no good purpose in regard to my racial attitudes. She said she was going to write the office for more information.

JDA.

May 17, 1946

Mrs. Milton James Vaughan
Box 383
Chapel Hill, N. C.

Dear Mrs. Vaughan:

Thank you for your note of May 13. Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, retired from active work when the Southern Regional Council absorbed the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. She is now living in North Carolina. Her address is Box 73, Tryon, North Carolina.

With best wishes,

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

Box 983
Chapel Hill, N.C.
May 13, 1946

RECEIVED
MAY 15 1946
Southern Regional Council

Mr. Guy B. Johnson
Southern Regional Council
63 Auburn Ave., N.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Johnson:

I am trying to locate Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, formerly with the Commission on Interracial Cooperation.

If your office has the address of Mrs. Ames - in Texas, I believe - I shall appreciate this information.

With best wishes to you, I am

Sincerely yours,

Elizabeth Head Vaughan
(Mrs. Milton James Vaughan)

August 6, 1946

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
The Wren's Nest
Lynn Road
Tryon, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Ames:

It was good to have a letter from you. Thank you very much for your check for $2.00 covering Council dues.

I was at Lake Junaluska three days week before last. Just before I left I heard that you were there. I am terribly sorry that I did not even get a peek at you.

Yes, North Carolina does have a long way to go. It has sometimes got more credit than it deserves simply because it has done some things better than most of the other Southern states.

The lynchings in Walton County are the most atrocious thing that has happened in many a year--so bad that practically everybody has been quite willing to condemn the lynchers. Even the Methodist Church at Monroe unanimously adopted a resolution condemning the lynching and calling for the punishment of the guilty. I think it is unfortunate that one of the news stories gave the impression that the whole county has refused to give information about the lynchers. The truth is, of course, that very few people actually know who they were. The G.B.I. and F.B.I. are making pretty good progress. They know who most of the members of the gang are, but they want to get as much corroborating evidence as possible before arresting them. They know that the white farmer, Loy Harrison, and two brothers of Hester, the white man who was stabbed, were in the gang. When they close in on them, they hope to get a confession from at least one person. Otherwise, they will have no direct evidence except the ballistic evidence.

Perhaps you noticed in the newspapers that the Council put up a reward of $1,000. Also, we called Talmadge's hand on his statement that during his three terms as Governor there were no lynchings in Georgia. We are in for a hot time here and we know it.

Cordially yours,

GUY B. JOHNSON
Executive Director

GBJ:IBT

The Wren's Nest
Lynn Road
Tryon, N.C.
3 August, 1946

RECEIVED
AUG 5 1946
Southern Regional Council

My dear Guy:

Herewith is my check for two dollars which should have been sent ages ago. I am embarrassed and chagrinned by the delay. I just forgot it and only this morning have I gone to the bottom of my to be answered letter basket.

This spring, having been a resident of this state long enough to lay claim to voting citizenship, I dabbled around abit in our primaries. In the course of dabbling, I worked my way up through the precinct and county conventions to the state convention as a delegate. This in itself is no achievement worthy of comment. It is the sequel which interests me, and should you.

Soon after I came here, the rumor began to cimulate that I was a subversive influence among Negroes. The rumor reached some friends of mine who are also close friends of the Mayor, who seemed to be circulating the rumor. The Mayor is part of the core of the local political machine and in the precinct convention, his side were set down by a group of rebels. I went along with the rebels. At the county convention, there was practiced as dirty a bit of machine politics as ever was done in Georgia.

The county Democratic chairman elected is a low liver who operates a couple of mo nshine stills, so the report goes. He hires Negroes to oversee them. Several years ago, he became infuriated with one of his Negroes and shot him. He was exonerated by the Grand Jury on the grounds of self defense. He operates the county as he is said to operate his stills. All employees of the county are his henchmen, including several women.

The other day, by indirection, he sent me a message by one of these women to the effect that as long as he lived, no Negro would ever vote in this county. None would be able to pass the educational test. He would see to that. In view of the fact that I have not spoken ever of Negroes voting I decided that it might be considered a warning as well as a message.

I am discovering that North Carolina has some way to go before the citizens can claim honestly the laurels that they now place on their brows. This not only in the field of race but also in the field of labor-industry. I am in a position gradually to pick up a great deal of information, some of which I hope to be able to confirm sufficiently to be sure that it is facts.

Some day I am going to have to provide myself with an audience for relief and I have about decided to try out Johnathan Daniels who is as cordially hated by the controlling element as any person I know.

There is nothing to say about Talmadge and the massacre of the Negroes at Monore- except that I am more than suprised that Walton County citizens appear to be as shy as they are with their information.

Cordially yours,

Jessie Daniel Ames

August 4, 1947

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
The Wren's Nest
Tryon, North Carolina

My dear Mrs. Ames:

Your letter of August 1, commenting on my column in the Journal and Guide for August 2, is very encouraging. I value your opinion greatly and consider the column well worth while, if it has caused you to give special consideration to the problem.

It was my purpose to stimulate and not necessarily suggest a final solution. Police officers set the moral standards of the South. What they approve may not be right, but invariably becomes the accepted pattern. Whoever, can present pressure to bringing all officers of the law, to enforce the law, uniformly, will do much toward the solution of the problem. I am sure that your judgment in this connection is better than mine.

You say that you have already taken the matter up with one who may be able to introduce it to its top level. I will be grateful if you will write me concerning the results of your efforts.

I see daily evidences of the splendid work that you did in this field of human relations while you were on the staff of the racial committee.

I am eternally grateful to you. With every good wish, I am

Very sincerely yours,

Harold L. Trigg
Associate Executive Director

HLT:EE

1- Ames, Jessie Daniel

October 27, 1947

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
Box 73
Tryon, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Ames:

Your letter reached my desk today and was routinely opened.

It looks to me like one that needs an answer from you personally.

If we have anything here that you would like us to send Mr. Williams please let us know.

Our shelves still contain 300 or 400 copies of "The Changing Character of Lynching." I have found it very valuable and am trying to get the remaining portion into circulation. As a precaution I send you ten copies.

We hope we will have you at the Annual Meeting coming up.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:ee

Ames, Jessie J.

RECEIVED
OCT 31 1947
Southern Regional Council

Association of
Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching

JESSIE DANIEL AMES, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
710 STANDARD BUILDING

Atlanta, Ga.

CHAIRMAN
MRS. ATTWOOD MARTIN
LOUISVILLE, KY.

SECRETARY
MRS. W. A. NEWELL
MORGANTON, N. C.

ORGANIZATIONS COMMITTED
TO A PROGRAM OF EDUCATION
TO PREVENT LYNCHING

★

WOMAN'S MISSIONARY COUNCIL
METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH

NATIONAL FEDERATION OF
TEMPLE SISTERHOODS

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN

SOUTHERN INTERSTATE CONFERENCE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF JEWISH WOMEN

WOMAN'S MISSIONARY UNION
SOUTHERN BAPTIST CONVENTION

FIFTY-FIRST TRIENNIAL CONVENTION
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

WOMAN'S AUXILIARY TO THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL IN THE
PROVINCE OF SEWANEE,
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

EXECUTIVE BOARD OF THE
WOMAN'S AUXILIARY OF THE
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE
PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH

COMMITTEE ON WOMAN'S WORK
PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, U. S.

SOUTHEAST REGION, NATIONAL
FEDERATION BUSINESS AND
PROFESSIONAL WOMEN'S CLUBS

DISCIPLES OF CHRIST
INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION

NATIONAL YOUNG WOMEN'S
CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

GENERAL FEDERATION OF
WOMEN'S CLUBS

30 October, 1947

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

This seems to me an ideal letter head to use in answering your letter and thanking you for the extra copies of the ASWPL's last publi-
cation. I needed them for I had used up all but one of the five copies I snitched when I left the office.

I am not specially appreciative of your forwarding Mr. Willima's letter. He writes as tho we were close friends and to save me I can't recall him or his visit. But I shall answer and send him one of the pamphlets you sent.

I returned my official notice stating that I would reach Atlanta by train the afternoon of the 10th. It is the train that gets in sometime between four and five. Check on this, I mean the recipt of my formal declaration of intention.

Sincerely yours,

Jessie Daniel Ames

✓ yes, received some days ago — MBK

Ames, Mrs. Jessie D.

Green Copy

December 16, 1947

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
The Wren's Nest
Tryon, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Ames:

As we begin our pamphlet inventory for the end of the year, we find that copies of the attached reprint from the Survey Graphic entitled "Ladies and Lynchings" which was published in 1939 are down below the 200 mark, and that due to the fact that they were published so long ago, it is difficult to get distribution on them.

I am wondering therefore, whether you would care to have a supply of these, outlining as they do the great work that you have done in this field? Please let me know.

It was a pleasure to have you at the meeting, and I was especially glad to have the opportunity of seeing and talking with you. With kindest regards and all good wishes for the holidays, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

att:

AM:s

25 to Mrs Ames — Keep 25 — 200
Sup Dowd ?. want more ?

Ladies and Lynchings

by LEWIS T. NORDYKE

The remarkable story of the campaign against lynching which is being carried forward by forty thousand southern women, backed by two million members of social, civic and religious groups. A Texas journalist reports on the promise of better human relations which distinguishes this quiet but determined movement for "self-reconstruction."

MOB VIOLENCE, MASQUERADING AS THE CHAMPION OF SOUTHern womanhood, is petering out below the Mason and Dixon Line. And the weaker sex is largely responsible. Nine years ago a small group of thinking women who had long realized that there was more bloodthirst than knight-errantry in howling mobs, organized the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. Today, backed by women's social, civic and religious groups that have more than two million members in the southern states, the women are massed in one of the most effective social programs ever attempted in the United States and certainly one of the most vital and constructive movements in the South — that of preventing white men from lynching Negroes for any cause whatsoever.

The word "southern" in the association's name is significant, for the program is a native one, conceived, developed and expanded into a South-wide movement by southern-born women. In a strict sense, the movement is part of the final work of reconstruction, the righting of wrongs growing out of slavery and the Civil War.

The accomplishments of these southern women are not widely known, even in the South. The women have worked quietly—very quietly in comparison with the notoriety of lynching mobs bent on murder. Through personal effort, pressure on state officials and peace officers, and with the help of church, social and other organizations, they have greatly affected the South's whole approach to the problem of race relations.

Demolishing the Myth of Mob Chivalry

STATISTICS TELL PART OF THE DRAMATIC STORY OF THE PAtient anti-lynching campaign. In the eight years previous to the founding of the women's association, there were 211 lynchings in the nation. In 1930, the year the association was founded, there were twenty-one lynchings in the South. Records of Tuskegee Institute show that in the first eight years the women were organized there were 105 lynchings, only half as many as in the previous eight years. There were thirteen lynchings in 1931, eight in 1932, twenty-eight in 1933, fourteen in 1934, twenty in 1935, eight in each of 1936 and 1937 and six in 1938, the lowest year on record.

Moreover, the records show that in forty instances sheriffs and police officers, many of them committed in writing to the women's program, prevented lynchings in 1938—saving three white men, forty-nine Negro men and a Negro woman from mobs. In each of these officially recorded cases, the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching was on the job, not up front in a dramatic, headline way, but quietly functioning where action counted.

To outsiders the most surprising thing about the anti-lynching drive is that southern women are responsible for it. The remark of one northerner who heard for the first time of the association's program was, "Why, that *is* peculiar. Isn't the primary purpose of lynching to protect white women?" To this question thousands of southern women have answered for nearly ten years with an emphatic, "NO."

The first thing the association's organizers set out to do was to destroy the fiction that men lynch in women's names. Here is the organization's declaration and personal pledge:

We declare lynching is an indefensible crime, destructive of all principles of government, hateful, and hostile to every ideal of religion and humanity, debasing, and degrading to every person involved. Though lynchings are not confined to any one section of the United States, we are aroused by the record which discloses our heavy responsibility for the presence of this crime in our country. We believe that this record has been achieved because public opinion has accepted too easily the claim of lynchers and mobsters that they were acting solely in the defense of womanhood. In the light of facts, we dare not longer permit this claim to pass unchallenged nor allow those bent upon personal revenge and savage-

What One Woman Can Do To Prevent Lynchings

1—She can study all available material on lynchings and make the information her own.

2—She can present her material to missionary societies and clubs, applying her remarks to the purposes and programs of each group.

3—She can secure signatures of the members of the organizations before which she speaks.

4—She can ask each organization to appoint one member to serve with her in this work.

5—She can take signatures of citizens and, accompanied by one member of her committee, go to the Court House and discuss with the Sheriff, the Judge, and other officers of the law mobs, lynchings, and their prevention. She can ask for the signatures of the officials to a special resolution against lynching.

6—She can visit the local newspaper and inform the editor of the work undertaken by the women, and ask for the sympathy and cooperation of the local press.

7—She and members of her committee can talk to the preachers of the town. She can plan with them some specific projects of education through the Church, Sunday School, and young peoples' organizations.

8—She and her committee can open the way for speakers before the civic, commercial, and service clubs of the men of the town.

9—She can talk over with the School Superintendent the project of reaching young people through the schools, either in assembly talks or in class room talks.

10—She and her committee can list all county wide organizations of men and women, the dates of the meetings, the nature of the work and the program of each. With this information she can identify the educational project against lynching with interests of the organizations before she will try to speak.

Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching

Reprinted from SURVEY GRAPHIC, *November 1939 for*
ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN WOMEN
FOR THE PREVENTION OF LYNCHING
710 Standard Building, Atlanta, Georgia

ry to commit acts of violence and lawlessness in the name of women. We solemnly pledge ourselves to create a new public opinion in the South, which will not condone, for any reason whatever, acts of mobs or lynchers. We shall teach our children at home, at school and at church a new interpretation of law and religion; we will assist all officials to uphold their oath of office; and, finally, we will join with every minister, editor, school teacher and patriotic citizen in a program of education to eradicate lynching and mobs forever from our land.

That pledge is not an idle one. Nearly 40,000 of the leading white women of the South have signed it and have fought for the principles involved, including the statement that men do not lynch in the South to protect the flower of southern womanhood.

When, on November 1, 1930, two dozen southern-born women met in Atlanta, some amazing facts about lynchings were placed on the council table. Guarding against possible consequences of acting in haste on what might be a half-baked idea, the small group had made an exhaustive survey of lynching. Here are some things they learned:

Since 1886, a total of 4297 persons had been lynched in the United States, most of them in the South—but only 21 per cent of the victims had been lynched for crimes against white women.

Women had been present at all lynchings of recent years and in a number of cases had participated. Some of the women were mothers with young children who, on several occasions, were actually balanced precariously on parents' shoulders so as to have a better view. Young boys and girls were contributing their numbers to the mobs, both as spectators and as leaders.

From 1922 to that autumn of 1930, there had been 211 lynchings, 204 of them in the South. But only 29 per cent of the victims had been accused of crimes against white women.

Then came the questions that electrified the conference: What did the other 71 per cent of the victims do to provoke the murderous wrath of mobs? Why do white men lynch Negroes? In a tense moment, the women saw what had been traditionally known as southern chivalry stripped down to sadistic barbarism. In the economic, social and racial significance of the problem lay the real challenge.

Under the leadership of Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames of Atlanta, today executive director of the association, an even dozen of that pioneer group pledged themselves to do all within their power to prevent lynchings and to change public opinion to abhor instead of countenance mob murder. The women decided they had two jobs. First to carry on an educational program between outbursts of violence; second, to act quickly when a mob formed, or when there was a threat of a mob. The first they considered of greater importance, and they wrote into their minutes:

The time to prevent lynchings is before the mob forms. Investigations have disclosed that no county in the South is free from the shadow of a possible lynching. Because the county is the important unit of government, intensive activities are planned to be carried out by women in each county seat *before a mob ever threatens.*

And this the women set out to do. Each of the dozen original members was prominent in church work and each knew that in the South church women are beyond any doubt the dominating force. So to the church organizations the women went for assistance. The response was great. Hundreds of southern women offered their aid. Prominent women like Mrs. Attwood Martin of Louisville, who is well known as a novelist under the name of George Madden Martin, joined actively in the work and placed their influence behind the program.

Then the women started work—talking, writing letters, distributing printed circulars, interviewing officers and state officials, addressing organization meetings—with the ambitious goal of interesting every organization of men and women in every county in the South in the campaign against lynching.

There was ridicule. There were threats. Organizations which had made the terrorizing of Negroes their chief business since the Civil War opposed the women, inspired sinister warnings or sent them under their own official letterheads. In no few communities the women were ordered not to speak. In other communities officials demanded that talks be written and censored locally before the women might speak.

"Many of the women were threatened," Mrs. Ames said. "I know women who wouldn't tell their husbands of the threats because they feared their families would insist that the women quit the work. Women went into communities in which there had been lynchings. Many of the people were surly, belligerent. When we take into consideration the fact that some of the lynchings had grown out of politics and crooked business deals, we can understand that the women were by no means safe at all times. They knew of the constant danger, and they didn't forget to pray."

The Momentum of Education

By good chance the women struck at an opportune moment. For years some of the leading newspapers of the South had fought mob murder. Such editors as Grover Hall of the Montgomery *Advertiser*, Mark Ethridge of the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, Virginius Dabney of the Richmond *Times-Dispatch*, and many others had made a strong fight against lynching.

State officials, particularly the governors, in several states had taken a reasonably firm stand against lynching and held sheriffs responsible for lynchings in their counties. In the cities of the South other individuals and organizations, such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, had long been waging anti-lynching campaigns. There was a growing awareness of the social and economic implications of the spirit created by lynching. "Outside" criticism had begun to offend the sensibilities of southern people and make them more self-conscious about charges that lynching was the act of barbarians. In short, public opinion was not unprepared to accept the surprise move made by the southern white women. And, from the start, the women gave thankful credit and offered their full cooperation in all anti-lynching movements, except the drive for a federal anti-lynching bill, which, because of the women's program of applying pressure to southern sheriffs, they neither favored nor opposed.

Perhaps the most important part of their work — the part that shocked a large section of the public into a changing view of the lynching problem — was that of gathering and publicizing facts about lynchings. The records in Mrs. Ames' office in Atlanta show that in more than one instance innocent Negroes were lynched on non-existent grounds at the instigation of white men who coveted the crops the Negoes had cultivated.

Here are some of the officially recorded facts the women publicized in newspapers and in printed circulars:

Nine of the 84 mob victims in the 1931-35 period were not accused of any crime and 25 others were accused of minor offenses.

Near Moultrie, Ga., Bo Brinson, an unaccused Negro, was

killed at his home by a mob looking for John Henry Sloan, who had killed a white man.

In Baker County, Ga., a Negro killed a white bootlegger at a Negro dance. When the "right man" couldn't be found, two unaccused Negroes were lynched as an object lesson.

In Cheatham County, Tennessee, a Negro was lynched for slapping a white woman who was drinking beer in a Negro store.

At Tuscaloosa, Ala., a helpless Negro paralytic was lynched on the charge of attempted rape.

In Greenville County, S. C., a Negro was shot to death in his home at midnight by a masked mob after he had repeatedly asked for a settlement for his crop.

Revelation of such facts, Mrs. Ames said, aided the association in battering down opposition and winning popular public approval; and this, of course, represented a decided change in public opinion. As a result, the ranks of the women crusaders increased by thousands.

Mrs. Mullino Prevents a Lynching

HOW DO SOME 40,000 CRUSADING SOUTHERN WOMEN WORK?

On Christmas Day, 1934, Mrs. Ames was preparing for holiday festivities. Her telephone rang. An Associated Press editor informed her that a Negro had killed an officer in Schley County, Georgia, and that a mob was forming. Mrs. Ames rushed to the office. She discovered that the association had no signatures in Schley County. But in adjoining Macon County lived a member of the Georgia Council of the Association, Mrs. F. M. Mullino of Montezuma. Mrs. Ames telephoned Mrs. Mullino, who stopped preparation of her Christmas dinner and started telephoning everyone she knew in Schley County, urging each to bring pressure on the sheriff to prevent a lynching.

A short time later, Mrs. Mullino was informed that the Negro was in a swamp in her own county. She called the sheriff and his deputies, and a number of ministers and other public-spirited citizens, urging them to aid in preventing mob action. Until mid-afternoon she stayed at her telephone. Finally the Negro was captured — by officers. That Christmas Day was not blackened by a lynching in Georgia. The law took its course. Had Mrs. Mullino gone to the mob and pleaded for restraint she would have been taunted. She knew that. She knew, too, that a sheriff, even though disposed to carelessness in such cases, couldn't afford to take any chances after dozens of influential voters had demanded that every possible precaution be taken to insure a constitutional trial for the accused Negro.

That is only one of dozens of examples of the women's quick work. Early in their campaign they realized that the sheriff was the key man. It was up to him to handle any mob forming in his county. The women approached practically every southern sheriff, asked each to sign a pledge to do all within his power to prevent lynchings. Some of the sheriffs shrugged off the matter as "just another one of them things." But the women did not stop there. They went about their work of obtaining the signatures of influential persons, of talking anti-lynching in schools, churches and at public meetings, of distributing circulars giving facts on lynchings and asking the public to help prevent mob law.

Southern women know local politics. No strange woman from the central state office called on a sheriff in the counties of the fifteen states. Nothing like that. A woman voter living in each sheriff's own county went to him about the lynching matters, and that is about as firm political pressure as can be applied. Each time there was a crime, or an accusation which might lead to a lynching, the women went into swift action. The sheriff started getting calls from influential voters and visits from prominent men and women who demanded that he protect the Negro, take him to an unnamed jail if necessary. Some of these calls came from governors who had been informed by association members of possible attempted violence. In some southern states a governor can remove a sheriff who loses a prisoner to a mob. In certain instances southern governors have called out the militia to protect accused Negroes.

A Basic Approach to Race Relations

AT THE END OF 1937 THE SOUTHERN WOMEN ISSUED A startling statement entitled, "Where Were the Peace Officers?" It declared: "All eight victims of lynchings in 1937 were in the hands of peace officers. In seven of the lynchings, investigations indicate, officers were either in the mob or were in collusion with the mob."

Here is a typical message sent all persons who have committed themselves to the anti-lynching program: "Do you know your sheriff? Have you talked with your sheriff? If it is an election year, have you talked with the candidates for sheriff? Have you asked each candidate what he will do to prevent lynchings if elected? The voters will decide for or against lynchings this year."

The results have been extraordinary. To date 1229 southern peace officers in fifteen states have written their signatures to pledges to educate against lynching and to prevent mob action.

Many sheriffs have volunteered

their pledges. In asking the sheriffs to sign pledges the women do not intend to intimate they think the sheriffs would countenance lynchings. All they want is cooperation, and most peace officers are giving it. A recent issue of the Texas Sheriffs Association's monthly magazine bitterly attacked lynching as murder and urged Texas sheriffs—there are 254 of them—firmly to aid in stamping out all such outrages.

The women have not limited their pressure to sheriffs. They have used the same methods on governors, legislators and other state officials. In Kentucky, 2000 women demanded repeal of the "gallows festival" law, which provided public hangings for men convicted on charges of rape. The law was repealed. The law, which made the crime of rape punishable by hanging in the county where the offense was committed, had been intended to quench the lynching spirit by demonstrating publicly that the law had taken its course, but the practice became distorted and was marked by many shockingly shameful celebrations, at which, as one southern newspaper pointed out, morbid appetite grew by what it fed on.

The women's work has included some activities more strenuous than signing petitions and applying pressure. They have faced howling mobs bent on lynching Negroes. Their pleadings were seldom heeded or even heard, but the women did all they could. Another dangerous job has been that of visiting the scenes of lynchings and collecting the real facts.

In cases — particularly those actually involving crimes against white women—in which the association has stepped into the scene, members have been taunted with:

"What if it were your daughter? What if it were you?"

To these jeering questions the women can reply with facts from the records. In 1936, the seven-year-old daughter of an Alabama woman, who was committed to the program, was attacked by a Negro. The mother, clinging tenaciously to her ideals and principles at a time when it would have been understandable had she succumbed to a profoundly human desire for revenge, prevented mob violence by her appeal that the law take its course.

Two aged sisters, who had only read of the southern women's program, pleaded with a posse of men in a Texas village in 1938 not to attempt to lynch a Negro who had attacked them. The sisters made their plea from beds in which their injuries confined them.

The association has its central council in Atlanta with Mrs. Attwood Martin as chairman and Mrs. Ames as director. There are thirteen council members at large, and each of the fifteen states has an independent council. The women work without pay and have planned their organization so shrewdly that it has none of the drawbacks common in ordinary guilds. They have carefully avoided strict rules of organization. "Much of the ineffectiveness of reform movements," said Mrs. Ames, "arises from the determination of the leaders to set up an organization into which are gathered only like-minded people, thereby cutting them off from making converts." And they have carefully avoided the mistake of getting too far ahead of public opinion. "Knowing at the start," said Mrs. Martin, "that if we went too fast, moved ahead of public opinion in a particular locality, it would be the Negro population that would suffer, we have refrained from overzeal until sure of our support."

And all along, every day of the year, the quiet educational program in which thousands of women have relayed the association's message to high schools and colleges, Sunday schools and churches, social, religious and patriotic clubs has been carried forward. Even the drama has been used in this earnest educational campaign. The association sponsored a one-act play contest, in which the subject was limited to anti-lynching. "Country Sunday" by Walter Spearman, teacher of journalism in the University of North Carolina, and "Lawd, Does Yo' Undahstan'?" by Ann Seymour, teacher in the schools of Palestine, Tex., were the winners. The plays were widely produced by Little Theater groups, and Miss Seymour's play was included in "Representative One-Act American Plays of 1938," which had a circulation of more than 20,000. The women have not been able to estimate the number of persons the message of the plays reached, nor do they have any idea how many thousands their constant flow of printed circulars on lynching and its prevention have affected.

The central office now sends out more than 10,000 pieces of literature upon direct request each year. Requests for information on the work have come from India, China, Africa, England, and the Philippines.

In order to accelerate the work, the association has requested Mrs. Ames to develop a study book of methods on the education of the public against lynching and its prevention. All the methods the women have found in ten years to be successful—ways of carrying on the educational program when there is no mob to combat, and action necessary when there is danger of a mob—will be included in the handbook. In addition there will be factual discussions of the racial problem in the South. With this book in the hands of thousands of women, each worker will benefit by the association's past experience in combating lynching. And the goal of the women is 100,000 signatures and pledges of cooperation from every sheriff in the South.

It is the hope, the prayer, the intention of these thousands of southern women that not far in the future they will look at the first page of their morning newspaper and see an item something like this:

Tuskegee Institute, Ala., Dec. 31 — (AP) — The Tuskegee Institute reported today that for the first time since the Civil War no lynchings occurred during a year in the United States.

Signature Pledges Against Lynching

State	*Counties*	*Towns*	*Women*	*Men*	*Officers*
Alabama	55	173	1356	54	20
Arkansas	29	52	789	69	3
Florida	51	137	2136	332	46
Georgia	154	386	7006	352	250
Kentucky	93	191	2895	144	111
Louisiana	51	109	886	36	135
Mississippi	81	294	5093	526	146
Missouri	39	84	738	36	4
North Carolina	95	337	4361	109	15
Oklahoma	43	93	1212	31	23
South Carolina	46	205	2082	21	37
Tennessee	71	59	3535	259	202
Texas	198	592	5808	51	93
Virginia	46	89	1025	59	137
West Virginia	28	61	469	11	7
Total	1074	2862	39,391	2090	1229

Ames, Mrs. J. D.

February 20, 1948

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
The Wren's Nest
Tryon, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Ames:

We shall miss you a whole lot at the Civil Rights Meeting. You really ought to make your plans to get here.

The idea is to break the meeting down into workshops and have each get up a list of things to be done in home communities to implement the rights which it will be discussing.

I have seen Mr. Gordon Hancock several times lately and we always go back to your main share in launching the Council.

Mrs. McKoy is sending the leaflets you requested.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:eb

THE WREN'S NEST
TRYON, NORTH CAROLINA

16 February 1948

17 1948
RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

I know that the sessions on Human Rights will be good and well attended. Mrs. Tilly has a genius for working up conferences as I know from years of working with her. I wish I lived near enough to catch a street car or bus and come in~~to~~/to them but as it is I would have to count out three full days and I haven't that many days to spend right now.

Whatever decisions the meeting comes to in the way of action, I am sure you will let all of the SRC members know. On the other hand the meeting may be purely educational and so no action will be recommended. Whatever is put out from the conference, be sure that my name is right at the top of those listed to get reports.

If you would have Mrs. McCoy send me a couple dozen of the reprint of Ladies and Lynching I would like it. I have not been able to write her for reasons so if you will just tell her for me and let this letter answer both I shall appreciate it.

Very sincerely yours,

Jessie Daniel Ames

Ames, Mrs. Jessie

March 9, 1948

Mrs. Jessie D. Ames
The Wren's Nest
Tryon, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Ames:

Thank you so much for your nice note of February 26.

Indeed, we are most happy to send you any pamphlets you wish of which we still have a supply. Connie has made up for you and is mailing today a packet containing one copy of "Lynching is Wholesale Murder," (of which we have only one copy), two copies of "The Mob Still Rides," two copies of "Repairers of the Breach," and two copies of "The Changing Character of Lynching." We have a supply of the latter three pamphlets and will be glad to send you additional copies if you wish. We have been unable to find "Feeling is Tense" but if it should turn up, we will see that you get it.

Our civil rights meeting of the 27th proved to be an excellent meeting and one I am sure you would have enjoyed. I am sorry you could not be here.

With kindest good wishes, and my regards to Lulu when you write.

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

Enclosures

THE WREN'S NEST
TRYON, NORTH CAROLINA

RECEIVED
FEB 27 1948
Southern Regional Council

26 February 1948

My dear Mrs. McCoy:

The reprints of "Ladies and Lynching" came yesterday. Thank you.

I have this morning been checking the pamphlets which the Association of Southern Women etc issued during the years of his life and find that I have no copies of the reports on lynchings for 1937 and 1938. These are titled "Lynching Is Wholesale Murder" and "Felling Is Tense".

I know that Miss Clay kept a file of all material printed by the Commission, several copies of each in fact. I thought that since the SRC is a new organization without close relation to the Commission and subsidiary organization, Mr. Mitchell would be willing to complete this file of mine in a piece of work which was my creation.

If there are extra copies of "Repairers of the Breach" c could I have one for my files. I loaned my one copy and the lady departed for Florida without retunring it.

2-Mob rules
2-Repairers Breach
2-Character of Lynching
1-Wholesale murder

I shall deeply appreciated these contributions if they are available.

Cordially yours,

Jessie Daniel Ames

3/5/48

1 A — Ames, Jessie Daniel

WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA CONFERENCE
Woman's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH

RECEIVED
MAR 29 1948
Social Service Council

CONFERENCE OFFICERS
1946

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Miss Cloyce Woody
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Mrs. C. A. York
635 Colonial Drive
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Secretary Missionary Specials
Miss Lillian Walker
1821 South Boulevard
Charlotte, N. C.

Secretary Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities
Mrs. Jessie D. Ames
The Wren's Nest
Lynn Road
Tryon, N. C.

Secretary Wesleyan Service Guild
Mrs. R. I. Corbett
226 Morgan Street
Marion, N. C.

Secretary Student Work
Mrs. A. H. Whitley
419 Edgedale Drive
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Secretary Youth Work
Mrs. J. G. Winkler
Box 47
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Secretary Children's Work
Mrs. S. A. Rhyne
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Secretary Literature and Publications
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Mrs. J. Dale Stentz
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Secretary Missionary Personnel
Mrs. C. N. Clark
146 Franklin Street
Mount Airy, N. C.

Secretary Status of Women
Mrs. Mabel Baughman
Box 998
Hendersonville, N. C.

Editor of Woman's Page in the North Carolina Christian Advocate
Mrs. E. Lester Ballard
808 Brown Street
Greensboro, N. C.

ADDRESS REPLY TO:
Mrs. Jessie D. Ames
Secretary Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities
The Wren's Nest, Lynn Road, Tryon, N. C.

26 March, 1948

My dear Mrs. Saxon:

There was no bulletin after number 8 dealing e x-clusively with the lynchings reported and written up . In 1939 the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching held its annual Council meeting and in the program there was a short report on the 1938 lynchings. This program was the "Tenth Annual Conference".

The issues of the Southern Frontier from 1940 through 1944, that is through January of this last year, carried the reports. But "The Changing Character of Lynching" issued in July 1942 was the last formal amd official pamphlet of the Association.

It was Dr. Alexander's conviction that the ASWPL had completed its work and that I should take over the reorganization of the field work of the Commission. Since there were no funds to carry out both projects and since I could combine the work with the organization of state committees, I gave up the ASWPL as a separate organization.

I am not answering the letter from the New York Public Library. I think that library got all the material put out by the Commission in these years of the ASWPL and the Southern Frontier.

Sincerely yours,

Jessie Daniel Ames

Ans. Thru Jesse

March 10, 1948

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
The Wren's Nest
Tryon, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Ames

Mrs. McKoy asked that I write to you in regard to the matter in the enclosed letter.

We are unable to find a Bulletin published later than no.8, but to be absolutely accurate in our reply to Mr. Fall, we thought we'd check with you first.

You may reply to us or directly to Mr. Fall, whichever you prefer. If you reply to Mr. Fall, we would appreciate having a copy for our files.

We shall greatly appreciate your helping us out in the matter.

Sincerely,

(Mrs.) Marie F. Saxon
Publications Division

The New York Public Library
Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

OFFICE OF THE DIRECTOR

ADDRESS CORRESPONDENCE AND SHIPMENTS TO
THE DIRECTOR, THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
FIFTH AVENUE AND FORTY-SECOND STREET
NEW YORK 18, N. Y.

CS

New York, March 3, 1948

RECEIVED
MAR 5
FILED
Southern Regional Council

Mrs. Marie F. Saxon
Publications Division
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mrs. Saxon:

We received your letter of January 30, 1948, relative to our request for the Bulletin of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. We subscribe to the New South through our agent, The F. W. Faxon Company of Boston, Massachusetts. The publication in which we are interested at this time is the Bulletin mentioned above. We have nos. 1-8 (1932-1938) and should like to know if any issues later than no. 8 were published. If so, may we secure copies? If publication has ceased, will you write us definitely to this effect and also tell us the number and date of the last issue which appeared?

We shall be grateful for any assistance you may extend to the Library.

Very truly yours

R. A. Beals
Director

By J R Fall
J. R. Fall
Chief of Acquisition Division

Ames Mrs. J. D.

March 31, 1948

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
The Wren's Nest
Lynn Road
Tryon, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Ames:

Thanks for your nice letter of the twenty-sixth. We were very glad that we could find for you the missing reports which you needed to complete your file.

You are so right about the tendency of people with like minds to get together and to agree with each other all over again, and this, though doubtless satisfying, does little to advance an idea or bring progress. To some extent, this may have been true of our own Conference on Civil Rights. The meeting was designed not only to bring people together from all over the South, and give them an opportunity to clarify their own ideas and thinking, but to have as wide a cross section of Southern groups of people as possible to speak out for the record and serve as initiators of similar meetings at the local level. You will be interested to know that a number of such meetings have been held and are scheduled and that we are experiencing a heavy demand for our digest of the report of the President's Committee. Many schools and colleges are using it as well as other groups.

We were sorry that you could not be here, and sorry too, that the location of Tryon makes such a trip difficult for you. With personal regards and good wishes, I am

Sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA CONFERENCE

Woman's Society of Christian Service

THE METHODIST CHURCH

RECEIVED
Southern Regional Council

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1946

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Mrs. C. C. Weaver
709 Summit Street
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Vice President
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Cherryville, N. C.

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Mrs. Mabel Baughman
Box 998
Hendersonville, N. C.

Editor of Woman's Page in the North Carolina Christian Advocate
Mrs. E. Lester Ballard
808 Brown Street
Greensboro, N. C.

ADDRESS REPLY TO:
Mrs. Jessie D. Ames
Secretary Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities
The Wren's Nest, Lynn Road, Tryon, N. C.

26 March, 1948

My dear Mrs.McKoy:

Thank you for the final bulletin on the lynching reorts issued by the ASWPL. My file is complete now and for this fact, I owe you and Dr. Micthell many thanks.

I also want to thank you for the report of the Human Rights Conference and the recommendations passed by it. I have read them with interest.

I should have liked to have been there at the time that it was being held but the getting down and getting back are difficult trips for Tryon is not on the Southern which goes straight through. And I am so very allergic to travel at any time and under the most favorable circumstances that to enjoy anything between the trips means that it must be something in which I am deeply interested and about which I know little. I am the former in Human Rights but I am not uninformed in the latter.

Too, I am busy here in this state, away from home more than I like to be.

I have wondered whether or not there were many people at this conference who were in need of conversion. Too frequently like minded people get to-gether on occasions like this and as they are usually the same people each time, they come to the same conclusions which they have reached on many similar occasions.

Sincerely yours,

Jessie Daniel Ames

1 - Ames, Mrs. Jessie D.

August 4, 1948

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
The Wren's Nest
Tryon, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Ames:

Please forgive us that in stuffing thousands of New South, some to receive dues notices and some not, a notice was inadvertently and most erronously included in yours. You are indeed paid up for 1948 and are so recorded.

Shall you be at the annual meeting this year? It falls on November 10. We are already beginning to plan for it and hope that you can be with us.

With every good wish and our regrets for the billing, I am

Cordially and sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

63 AUBURN AVENUE, N. E. ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

RECEIVED
JUL 30 1948
Southern Regional Council

RECEIVED
JUL 29 1948
Southern Regional Council

Dear Member:

Time is hurrying by, and already the year is half gone. Won't you sit down,- right now - and send us that check for dues? $2.00 for single membership, $3.00 for husband and wife.

We really need it !

Cordially and with good wishes,

Agnes McKoy

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

29 July, 1948-

The check for $ 5.00 dated 1 July which I sent the Council covers my dues of $ 2.00 for 1948

Jessie Thurmond Allen

7/29/48

FROM Box 636
Tryon NC

TRYON, N.C.
JUL 29
12 30 PM
1948

Southern Regional Council, Inc.

Room 432

63 Auburn Avenue, N. E.

ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

1-Ames, Mrs. Jessie D

September 8, 1948

Mrs. Jessie D. Ames, Secretary
Christian Social Relations and
Local Church Activities
The Wren's Nest, Lynn Road
Tryon, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Ames:

In combing through the finance files to see where additional funds might possibly be had for the remainder of the year, I noted that in 1947 the Western North Carolina Conference of the Woman's Society of Christian Service gave $25.00 to the Council, but that this gift has not been renewed so far this year.

Do you think it might be possible for us to secure a renewal of this donation for 1948, and if so, might we look to your own good offices in effecting it? Our budget is exceedingly slender now as you know, and we shall be most grateful for any efforts in our behalf.

The Annual Meeting falls on November 10th this year and I hope you are planning to attend.

With every good wish, I am

Cordially and sincerely yours,

(Mrs.) Agnes McKoy
Secretary-Treasurer

AM:s

November 4, 1948

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
The Wren's Nest
Tryon, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Ames:

Thanks a lot for your letter, even though it has the sad news that we can't expect you at the meeting.

You are an integral part of the whole Council, and I do wish circumstances would let you get here. Please try still.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

1- Ames, Jessie Daniel

WESTERN NORTH CAROLINA CONFERENCE
Woman's Society of Christian Service
THE METHODIST CHURCH

RECEIVED
NOV 4 1948
Southern Regional Council

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1948

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201 Lineberger Street
Shelby, N. C.

Promotion Secretary
Mrs. John Hoyle, Jr.
29 West Fort Street
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Miss Cloyce Woody
415 North Spring Street
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Mrs. C. A. York
635 Colonial Drive
High Point, N. C.

Missionary Service
Miss Lilian Walker
2005 Beverly Drive
Charlotte, N. C.

Christian Social Relations and Local Church Activities
Mrs. Jesse Daniel Ames
The Wren's Nest
Tryon, N. C.

Wesleyan Service Guild
Mrs. R. I. Corbett
226 Morgan Street
Marion, N. C.

Student Work
Mrs. Carl King
Salisbury, N. C.

Youth Work
Mrs. J. G. Winkler
Box 47
Kings Mountain, N. C.

Children's Work
Mrs. S. A. Rhyne, Sr.
307 North Center Street
Statesville N. C.

Literature and Publications
Mrs. D. M. Davidson
Gibsonville, N. C.

Supply Work
Mrs. Ira C. Shelley
1405 Northfield Street
Greensboro, N. C.

Spiritual Life
Mrs. J. Dale Stentz
41 Academy Street
Concord, N. C.

Missionary Personnel
Mrs. C. N. Clark
Waynesville, N. C.

Status of Women
Mrs. Mabel Baughman
Box 998
Hendersonville, N. C.

Editor Woman's Page N. C. Christian Advocate
Mrs. E. Lester Ballard
Box 795
Glen Alpine, N. C.

President Emeritus
Mrs. C. C. Weaver
C-1-Apt. 23, Twin Castles
Winston-Salem, N. C.

Treasurer Emeritus
Mrs. P. N. Peacock
707 Mitchell Ave.
Salisbury, N. C.

My dear Dr, Mitchell:

I have read the reports of the staff of the Southern Regional Council in the latest issue of the NEW SOUTH and the tentative program with the financial statement which you sent out last week. Certainly you have not only conformed with the requirements set down in our last meeting but you have made the year's work and the proposed work for the coming year so clear and definite that no member can claim that they are not well-informed.

It is with genuine regret that I must ask you to have my reservation cancelled at the Piedmont Hotel. The calls on my time have increased to such an extent that I seem to have no opportunity to divert any of it to other calls.

I do wish for you and the Council success in the coming year's work and especially do I wish it in the financial realm. Without enough funds the program can not be expected to be successful.

Cordially yours,

Jessie Daniel Ames

1 - Ames, Mrs. Jessie Daniel

January 26, 1949
Dict. January 25

Mrs. Jessie D. Ames
Box 73, The Wren's Nest
Tryon, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Ames:

I attended last Friday the annual meeting of the Texas Interracial Commission at Fort Worth.

It was a good meeting, with plenty of zip.

In the main address for the evening session, in the First Presbyterian Church, Dr. H. O'Hara Lanier, the new president of Texas State University at Houston, recalled in the warmest terms your invaluable work in getting that movement going in Texas.

I thought you would like to have this evidence that you are still thus closely linked.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

GSM:t

1- Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames

THE WREN'S NEST
TRYON, NORTH CAROLINA

RECEIVED
FEB 4 1949
Southern Regional Council

3 February 1949

My dear Dr. Mitchell:

I know few persons who would have taken time out to write me of the things Mr. Lanier said about me. In fact, if I had to name another, I would have to take time off, too, to recall one. I do appreciate what he said but even more, I appreciate you, yourself, for telling me what he said.

He and I worked to-gether in Texas in the days when he was connected with the Houston public schools. We were concentrating, then, on graduate training for Texas Negroes and securing a subsidy for this training. We had to mow down the principal of Prairie View and the Dean of the Medical School at Galveston in order to get through our appropriation. But we got it anyway, with the help of the Board of Control and against the President of the University of Texas- I should say the interim President before Dr. Rainey came in.

Later I spent a week on the Hampton campus while Dr. Lanier was acting President of that school. We came to know each other right well then. He had been in Texas long enough for us to speak the same language.

It is good news that the Texas Commission is taking on new life. The Commission is more than of age but it still has on it men and women who resent any change from the old ways. They seem to look upon any suggestion of change as a personal reflection on their wisdom and their performance. I gather from your note that either they have lost their voices or are no longer numerous enough to outvote and out talk newer and younger members.

I am sorry that I can not attend the meeting that Mr. Williams is calling in Durham to consider ways and means to secure financial s support in North Carolina for the Council. It so happens that all my time and most of my organizational and planning abilities are consumed by the work of the office I hold in this conference. I shall have this office, barring impeachment, until 1952. By then I hope we will have built such a firm foundation under the program that it will stand regardless of every wind that may blow.

Our Methodist women's organization has a magnificent super-structure but the inspiration and the action does not reach the women who live in small towns and the open country- and these are the women who are the most important. They determine the kind of attitudes our Nation holds toward all social problems.

Agin I thank you for your thoughtfulness in writing me.

Cordially yours,

Jessie Daniel Ames

(Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames)

bc: Mrs. McKoy

1- Ames, Mrs. Jessie Daniel

September 30, 1949

Mrs. Jessie D. Ames
The Wren's Nest
Tryon, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Ames:

Mrs. McKoy thanks you sincerely for the five dollars. I thank you for welcome advice and for the news that you are coming to the meeting. The date is November 9.

We have tried to bend in the last year or so toward a more popular style with New South. I admit we haven't got far. The Council has not tried to build a mass membership. I have repeatedly said that if we got about 5,000 members, that would be a resting point for a while. We are now at around 3,300. Unless we find money soon, we shan't be able to publish any more pamphlets; and I think it is on the pamphlets, perhaps, that we should push hardest to be more popular.

Perhaps this latest one, Race in the News, is more readable than some of the others. The issues of Time and Newsweek for October 3 gave it grand write-ups. There is really quite a lot that can be done by local groups--most particularly local church groups--in following up with editors the rules laid down in the little green book.

Ed Burrows is a good guy and we all enjoyed working with him this summer and some of last. I have impressed on him the enormous contribution that you have made to the whole cause.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

Tryon, North Carolina

The Wren's Nest

27 September, 1949

My dear Mr. Mitchell:-

The material gotten out by the Council is good and I like it but I have frequently wished that some of it would be written in a style that would attract the so-called " man in the street". All of it has the effect of presenting incontrovertible facts but they are given in such a way as to leave the impression that they are secured by a research specialist for students in research.

I think that I know fairly well the kind of people, both men and women, whom you want to reach . That is, if you do want to reach the majority of the people in the churches and in the employed groups. If these are not your desired audience then what I have said has no application.

I enclose my check for the purposes named at the bottom.

Unless providentially hindered, as the brethren say, I plan to attend the annual meeting this November if and when you call it. I am free to do this for I have resigned my office in the Woman's Society of Christian Service of the Conference here and so I can, again and for good, maybe, plan to go where and when I want to.

I had an interested and interesting caller this past month, Mr. Burris. He had spent much time during the last two summers in the office there. He is coming over again, this time from Guildford College, to do some looking at my files on this and that dealing with the Commission on Interracial Cooperation. He introduced me to the general idea of something that he called cultural history, I think. Though I may not have the name right, I became quite interested in the idea.

Sincerely yours,

Bessie Pennell Ellis

RECEIVED
SEP 29 1949
Southern Regional Council

3.00 dues
2.00 Cont
5.00 ck
MEK.

SRC - Bd of Dirs - Membership

November 18, 1949

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames
The Wren's Nest
Tryon, North Carolina

Dear Mrs. Ames:

I am sorry that you feel you must resign from the Council Board after the turn of the year.

Everyone is grateful for your own honored career of action in this field.

Sincerely,

George S. Mitchell
Executive Director

gsm/t

cc: Mr. Paul D. Williams
Mrs. Agnes McKoy

File

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE
14 East 48th Street
New York 17, New York
Plaza 1-0300

A statement by the Board of Trustees of the NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, made public on Sunday, June 9, 1963, urging a crash program of special effort to close the gap between the conditions of Negro and white citizens.

As justified as are the concerns of the National Urban League over the current demonstrations in the South by Negro citizens seeking elementary and fundamental rights, these incidents are mild in comparison with those on the verge of taking flame in the tinder-box of racial unrest in Northern cities.

In these teeming Northern ghettos, hundreds of thousands of Negro citizens -- struggling beneath the mounting burden of automation, overcrowding and subtle discrimination -- are reaching the breaking point.

These are the unemployed, the ill-housed, the disillusioned. It is they who are seething with the lava of deprivation and denial, out of which violence and bloodshed can erupt at any moment unless swift and realistic effort is exerted to prevent it.

The belated actions by the Federal administration toward solution of the South's civil rights disturbances are commendable in some respects, and insofar as they reach into the agonies of the problem. But obviously they are too little -- and may well be too late -- to offset the inevitable explosion.

The National Urban League challenges the responsible leadership of our country to undertake a massive "Marshall plan" approach program of intensified special effort to close the wide economic, social and educational gap which separates the large majority of Negro citizens from other Americans.

Such special effort, which may appear to be in conflict with the principle of equal treatment for all, is required to overcome the damaging effects of generations of deprivation and denial and to make it possible for the majority of American Negroes to reach the point at which they can compete on a basis of equality in the nation's increasingly complex and fast-moving industrial economy.

The primary justification for such special effort lies in the fact that the nation itself is in jeopardy as long as it has within its body politic a large group of citizens who are socially and economically handicapped, often dependent, poorly educated and unable to assume the normal responsibilities of citizenship. And with the impact of automation, it appears possible that these conditions will become worse before they improve and that we may well create a permanent class of dependents unable to make a useful contribution to our way of life.

The second reason for such an effort arises from the fact that the intense needs and problems which are evident in so many Negro communities around the country are a direct result of past and present discrimination and exclusion based on race. Thus, as a matter of historic equity, compensatory effort is justified and may well be the only means of overcoming the heavy aftermath of past neglect. As the following indices suggest, despite progress in certain areas, a large segment of the American Negro population continues to lag seriously behind other Americans in almost every type of measurement which can be used to determine social and economic well being. And in certain catagories the gap is widening rather than closing.

The median annual income for the Negro family today is $3,233 as compared with $5,835 for whites, a gap of 45 per cent. That the trend is in the wrong direction is evidenced by the fact that the gap in 1952 was

43 per cent. Hence, that one element in the gap has widened rather than narrowed in barely more than a decade.

More than 75 per cent of all Negro workers are found in the three lowest occupational categories -- service workers, semi-skilled, and unskilled laborers and farm workers. Less than 39 per cent of all white workers are in these categories. And these are the very categories which are being most drastically affected by automation.

One of every six Negro dwelling units in the nation is dilapidated, obsolete or otherwise substandard, as compared to one in 32 white dwellings. In 1961 Negroes occupied 47 per cent of all public housing units in the country.

The lower earning power of Negro men and the more frequent break-up of Negro families make it necessary for more Negro than white women to become breadwinners. One in every four Negro women with pre-school children is at work and not at home.

More Negro youth drop out of high school than white youth, the fewer high school graduates enter college. During the 1960 school year, 21 per cent of the school dropouts were Negroes. Of youth graduating from high school only seven per cent were Negro youth.

Unemployment rates for Negroes are substantially higher than for whites at all ages: In 1961, 13 per cent of non-white men were unemployed as compared with 5.7 per cent of whites. Nationwide, Negro young people constitute only 15 per cent of the total youth population between the ages of 16 and 21, yet are 50 per cent of the youth population in this age bracket who are both out of school and unemployed.

To correct the problems indicated by these statistics, the cooperative effort of many social agencies, both public and private, in a massive "crash" attack on the problem is required. Such a crash program, sustained

for a reasonable period of time, will realize savings of millions of dollars in the cost of welfare services and public hospitalization. Such a program will reverse the widespread social deterioration of urban families and communities and also help us develop the tools and understanding which will prevent the development of such deterioration in the future.

Specifically, what is involved in this kind of special effort which the Urban League now proposes?

(1) Our basic definition of equal opportunity must be broadened and deepened to include recognition of the need for special effort to overcome serious disabilities resulting from historic handicaps.

(2) Our society must recognize and put a higher value than it has ever before placed on the human potential possessed by Negro citizens. And then it must move positively to develop that potential.

(3) The best school and the best teachers are needed to prepare Negro children and other educationally disadvantaged youth to the point where they will have the desire for excellence in education and will be motivated to achieve and prepare to advance up the economic ladder with full realization of the rewards that will accrue in the process.

(4) Token integration and pilot placement in business and industry, labor and government, are not enough. A conscious planned effort must be made to place qualified Negroes in entrance jobs in all types of employment and in positions of responsibility, including lower and upper management positions.

(5) Affirmative action must be taken to destroy the racial ghetto and open housing opportunities of all types on the basis of need and ability to buy or rent.

(6) Public and private agencies in the health and welfare field must offer to the ghettoized segments of the population the best services, with highly competent personnel who understand the reasons for unstable family patterns, the relation between low socio-economic status and social problems, and what must be done to rehabilitate urban Negro families.

(7) Qualified Negroes should be sought and named to all public and private boards and commissions, and particularly those which shape policy in the areas of employment, housing, education and health and welfare services, the areas in which the racial differential is greatest and the need for dramatic change is most urgent.

To achieve this objective, strong leadership within the Negro community must be developed. This leadership then will be ready to step into the vanguard of the teamwork effort demanded in resolving the smoldering problems involved in civil rights.

(8) Negro citizens themselves, adults as well as young people, must maintain and even accelerate the sense of urgency which now characterizes the drive for first-class citizenship. Every opportunity for the acquisition of education and technical skills must be utilized. Every means of strengthening the social and economic fabric of the Negro community must be employed.

(9) It is vital that government, philanthropic foundations, business and industry reasses the extent of their financial support to established organizations committed to securing equal opportunity for Negro citizens to share in the fundamental privileges and rights of American democracy. It is imperative that all of these major sources of financial support substantially increase their contributions to the preventive programs carried on by established, responsible Negro leadership organizations.

(10) Constructive efforts on the part of Negro citizens must be exerted to carry their full share of the responsibilities for participation in a meaningful way in every phase of community life.

The kinds of action set forth in the foregoing represent the only way in which significant breakthroughs on a broad scale can be accomplished. This is compensatory consideration in the form of inclusion, selection and preference.

The consequences of the "Negro revolt," as it has been characterized are yet to be seen. It, therefore, behooves America's leadership to give serious consideration to a radical new approach by which the democracy we profess to practice is granted without further delay to all citizens.

# # #

December 19, 1962

Mrs. Wm. C. Pauley
Georgia Council on Human Relations
41 Exchange Place, S.E.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Frances:

Here is a sheet on Mr. Scheepers. Just to confirm, you will pick him up in the lobby of the Peachtree Manor Hotel Saturday, December 22nd, at 3:00 p.m. and return him at your convenience after dinner.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:A

Leslie W. Dunbar

December 19, 1962

The Rev. Nat Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

Mr. Dabbs has written us about additional copies of The Tragic Fellowship of Southerners, which you published. We have only a file copy left.

What supply do you have left? And how much would they cost us?

If you have none left, is it possible that the printer would still have the type and could do a re-run of this; at what cost?

I hope you have a wonderful Christmas.

Sincerely yours,

Montez G. Albright (Mrs.)
Secretary to Mr. Dunbar

December 21, 1962

Rev. Nathaniel Griswold
Arkansas Council on Human Relations
1220 West Capitol
Little Rock, Arkansas

Dear Nat:

Because of a prior commitment I probably will not be free on February 1 and 2. As things now stand my calendar is clear on February 4, 5, and 6. Will see you next week.

Sincerely yours,

LWD:bp

Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director

CLASS OF SERVICE

This is a fast message unless its deferred character is indicated by the proper symbol.

WESTERN UNION
TELEGRAM

W. P. MARSHALL, PRESIDENT

SF-1201 (4-60)

SYMBOLS

DL = Day Letter

NL = Night Letter

LT = International Letter Telegram

The filing time shown in the date line on domestic telegrams is LOCAL TIME at point of origin. Time of receipt is LOCAL TIME at point of destination

1058A EST DEC 21 62 AE091

A LLR121 (NS LRA073) PD LITTLE ROCK ARK 21 904A CST

LESLIE DUNBAR, SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

5 FORSYTH NORTH WEST ATLA

RESERVE FEB 1-2 FOR PARTICIPATION IN OUR ANNUAL MEETING HOPE

TO EXPLAIN DETAILS DEC 27 IN NASHVILLE

NAT

1-2 27

(57).

TA-file

MA-file

W. L. CALLOWAY, PRESIDENT B. S. BURCH, SECRETARY C. R. YATES, TREASURER WARREN R. COCKRANE, GENERAL SECRETARY

BUTLER STREET YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION

22 BUTLER STREET, NORTHEAST TELEPHONE JACKSON 4-0246

ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

July 29, 1963

RECEIVED JUL 30 1963

Dr. Leslie Dunbar
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

My dear Dr. Dunbar:

Once more we are in the process of making up the 1963-64 series of Public Affairs Forums which for the past seventeen years have been held at the Butler Street YMCA.

I am now writing you early to ask if you would again, or for the first time, if you have not appeared, be the speaker at one of the 1963-64 series. This particular series will begin September 25th and end May 13th with a two weeks recess during the Christmas Season.

The committee has selected the theme for the 1963-64 series "The Responsibility of Leadership in a Time of Crisis". In order to definitely establish this theme we have arranged with four outstanding faculty members of Atlanta University to take the first four sessions to develop this theme and recordings will be made or copies will be kept and sent to each prospective speaker, to ask the speaker to gear his remarks to this theme. Briefly, the position of the committee, in which opinion I share, is that for the next several years the Negro must point towards responsible leadership, and by responsible leadership is simply meant that the Negro and his leaders, including white men and women of good will, must now plan creatively and sanely, and must not let irresponsible people move in and take charge. The approach here is to be positive and constructive and does not necessarily imply disparagement of any present leadership. However, because of the volitile crisis through which we are going, it is felt that the most dedicated, consecrated and unselfish leadership, that this country possesses, must assert itself, if the gains are to be made lasting, and if improvement and advance is to be made without engendering untold hostility, not only in this generation but in years to come. The theme again is, "The Responsibility of Leadership in a Time of Crisis".

This still means that a speaker has considerable latitude to say whatever he desires but always having in mind, if possible, this great need for constructive, dedicated leadership during this critical time.

Would you be kind enough to use the enclosed card to indicate whether you will be available and give us a choice of dates so that we could fit you into a schedule which is most acceptable to you? We would appreciate an early a reply as possible since we would like to have the entire schedule firmed up by September 1st.

With kindest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

Warren R. Cochrane

Warren R. Cochrane,
General Secretary

BUTLER STREET YMCA HUNGRY CLUB SCHEDULE

1963-64

THEME: "THE RESPONSIBILITY OF LEADERSHIP IN A TIME OF CRISIS"

DATES	SPEAKERS	MODERATOR	COMMENTS
SEPTEMBER 25th	Dr. E. K. Weaver		
OCTOBER 2nd	Dr. Tilman C. Cothran		
OCTOBER 9th	Dr. Lionel H. Newsome		
OCTOBER 16th	Dr. John D. Reid		
OCTOBER 23rd			
OCTOBER 30th			
NOVEMBER 6th			
NOVEMBER 13th			
NOVEMBER 20th			
NOVEMBER 27th			Thanksgiving Message

DATES	SPEAKERS	MODERATOR	COMMENTS
DECEMBER 4th			
DECEMBER 11th	Omega Psi Phi Fraternity		
DECEMBER 18th			Christmas Message
JANUARY 8th			
JANUARY 15th			
JANUARY 22nd			
JANUARY 29th			
FEBRUARY 5th			
FEBRUARY 12th			
FEBRUARY 19th			
FEBRUARY 26th			

DATES	SPEAKERS	MODERATOR	COMMENTS
MARCH 4th			
MARCH 11th			
MARCH 18th			
MARCH 25th			
APRIL 1st			
APRIL 8th	Y's Men's Club		
APRIL 15th			
APRIL 22nd	Atlanta Secretarial League		
APRIL 29th			
MAY 6th	Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity		
MAY 13th	Gate City Bar Association		

ON THE NATIONAL CRISIS

A STATEMENT BY

THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

AUGUST 1967

A STATEMENT OF THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

As an organization of Southerners of both races dedicated to equal opportunity for all, the Southern Regional Council has watched with profound grief and alarm the riots that have occurred during this first half of the summer of 1967. But far more destructive than riots would be the failure of the nation to recognize riots as a symptom of profound failure -- social and economic -- of American society to provide a chance for a decent and constructive life for vast numbers of its people, North and South, white and Negro.

Fully aware of the need for fact and sympathy in doing so, we are compelled as Southerners, out of a knowledge of our own region's tragic history of racial antagonism,to speak to the nation, urging that it act against the causes of the riots and not merely with repressive force to end them. We would also urge the South,as it continues to strive to restructure its society to conform to laws of equality and racial justice, to look upon these riots which have occurred in Northern cities as a severe object lesson in the tragic consequences of not achieving these objectives fully for all citizens.

We are grieved about the damage, destruction, injury and death attendant on riots. But we are even more concerned about the damage physically, mentally and spiritually that has been done to far more human beings over many years by the social conditions out of which the riots have risen. The grave national emergency of the riots at essence involves the conditions that southern organizations like ours have struggled against for years -- poverty and discrimination against Negroes.

As so often we have had in the past to point out that only a minority of white Southerners have engaged in racial violence, so it should be noted that only a minority of Negroes have succumbed to the destructive fury expressed in the riots. But the suffering and injustice which have stirred their fury are borne by many millions more, whites as well as Negroes.

Particularly is this true in the South. However, we can take neither comfort nor any degree of self-satisfaction out of the fact that until this moment, most of the riots and the worst of them have occurred outside the South. We can only acknowledge that historically, the South has exported people of both

races not properly prepared for life in a complex modern nation, and with them have developed new variants of the deprivation and racial antagonisms that have so long crippled the South. And we can only look about our own region and know that the same conditions which have exploded into riots exist in many places in the South. The starvation-level poverty in many parts of the rural South is a particularized problem of ours, more severe and punishing probably than any other poverty in the nation.

Progress in race relations and against poverty in the South has been great in recent years. But it has not been enough. While these states have made efforts toward compliance with federal civil rights laws, perhaps to a greater degree than the rest of the nation is aware of, there has been achieved in no area of desegregation the goals of national law and commitment. In the basics of making a living, the South's per capita income has increased at a greater rate than that of the nation since 1950. But in terms of actual dollars, the gap between the South's per capita income and that of the rest of the nation has widened.

In these and other endeavors, the South has been gaining, but not enough.

In 1960, when white violence was the problem, a Southern Regional Council publication, "Racial Violence and Law Enforcement," stated: "Law enforcement is... an essential factor in the progress of race relations. In the continuing racial crises of the South, the police have two basic responsibilities: to enforce the laws with absolute impartiality; and, secondly, to maintain a climate of public order in which constitutional liberties can be freely exercised, by white men or Negroes, by integrationists, or segregationists." These responsibilities remain.

There should be no confusion of rioting with either the tradition of non-violent Negro protest demonstrations or with the honorable philosophical principles of civil disobedience. Unlawful violence by a mob has none of the moral defense or force of these traditions, and such violence must be quelled, just as white mob violence against constitutional peaceful protest has to be. But in both instances, we must be alert to the dangers of excessive, unconstitutional use of police

force; we must look with apprehension on any tendency to be satisfied merely with the momentary ending of the system of violence without following through with treatment of the social and economic malfunctionings that are the underlying causes of such violence.

We must note too another grave factor in our current crisis. There now are millions of Americans outside our economic system, neither contributing to it or benefiting from it. This must realistically be seen as a serious threat to that economic system.

The Southern Regional Council supports and urges national efforts to remedy problems of race and poverty. We support and urge similar efforts on the state and local level in the South, public and private. We need to continue present efforts and improvise creative new approaches to solve such regional problems as rural and urban poverty, educational deprivation, and race relations. The South has yet the opportunity to go beyond technical compliance with law to the functioning of a truly equal, harmonious society. And because it has come to basic changes in the nature of American society later than the rest of the nation, the South also has greater opportunity, yet, to avoid mistakes

others have made. We, the South, can still avoid in most cities the development of ghettoes. We can utilize intelligent planning to make people rather than things the central factor in industrialization, urbanization, the transformation of agriculture, and the utilization of natural resources and the South's as yet largely unspoiled beauty of landscape.

The Southern Regional Council believes that the good will between the races in the South has not deteriorated in these past years of often tense, total change of the legal framework of relationships between the races. Indeed, we believe that relationships have been improved to the extent that Negro Southerners have gained in self-respect and status in society, and to the extent that they have come to equal footing in their day to day, face to face encounters with white Southerners. We continue in the conviction that for the South and for the nation, the only realistic and moral goal in regard to race relations is the full integration of Negroes and other minority groups into the American society. We recognize and applaud efforts of such groups to develop legitimate methods

of gaining objectives of self-interest, economically and politically. But we continue to oppose racism and separatism as antithetical to everything America stands for. It is our belief that Southerners, white and Negro, have moved and are resolved to continue to move toward the kind of society, one of equal opportunity and human dignity, made possible by the Constitution of the United States.

It is toward this high goal rather than to the absence of riots that we must look.

August, 1967

File ~~Annual Dinner 1968~~ Annual Dinner Speaker 1968

INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC STUDIES

Telephone: 34 08 60, ext. 413
Cable address: Interrelations

Wenner-Gren Center
Sveavägen 166, 19th floor
Stockholm Va

March 26, 1968
GM/gf

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
ATLANTA, Georgia 30303
USA

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your kind letter of March 20 and your invitation to participate in your annual dinner on November 14. Unfortunately I do not foresee that I will be in America at that time.

With my best regards,

Cordially yours,

Gunnar Myrdal

See 1968 Annual Meeting (Speakers folder)

via air mail March 20, 1968

Mr. Gunnar Myrdal
Institute for International
Economic Studies
Wenner-Gren Center
University of Stockholm
Stockholm, Sweden

Dear Mr. Myrdal:

Each year the Southern Regional Council holds an annual meeting for three days for its 100 members. During the course of that meeting this year, and on the evening of Thursday, November 14, our annual dinner will be held for our members and staff and for approximately 100 distinguished guests from the region.

This is to most cordially invite you to be our speaker for that occasion. While it is not essential, we would like to request your consideration of our publishing your speech immediately after the event.

In recent years speakers at our annual dinner have been Mr. Roy Wilkins, Governor LeRoy Collins, Dr. C. Vann Woodward, and last year Dr. Kenneth Clark of New York. A copy of Dr. Clark's speech is also enclosed.

I have been told that it is very likely you will be in this country at that time and, therefore, we hope you will be able to be with us.

As you may recall from your research in this region, the Southern Regional Council was formed in 1944 as an outgrowth of the Commission on Interracial Coopeation. The Council is composed of 100 distinguished Southerners. A list of our members is enclosed. A staff of approximately 40 persons carries out the organization's programs in race relations and regional development.

I very much hope that you will find it possible to accept this invitation, and I and the members of the Council are most grateful for your consideration of it.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/mmj
Enclosures

Transcription of Presidential Luncheon
1969 Annual Meeting - November 6, 1969
Paul Anthony, Presiding

Paul Anthony:

First, may I remind you of what Dr. Wheeler mentioned before the last session broke up. Namely, that you will be able to check out of the motel before we go into the next session, and we do hope that session will begin on time. There remains a great deal to be done. I think you would appreciate this little piece of information -- I do, When we went over the menus and planned the meals, we decided that folks don't need desserts -- there's no use giving them those sweets they aren't going to eat anyway, because they cost money. And, yesterday we were almost ready to start the proceedings at lunch and one of the men serving alerted Jim Wood to the fact that you all better not start yet, we've still got to serve dessert. And, Jim said, "We didn't want any dessert." And, he said, "I'm sorry it comes in the package." So, you have dessert in spite of everything we did.

This is a rather important occasion for many, many reasons. It's a very important occasion for me because this is the President's lunch, and you will hear the President's address. And, most appropriately, while you've met them and know them, we have two of our former presidents -- Mr. Dabbs and Mr. Wright -- here to share the honor with Mr. Wheeler.

We have next to me Dr. Benjamin Mays -- among other things, newly elected member of the Atlanta School Board,

President-Emeritus of Morehouse College, Life Fellow of the Southern Regional Council, and innumerable other things. But, probably most important of all President-Emeritus to so many of us. We are honored to have him with us.

One of the unorthodox things about the luncheon is that I pulled rank and requested permission to be the chairman. I did so becuase while you very properly paid your deep respect to John Wheeler last night, I wanted an opportunity to do so, too, both for the staff and particularly for me. I was thinking during lunch of an incident that happened in Durham about seven years ago. A bunch of up-start kids picked up placards and started picketing downtown, and that was the reaction of down-town Durham -- a bunch of "up-start" kids. John Wheeler walked out of his bank and picked up one of those placards and walked with the kids. Suddenly, Durham knew they had something serious going there.

John Wheeler has not only picked up one of our placards, he picked it up and he has led us, he's led us beautifully, strongly. He's a very busy man, he's the head of a very big bank, he's more involved in more organizations than I can think of, and he's involved in them because they represent things to which he is very devoted. Yet, no matter how busy he's been, John Wheeler has always been available, and John Wheeler has never done anything or gone anywhere since he's been president of the Council, that he didn't think of the Council and represent it. I can't express to you adequately how important this has been to me and how grateful I am for it. John, thank you.

The other unorthodox thing about this luncheon is a staff member will introduce the speaker. We aren't trying to inject the staff in here, though several people have complained, "Why are you hiding them so?" But, as close as John has been to all of us, I have observed for a long time that a deep, almost father-son relationship existed between John Wheeler and Vernon Jordan, and it's been a beautiful thing to observe -- a good thing. And, I thought it only appropriate because John pushed this man, he's led him, he's inspired him, he's hit him, and he's cussed him out. And, he's helped him greatly. I thought it only appropriate that Vernon Jordan introduce our President for the presidential address.

VERNON JORDAN:

That's right, Paul, he's done everything except loan me some of the Mechanics and Farmers Bank money!

This is really a great privilege for me, and I'm in bad shap for the reason that after last night there's nothing for me to say. Certainly, I cannot match Harold Fleming in his wit and his prose. Clearly, I cannot compete with Mr. Wright in his courtroom eloquence. So, I'm left here to just say it as best I can. I had really planned, and had told the staff, that since I was going to have to introduce John Wheeler I could just write out an eloquent statement about John Wheeler. Well, Harold Fleming, Mr. Wright, and Les Dunbar and all of them have forced me to change my mind. And, so, I don't have a written introduction.

Clearly, John Wheeler is many things. A lawyer, a banker, a college trustee, a Presidential appointee, he's ambassador, a

layman in his church, he even sings in the choir, a musician, he's a father to governors, even when the governors don't want to listen. But, I suspect more than anything else, that John would like to be remembered as a banker and as a friend to people. It's interesting that those of us who see John, like I do, and talk with him -- I never talk to him about banking because I have a habit of not talking to people about things I don't know anything about. But he is a banker -- that's his daily trade -- and I've been to his bank on any number of occasions. Not only is he a banker, he's a pioneering banker, and the Mechanics and Farmers Bank, which he heads, has probably made more equal opportunity laons than any other bank in this country. But, in addition to that, Mechanics and Farmers Bank makes innumerable low-income housing loans. Right now to the tune of about $8,000,000.00, and has taken its experience in this area and pushed the larger banks of North Carolina and of the South to do likewise.

But, most important to me is that John is a friend to people. And, he has especially been a friend to young blacks like myself. He's been an inspiration to us, and he has always been one to whom we could go for advice and counsel. I always like to think that I'm kind of special with him, because when he can't go to some of those Presidential commissions or some of those meetings he sends me in his stead. Indeed, that's a great honor. But in addition to that I find it necessary, periodically, to seek him out, to find him, wherever he is. Sometimes at his bank, sometimes in his hospital room, oftentimes at Capahosic. Once he even met me when I was driving to Boston on the highway

where we had lunch, and we talked. And I learned, and I was instructed, and I've been guided. And, I'm just one of many young blacks, indeed, young whites, who have sought John Wheeler out for inspiration, for advice and counsel. And, indeed, greater respect and affection can no man have for any man than I have for John Hervey Wheeler. Therefore, I am proud to present to you, my friend, and a friend to people, and indeed a friend to the Southern Regional Council, John Hervey Wheeler. Thank you.

JOHN H. WHEELER:

Thank you Vernon, and also thank you, Paul. And thank each one of you, as I said last night, for letting me share with you this experience in which we tried to make our country the kind of nation that it ought to be.

You know, there is one aspect of my not being President anymore which some of you may be pleased with, and that is you'll only be bothered with one of those Wheeler boys from now on. We are still brothers, though, and I suspect I can be as close to him as anyone, and I don't know about being Vernon's father. I sought of look to him the other way, because he's a person of great wisdom, a person of great vitality. It's true, I've asked him to appear for me at times when we were working on the Kaiser Commission. And, when I would go to the next meeting they'd look at me in a disappointed way and say, "Where's Vernon?"

Vernon impresses people everwhere he goes. It's not because, particularly, of his fine looks, stature, but because

inside is a great, deep friendliness for all people.

I heard Paul's statement about getting checked out and back into session before two o'clock. I shall not try to burden you with too much. I jotted down a few things last night of what I wanted to say, and came into session this morning -- well, Les whittled away a few of them when he spoke, then this morning I found a few more of them whittled away. Just the same, I think this may indicate that some of us are having some second thoughts about what we're doing today, and about where we are going. And, I do hope that no one will construe anything which I will say as being an effort to say to the new administration what it ought to do. Simply as a Council member, I'm expressing to you some of my views as to where we are going and what some of our responsibilities will be.

First of all, it is my hope that the Council will in the future go beyond the mere reaffirmation of its conviction that lasting progress and economic development and human relations cannot be achieved until we are able to make of ourselves a truly integrated society of equals committed to the eradication of discrimination and prejudice based on race, education, religious beliefs, or economic status. While it may be true that since the turn of the century many young democratic practices of our society have been eliminated, it is just as true the forces of injustice, oppression, and special privilege have never ceased to invent new and insidious devices for control of American human and material resources. And this control has been attempted by the favored few. They have caused trouble throughout human

They brought about the Reformation, they brought about the whole Christian movement during the time of the Roman Empire. And, they even before that, brought about the experiences of the Jewish people. In fact, we seem to develop an unique capacity for turning away from the great moments in our history. This periodic flight from greatness is, indeed, difficult to explan. We observe, however, that it has occurred time and time again during periods which appeared to foretell a new and better way of life for all.

So, like the fellow who was trying to teach me to jump my horse one time -- having been born in Kentucky where people either know how to ride or they try. And, I learned how to ride fairly well, but I had never jumped. This fellow was trying to show me how to make my horse jump the barrier. He did it a couple of times, and the horse turned away a couple of times, but the next time he went over. He said, "You have to be very careful because if the horse turns away, and you're not firmly set in the saddle he'll throw you off. You'll go off sideways." I said, "How can you tell when he's going to turn away?" He looked at me and said, "Only the horse knows."

I think that's the way it's been in the history of our country, and in the history of our struggle for a better way of life. Every time we've tried to move into new and higher ground, we've seemed to almost reach our goal only to be set back by some unpredictable event or set of forces. And, this single characteristic of American life has shown itself in periodic resurgence of the forces of reaction. It's shown itself in the present negative national influence. It's showing itself now and it has many times

before in the loss of commitment, the vision of equal opportunity to learn and to perform as an integral part of this important, free society. Then it has shown itself, too, in the abuse of opportunities for legislative and administrative reforms. For, instance, now, the punitive nature of the Congressional attacks upon foundations in the name of tax reform which those with the greatest power have used the cry for tax reform to enact even more repressive measures upon the general public and the great masses of people of this country. Then it shows itself in its refusal to appropriate funds to implement programs even after they have been enacted by Congress and some of these include the programs for low and middle-income housing, programs designed to beef up and provide for more nearly adequate community welfare, and for Title I programs affecting our schools.

As we've looked at this see-saw battle, as we've looked at this ebb and flow of the public conscious when it rises up to noble heights and the tides seem to ebb away, I think we can recognize that it's only one of the natural phenomena of human history. And, for this reason we should not be too discouraged as we face new battles and that we now have some new problems. Just after 1861 we rose to new heights, passed the civil rights act of 1866. This, in many respects, is still valid today. Then we moved on a little bit and before we could get any further we took a great set-back in the Slaughterhouse Cases, and the decisions in those cases which declared that the police power of the state was

used justifiably to maintain certain conditions of inequity. Then we debated, very furiously, for three years more in the Post-Reconstruction Period. And 1875, due to the impetus of some very learned black congressmen, particularly those of South Carolina, we passed the Civil Rights Act of 1875. This marked a new pennacle in our efforts for social justice when in 1883 the Supreme Court declared it unconstitutional. And, little by little between that time and 1896 when the Supreme Court handed down its decision of Plessy vs Ferguson there was a whittling away of all the gains we had made. And those who would fight for a new order found themselves by 1900 completely helpless, disfranchisement, there had been the Hayes-Tillman Compromise, so similar to the present legislation proposed by the Nixon government, having to do with federal tax-sharing with the states. So that we see great similarities in these patterns. I have the greatest respect for those patriots in our country who between 1800 and the early '30's fought for a new way of life. They had no tools, they had no Supreme Court, they didn't have the vote, they didn't have the voice in Congress. But still they were inventive to problems beyond the extent to which many of us are inventive today. They managed to do a holding action, and by some strange coincidence this Council's prosperity and its usefulness has seemed to coincide with the end of each national and international conflict.

Following World War I we had a great surge for identity by Negro people throughout the country, and then we had a counter-surge to stop that search for identity -- the Ku Klux Klan rode the

South, the Commission on Interracial Commission came into being to try to offset some of this. Martin Luther King's grandfather about that time was running a boycott against the Atlanta Georgian, trying to put it out of business, because it was the paper in Atlanta that was trying to reverse the feeling generated during World War I that "we'll all be brothers after we fight to save democracy." And, I was old enough at that time to visit the hospitals with groups who entertained the soldiers. There was no separation, as I recall, in the hospital at Fort McPherson here based on race. We entertained the white soldiers, black soldiers, and they all talked about a new way of life after the war.

But, you know the story of what happened in the '20's. The young black men who came back from France and who had understood what it meant to be real men began to stand up and make their own decisions. I recall Jim Nabrit, a very radical person in college, couldn't get out fast enough so he could get into law school so he could get out and bring some of the law suits. And, he and two other men brought the first case having to do with the Texas Primary in 1927. And, Justice Cardoza, on the Supreme Court and deciding with him, pointed out to the people of Texas how they could rewrite that statute so they could still have a lily-white Texas primary. There was another case which we lost.

Then there was a pretty steady roster of cases in which the Supreme Court helped develop the framework for a new kind of life. Before that we had one case, just one case, between 1900 and 1927, and that was the Atcheson, Topeka, and Santa Fe Case in 1916, having to do with the right of the Negro person to ride

on the pullman car. But, following 1927, there was the Gaines case in 1935, the Sweat vs Painter in 1949, we had the Brown case in 1954, and the long succession of cases thereafter having to do with a great number of civil matters. And then in 1964 the Civil Rights Act, the V oting Act, and in 1969 a reaffirmation of the '54 decision in the Mississippi Case.

And now tax reform. Some of these were pluses, some of them were minuses. The tax reform bill is a minus, very definitely. But regardless of our successes, we would do well to reassess and reappraise ourselves in the light of changes w hich are taking place around us. The more basic truth are things which are necessary for the achievement of universal brotherhood to be one of our objectives. And, as we look ahead with Les Dunbar, as he spoke last night, to the ultimate achievement of a society of equals, a society for human purpose, I would hope that we will reassess ourselves, re-evaluate ourselves, take a second look at where we are going and why. With this, then, let me please submit to you an incomplete laundry list of the programs to which we may address ourselves.

I think we should have greater involvement of individual Council members in specific, unofficial, projects. One of these is the almost one-man project carried on this year in the North Carolina Legislature by Marion Wright against capital punishment. Then, Aaron Henry has not been a one man, he's been a real team person, but t ere is no question about the fact that he's been a great leader in political reform and advancement in Mississippi. And our own Raymond Wheeler was a pioneer

in establishing the authenticity of the effect of hunger upon so many of our people.

Then, too, we might look at some of the real partnerships that we can estanlish if we really mean what we say. You know, politically we have been looking at phantom programs. People who run for office and promise the world, who want your support, but who don't want to give anything in return. They don't want to support your candidates. This is particularly true in the South. This means that we have almost reached the point of political bankruptsy. Now on the white side of the picture, I think the whole of this responsibility rests, because a great volume of Negro voters who are registered in the South have been supporting more white candidates than they have black candidates. But in return there has been absolutely nothing.

Then, in the field of economic development we need to look at who the planners are and who we bring up to be the city planners, those who determine the use of the tax funds and the direction in which development shall occur. We don't see enough administrators at the top level, nor enough even being trained as interns. We don't see enough contractors in the contracting game. This is one ~~aaaa~~ of fierce competition, but it is also one in which there is great protection for a favorite few. There is no reason why a black contractor shouldn't have the opportunity of "making it." There is no reason why some of our colleges shouldn't do as Benjamin Mays did when he was at Morehouse College -- look up the black architects. And he fought with his Board of Trustees to see that a black architect got a chance

to build and to design some of the buildings on his campus. And from the day he designed the first one, a black architect has designed every building on the campus of Morehouse College. How many are there Benny, seven or eight? Nine.

Where does the insurance business go for these outlets? Who are the lawyers preparing the applications to HUD for domitory and student unions? We just have not seen any of our black colleges using black lawyers. We have not seen them using the black architects, neither have we seen them using black contractors. You know, some of this starts at home. And there are black and white trustees on the boards of all of our southern colleges.

Then, we haven't had adequate financing made available to persons who are black. So, we made in our own bank a loan to a young man who was burned out. He won the second most lucrative contract for dry-cleaning at Ft. Bragg. The next night his plant was burned down. We finally joined with the First National City Bank of New York and theAmalgated Bank of Savings in Chicago to lend him $350,000 to build his plant back. He now has what is considered to be the most modern plan of its kind in the whole Southeast. He employs around 50 people. One of the things we discovered was that the great bank like the First National City, with all it's been saying, had never made an SBA loan before. This was a great surprise, not only to us, but to a great many of our friends.

And, then, on the question of black separatism. I think that this is what we're talking about. We've got to be given the protection, encouragement, and the opportunity to do our own thing just as well as anyone else can do it. And, I think if the

black separatists have missed any point, it is that in our zeal we are missing the great urgency of training in-depth and for burning the midnight oil to develop the competence necessary. But part of this competency comes from practice.

When the President's Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity, under Kennedy, began to operate one of the first cases that came to it came from the Employment Security Commission of the District. And, the Director's position was opened and as a Georgian-born man of twelfth grade education was applying for the job. Another was a black man who had been there for thirty years and was a graduate of Cornell. The job went to this white Georgian employee who finished high school. The reason given, when investigated, was that he had had great experience, and even though he had less formal preparation, he was better prepared to do the job than the black graduate of Cornell. Well, this is true, I'm sure, because the black graduate of Cornell had been isolated in his employment from everything that would have equipped him for advancement. But, nevertheless, the President at that time did replace the fellow, and the black man who had worked there for thirty years became the director of the Employment Security Commission. This is what we mean by making up the past errors. And I'm sure we have had a great many of them.

We need to take a look at the urban crisis and what our role may be in helping to solve some of the problems of the urban crisis. How we can stimulate the construction of low-income housing and make sure it is put in the proper place where it will have a chance to be integrated, and where it will have a chance to

survive, and where those who live in it will learn respect for one another. This is an area, too, where black architects and contractors should have equal opportunities, and the black lawyers, also.

Since last year when we talked about this, Section 237 of the Housing Act of 1968 has not been funded. And, I sincerely hope that the Council will consider the possibilities of becoming an adviser to those persons who want to buy Section 235 individual family homes, but whose incomes are too low or their credit is too poor. They can buy these homes if they are buttressed by an approved adviser. And, we can be doing this in almost every one of the towns in which we operate on a counselling basis.

Then, the Council, in my opinion, has not yet spoken adequately to an evaluation of the Nixon proposals. First, for the drastic revisions of the system of welfare payments administered, as of now, by the several states. Secondly, as to the delivery of health services based upon individual need. Thirdly, the Nixon proposal for federal revenue sharing with the states, and fourthly, OEO reorganization to allow for new and innovative programs. We don't know what they are. The one with reference to job incentives, the family assistance programs, and for assistance to the aged, the blind, and the disabled. Only one of these recommendations is being pushed vigorously by the Administration and that is the program of unrestricted federal revenue sharing by the states. In my opinion, we do need to speak to this. The remainder may turn out to have been a mere exercise in rhetoric of deception to which we have become accustomed.

Then we need to look to the means by which we may revise and change the system of administration of justice. In this respect let us not relax our vigil as a Council, because with absolute certainty there will always be a George Wallace waiting in the wing.

As we leave you I would just like to recount our experience of a few days ago at the meeting of the American Bankers' Assocation. The Governor of Hawaii spoke to the convention of about 12,000 Americans from the mainland . These are the people coming in to change the customs, create class divisions, create certain situations of disadvantage on the island. He said, "We are delighted to have you here because this is a marvelous state. So many people have said that Hawaii is the melting pot of nations where all people of all ethnic origins learn to live together in peace and harmony. I want to tell you that that is not true. Hawaii is a place, instead, where all people are Hawaiians, and no one stops to look back to see what you ethnic origin or your religion may be."

In time, I hope we may achieve this point. Thank you.

RURAL HOUSING ALLIANCE

International Self-Help Housing • Low Income Rural Housing

Dupont Circle Building, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036

Date: 12/4/69

~~MS~~

~~AC~~
PA
MJ-jb

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Clay asked me to make sure that you got the enclosed materials relating to the National Rural Housing Coalition.

I am very glad to learn of your willingness to serve on the Board, and I look forward to working with you.

Sincerely,

Jim Hightower

Jim Hightower
NRHC Acting Director

JB
File

3509 Marlborough Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee 37212
June 28, 1970

Mr. James N. Wood
Executive Assistant
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Mr. Wood:

Thank you for the travel advance for my trip to Mississippi.

As you requested, I have enclosed a signed copy of your letter, acknowledging receipt of the check.

I will be delighted, of course, to furnish you a copy of my thesis when it is completed.

I am grateful for your generous assistance.

Sincerely,

Robert W Hooker

Robert W. Hooker

SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N.W., ATLANTA 3, GEORGIA

This is to acknowledge receipt of check for $450, as travel advance for trip to Mississippi.

Robert W Hooker
Robert W. Hooker

June 24, 1970

Mr. Robert W. Hooker
3509 Marlborough Avenue
Nashville, Tennessee 37212

Dear Mr. Hooker:

Enclosed is our check for $450 which is a travel advance for your trip to Mississippi to study Mississippi newspapers. We will require substantiating evidence, i.e., transportation ticket, hotel bills, etc.

We will also expect to receive a copy of your report on the racial policies of the Mississippi newspapers analyzed.

Please acknowledge receipt of the check in agreement with the above by signing the attached copy of this letter and returning to us.

Sincerely,

James N. Wood
Executive Assistant

JNW:jb

Enclosure

file

North Carolina Manpower Development Corporation

LUTHER H. HODGES, JR., *Chairman*
GEORGE B. AUTRY, *Executive Director*

919 — 942-5796

August 31, 1970

SEP 2 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your contributions last week. I know you had at least a dozen things to do with that day's time, so we appreciate getting it all the more.

Keep in touch, and visit us when you can.

Sincerely,

Terry

Terry G. Pridgen
Director of Evaluation
and Research

TGP/ash

P. O. BOX 1057, 137 E. ROSEMARY STREET, CHAPEL HILL, N. C. 27514

Reprinted from SCHOLASTIC VOICE
September 14, 1970

PICK YOUR TARGET

ONE comment is made again and again by young people who are active in the fight for change: "It isn't going to happen overnight." The statement is resigned but not despairing, for it clearly implies: "But it *is* going to happen."

And politics can make it happen — at least that's what many student activists are trying to prove in this election year. Their aim is simple: to fill as many elective offices as possible with men and women who hold the same views as they do on such issues as Vietnam, race relations, poverty, and urban decay. They're working for candidates on all levels of government, from Congress down to local school boards.

MLB

However, political action doesn't have to involve campaigning for a particular candidate or cause. One non-partisan way to help make the system work is to persuade all those who are eligible, to register and vote. That's what "Youth in Politics" did in White Plains, N. Y., this summer. The group was part of a program for high school students called Encampment for Citizenship (see "Train for the Job," page 4). For two days each week, the teenagers pitched in and helped local residents with a voter-registration drive.

In the process they learned a lot about the grass-roots level of politics. Their job — unglamorous but essential — was to go from apartment house to apartment house, ringing doorbells and asking tenants whether they were registered to vote. If the answer was no, the students tried to convince them they should register soon. They took down the names and addresses of the people they talked to, for later follow-up calls by the Urban League and the League of Women Voters.

When they grew weary of ringing doorbells, they took to the streets. In our photo, George Stubbs and Audrey Broner take down information from a passer-by. For Audrey, this wasn't the first experience in practical politics, and it wouldn't be the last. When she got home to Boston, she said, she would be campaigning for Father Robert Drinan, a Jesuit priest who is seeking the Democratic nomination to the House of Representatives.

The students all agreed that the work was physically tiring and often emotionally frustrating. For one thing, at least half of the people they tried to call on were not at home. For another, many of the residents seemed totally unconcerned about the upcoming election. White members of Youth in Politics had an extra problem: they felt self-conscious about seeming to interfere in the affairs of this predominantly black community. And even the black members felt that being from out of town put them at a disadvantage.

During their break for lunch on one especially hot and tedious day, several students said they were disappointed at their failure to accomplish anything significant. They had registered only a few voters, they complained. Harcourt Tynes, a representative of the Urban League, tried to encourage them. "Even if we get only 500 names to follow up on, that'll be an accomplishment," he said.

Then the teenagers raised another question: Why hadn't there been an educational campaign to lay the groundwork for their efforts? EFC director Douglas Kelley had the answer to that one: "If they could solve all their problems by themselves, they wouldn't need us!"

For information & applications, write to
Encampment for Citizenship
2 West 64th Street
New York, N.Y. 10023

Reprinted from SCHOLASTIC VOICE
(formerly PRACTICAL ENGLISH)
September 14, 1970

Sheldon Kantor

TRAIN FOR THE JOB

"I'D LIKE to do something to help, but I don't know how to begin." There's a special place for teenagers who talk that way: the Encampment for Citizenship.

At the EFC, a student can get basic training for social action. At three different sites this past summer, a group of about 80 young people (more than half of them on scholarship) went through a work-and-learn experience that most agreed was worth at least a year in school. In White Plains, N.Y. (near the Encampment's New York City headquarters, at 2 W. 64th St.), campers pounded the pavement in a voter-registration drive. In Tucson, Arizona, they studied the impact of growing population on the desert wilderness. In Great Falls, Montana, they helped build houses for low-income families (see photo above).

Since each encampment includes teens from a wide variety of backgrounds, there is almost sure to be someone who can explain how a black ghetto child feels about policemen, or why population control is a religious issue. Thus, the campers learn from each other.

They also learn from guest lecturers and workshop leaders. In fact, a camper's choice of workshop — several different ones are available — helps decide what social action he's likely to take when he gets home.

Phyllis Benjamin, who reported on the Great Falls encampment for *Voice*, explained why she joined the Indian Heritage and Social Change Workshop: "I had always felt that the Indian was misrepresented in history books, and I wanted to find out the truth." One of her fellow workshoppers was Jim Breiler (at bottom in photo), who is part Okanagon and part Flathead Indian. "I joined the workshop to find out how much non-Indians know about Indians," he said. Both expressed the belief that people of other races must become aware of the problems of Indians before true social change can occur.

(Continued, over)

Great Falls Tribune August 16, 1970

A Record of Achievement

Encampment for Citizenship

Eighty-five young persons returning this weekend to homes in 18 states (and one foreign country) leave behind a record of solid achievement during their six-week stay in Great Falls.

They were members of the Encampment for Citizenship, which now has been held here three successive summers. In contrast to insinuations last spring in Great Falls City Council that it consisted of subversives, or worse, the group made a highly favorable impression on townspeople for alertness, attitude and ability.

The schedule included seven staff-led workshops from which campers could choose. Workshops dealt with community development; environment and resources; youth in politics; American Indian heritage; black heritage; tutoring and headstart, and educational reform. Each workshop met two afternoons a week and devoted two additional days a week to related field work in the community.

In connection with their community service projects, the campers:

Helped 10 low income families build houses; planned and built a playground on Hill 57 with the help of local firms and people and the Indian youngsters themselves; tore down empty Mount Royal houses which had become eyesores; gathered up old car junk scattered around an area south of Great Falls; marked a trail at the Farmers Union camp in the Highwoods, and researched, wrote and distributed pamphlets setting forth what the average householder can do about pollution and drug abuse.

In addition, campers worked in day care classrooms and helped set up tutoring programs at Opportunities, Inc.; presented an original black heritage program of songs, dances and poetry reading at the Public Library and Malmstrom; maintained an Encampment booth at the State Fair; and did a community survey of the area around Heisey Memorial, where they were housed.

One weekend field trip took campers to farms and ranches for first hand experience in rural life after a weeks study of agricultural issues, problems and practices. Another trip took them to Glacier National Park, Two Medicine and Browning, where they visited the Plains Indian Museum and attended the Indian Days celebration; and a third took them camping in the wilderness with the Montana 4 x 4 Patrol as hosts.

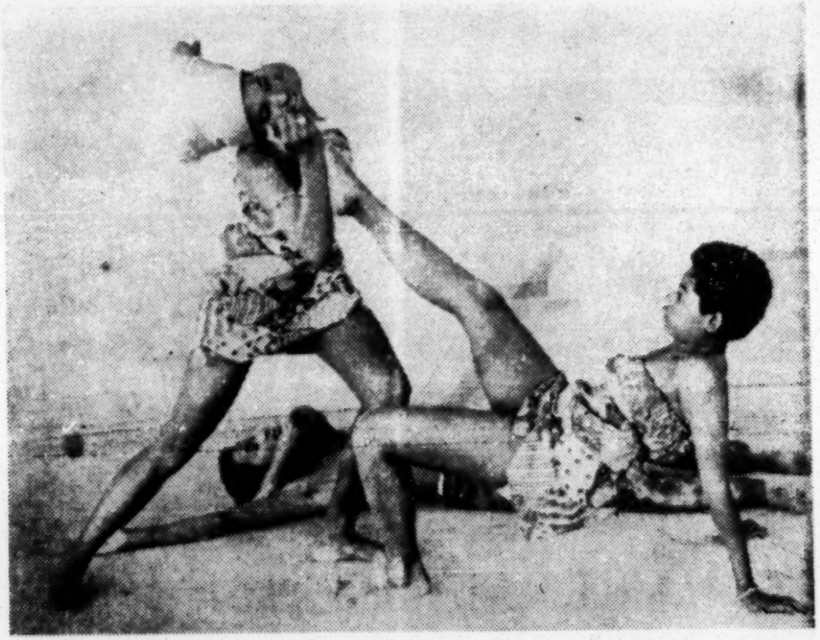
It was an exercise in understanding which benefitted both encampment members and residents of the community. Once described as an experience in democracy for leaders of tomorrow, the Encampment for Citizenship provides something this country must have much more of if it is not to pull apart into myriad pockets of prejudice, fear and intolerance.

from a picture story in MONTANA PARADE Sunday magazine, Great Falls Tribune, Aug. 23 '70

How an Individual Can Make a Difference . . .

A Chance to Learn

FOR FUTURE HIKERS—In conjunction with their study of environment and resources, Encampers marked a nature trail in the Highwood Mountains with signs and information identifying plants and trees. From left are Steve Morris, Hicksville, N.Y.; Eddie Catahay, Guam, and Philip Bontzolakes, New York City.



FEMMES FATALE—Black and white youth of the Black Heritage Workshop had fun originating songs, dances and poetry for a program presented for the public at the library, the air base and the EFC open house. From left are Gail Suter, David Stewart (prostrate) and Pam Irving, all New Yorkers.

By BERNADINE SOHL
Tribune Staff Writer

A chance to learn how an individual can make a difference in politics, social service and social change. A chance to make lifelong friends among youth of nearly every racial, religious and economic group in America. That's Encampment for Citizenship (EFC).

Great Falls, because of its western and American Indian culture, was selected to host one of the three EFC summer training programs in the nation this summer. Others were in White Plains, N.Y., and Tucson, Ariz.

The 85 teen-agers here were from 18 states (including two from Montana). Two came from Israel, one from Guam and several from Puerto Rico. The boys lived in the Heisey Memorial, Encampment center, and the girls, at the school next door. The staff of 15 was headed by Dr. John A. Andrews, University of Buffalo counselor.

The Encampment's method emphasized learning by participation—seeing, doing and discussing, as well as lectures and films. Topics were ones of relevancy in every community—educational reform, environment and resources, youth in politics, Head Start and tutoring, Black Heritage, Indian Heritage, Community Development.

Nonprofit, nonpartisan and nonsectarian, Encampment for Citizenship was founded by the American Ethical Society. For 17 years Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt chaired its sponsors' committee. New York Mayor John V. Lindsay is now sponsors' chairman.

Youngsters pay their own way or attend on scholarships provided by concerned individuals, foundations and organizations.

25 YEARS OF SERVICE — TRAINING 4,000 YOUTH FOR CONSTRUCTIVE COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP

ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP, INC.

2 WEST 64TH STREET, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10023

212 • SU7-2714

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Chairman, Sponsors Committee

MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
Chairman, Sponsors Committee, 1946-1962

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DOUGLAS KELLEY
Executive Director

CARROLL OWEN
Development Director

SUSAN WARD
Alumni Program Coordinator

FACTS ABOUT THE 1970 ENCAMPMENTS FOR CITIZENSHIP

Three Encampments for Citizenship were held during the summer of 1970 (July 5 through August 15): at the Southern Arizona School, outside Tucson, Arizona; the Heisey Memorial Youth Center, Great Falls, Montana, and the Westchester Ethical Humanist Society, White Plains, New York.

Two hundred forty-one campers from diverse backgrounds described below were enrolled. Eleven of them were second-year campers taking part in an experimental Encampment alumni project attached to the Arizona Encampment; 230 were first-year campers in the 15 through 18 age bracket.

Of the 46 staff (18 in Arizona, 15 in Montana, 13 in New York), 18 were Encampment alumni and 19 were experienced Encampment staff members. All but 7 were adults, most of them teachers or social workers. Sixteen of the staff had master's degrees (two of them Ph. D.s), and 7 (including two Catholic sisters) college or university teaching experience. There were graduate nurses at two of the Encampments, a student nurse at the third. Only two staff members were over 35 in age.

Staff members included ten returned Peace Corps Volunteers, 3 former members of the Teacher Corps and one former VISTA volunteer. More than a third of the staff were non-white: 6 black Americans, 1 African, 3 Puerto Ricans, 3 Mexican-Americans, 3 Indian Americans and 1 Japanese-American.

About half the campers at each site were from the New York City area; the other half represented 28 other states, Washington, D.C., Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, Mexico and Israel. In terms of income background, there were approximately a third each of campers of upper middle, lower middle, and low income families. Although no study has been made of religious affiliations we believe there were about 30% each of campers of Catholic, Jewish and Protestant backgrounds and about 10% with Ethical Society or Unitarian-Universalist affiliations.

Arizona Encampment -- Southern Arizona School for Boys, outside Tucson

The first Encampment to be held in the Southwest was directed by Arthur Dobrin (Leader of the Long Island Ethical Humanist Society; former Peace Corps Volunteer in Kenya, East Africa; 1969 Montana Encampment Director). Assistant Directors were Miss Sue Ward (year -'round Encampment Alumni Program Coordinator; former Peace Corps Volunteer in Peru; now completing M.A. degree at Univ. of Arizona) and John Wandless (former Peace Corps Volunteer in Venezuela; New York Encampment staffer in '68; just completed M.A. program in community development at Univ. of Missouri).

NON-SECTARIAN, NON-PARTISAN, TAX-EXEMPT; FOUNDED IN 1946 BY ALGERNON D. BLACK AND THE AMERICAN ETHICAL UNION.

"The Encampment for Citizenship has been an effective pioneering project in citizenship education. . . . It has helped train people for all walks of American life. Our Government, and now the Peace Corps, have reaped the harvest of your work."

—President John F. Kennedy

"The Encampment for Citizenship . . . has established in the hearts and minds of thousands of young people enduring adherence to fundamental democratic principles. The Encampments have done much to build citizens, not only of this country, but of other countries of the world, and this achievement cannot be underestimated. They have been a distillation of democracy, and their work in carrying the cause of freedom to the young will gain increasing numbers of friends as time passes."

—Mayor John V. Lindsay

John Wandless was in charge of the alumni unit of the Arizona Encampment. Aided by staff member Wanda Small, a Northern Cheyenne Indian alumna of the Encampment, he led a group of 11 Encampment alumni who devoted a month to volunteer social service (mainly tutoring and recreation leadership among Indian elementary and high school-age youth) on the Papago Indian Reservation, some 60 miles west of Tucson.

The 11 members of the alumni unit were ages 17 through 21; they were from 8 states and included 3 blacks, 1 Indian, 1 Puerto Rican (from N.Y.) and 6 whites.

The 87 first-year campers were from 16 states, Washington, D.C., the Virgin Islands, Guam and Israel. There were 43 males and 44 females. In terms of age: 17 15 year-olds, 30 who were 16, 25 who were 17, 14 who were 18, 1 who was 19. Racially: 50 whites (including two refugee Czechoslovakians), 21 blacks (including 1 from the Virgin Islands), 5 Puerto Ricans, 5 Mexican-Americans, 4 Indians, 1 Chinese-American and 1 Guamanian.

Montana Encampment -- Heisey Memorial Youth Center, Great Falls, Montana

The third Encampment to be held in Montana was directed by Dr. John Andrews (then an Asst. Prof. at Univ. of Buffalo; trained at Yale, Harvard, and National Training Lab, Bethel, Maine; Encampment alumnus and former staff member). Assistant Director: Herbert Raffaele (then a Long Island high school teacher; former Teacher Corps interne in a Gary, Indiana inner city high school; Encampment alumnus).

The 86 campers were from 16 states, Washington, D.C., Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam and Israel. There were 40 males and 46 females. In terms of age: 30 15 year-olds, 28 who were 16, 24 who were 17, 3 who were 18 and 1 who was 19. Racially: 55 whites, 21 blacks (including 1 from the Virgin Islands), 3 Puerto Ricans, 6 Indian Americans and 1 Guamanian.

White Plains, N.Y. Encampment -- Westchester Ethical Humanist Society building

The 25th Encampment to be held in New York (the third, in White Plains) was led by Co-Directors Sister Kathryn Rutan and Douglas Kelley. (Sister Kathryn Rutan teaches political science at the College of Great Falls, Montana; she has taught high school civics and social studies and was the '69 Montana Encampment Asst. Director. Douglas Kelley is year-'round EFC Executive Director, is an Encampment alumnus, and was formerly an Asst. Prof. at Michigan State Univ. and a Peace Corpsman in Washington, D.C. and West Cameroon.)

The 57 campers were from 16 states, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Israel and Mexico. There were 27 males and 30 females. In terms of age: 12 15 year-olds, 21 who were 16, 19 who were 17, and 5 who were 18. Racially: 25 whites, 23 blacks (including 3 from the Virgin Islands), 3 Puerto Ricans, a Cuban refugee and a Mexican, 2 Chinese-Americans, 1 Indian American and 1 Guamanian.

The educational program and other activities at the three Encampments are summarized in separate mimeo sheets available from the Encampment office.

In an evaluation questionnaire filled out anonymously, campers were asked "Would you recommend the Encampment to a friend, someone like yourself?" 170 checked "yes," 7 "no," and 23 "maybe" --depending mainly on the friend's interests.

Where are America's leaders coming from?

Right here...

PHOTO BY DAVID SANDOVAL

These campers and staff members in one of four 1969 Encampments for Citizenship represented 20 states, plus Guam, Puerto Rico and Israel. Led by Director Neil Riordan—former Peace Corpsman in Iran now teaching college sociology—they spent six weeks learning to understand each other, and to understand racial, poverty and international problems and what youth can do about them. Now they've joined more than 4,000 Encampment alumni involved in constructive social change activities in their own communities.

PHOTOS BY ROY BERKELEY

(Top) 1969 Montana Encampment for Citizenship campers help clean and repair a long-vacant house greatly needed by a local welfare mother. This housecleaning project was an 'extra' for which over 30 campers volunteered.

(Middle) 1969 White Plains, New York Encampment members quiz a United Nations diplomat at U.N. headquarters.

(Bottom) A camper from Brooklyn does her tutoring volunteer work at a Louisville community center, while attending the 1969 Kentucky Encampment.

and here...

In Montana, where 80 campers will study Indian affairs, conservation and community development programs. They will go into the field for volunteer work on community service programs of local agencies. Each Encampment has specialized workshops—one for every ten campers, on topics like Practical Politics, Tutoring & Head Start Volunteer Work, and People & Environment—and each workshop devotes two days per week to related practical work.

and here...

In New York, where 50 campers will spend six weeks learning about democracy in action, learning that everyone can contribute ideas and solutions. Weekly fieldtrips at each Encampment include visits to street academies, drug addiction treatment centers, governmental institutions, business and labor-sponsored inner city projects, community action and conservation programs—with recreational breaks at parks and beaches.

and here...

In Kentucky, where 80 campers will work on voter registration, tutoring, learn about efforts to solve urban racial, poverty, and pollution problems, then take a week's fieldtrip to Appalachian rural communities. For many campers the two days per week of volunteer work are a *first* work experience. For others who work to help support their families, it is an introduction to the concept of *volunteer* service. In all Encampment workshops, staff members with related teaching or social work experience seek to teach practical skills.

A unique youth leadership training program which every summer prepares hundreds of promising youth of all backgrounds for constructive community involvement.

The Encampment for Citizenship

The Encampment for Citizenship is quite different from both academic summer schools *and* traditional-style woodsy camps. It's a non-partisan, nonsectarian effort to prepare alert young people for constructive involvement in social service and social change. Teenage participants come from every part of the country and from every economic and religious background. They're black, white, Indian, Mexican-American and Puerto Rican.

The six-week program at an Encampment is as diverse as its participants. Many media and methods — speakers, films, and role-playing, discussion groups, how-to-do-it workshops, sensitivity sessions, community service work, fieldtrips, dorm life and recreational and cultural programs—contribute to an educational program with proven impact. Campers of all colors acquire a life-long appreciation of diversity, and a personal commitment to civil liberties and equal opportunity for all.

Where do campers come from? Eighty campers in a typical Encampment come from 20 or more states. Jewish, Protestant and Catholic campers are about equally represented. About one third are black. Less than half are youth whose families can pay the $700 cost; most campers must have scholarships. Farm and small town youth, Indians, Spanish-speaking campers and those from abroad, while few in number, contribute a great deal from their differing life-styles.

Staff Members work and live with the campers in the same dorms for six weeks, and say it's the experience of a lifetime. Like the campers', their colors, creeds and bank accounts vary widely, but they're all personal examples of constructive involvement in public affairs. They know how to communicate with youth. Most are under 30; many are themselves Encampment alumni, and many have served in Peace Corps, Teacher Corps, VISTA or similar programs of full-time service.

PHOTO BY ROY BERKELEY

Two outstanding Encampment alumni serve as vice chairmen of the Encampment Board, and share their experiences on the frontiers of social change with each summer's new campers. At left, Simeon Golar, EFC '52, meets 1969 campers and staff members—including staffer David Porter, EFC '60. Golar, then Chairman of New York City's Human Rights Commission, has since been appointed New York City Housing Authority Chairman.

PHOTO BY DAVID SANDOVAL

At right, David Rothenberg, EFC '53, listens as one of his Fortune Society panel members, Charles MacGregor, speaks to a 1969 Encampment. MacGregor spoke movingly and from personal experience of the horrors of drug addition. Rothenberg, a theatrical producer and press representative, founded the Fortune Society, the widely recognized new prison reform organization.

Among Encampment Alumni

More than 4,000 alumni of the 49 Encampments for Citizenship held since 1946 are at work on public affairs problems in all 50 states and in over 25 countries abroad.

Of five hundred Encampment alumni whose activities have recently been studied, over 90% are active participants in some aspect of public affairs. There were 46% active in politics, 43% involved in programs to aid disadvantaged youth, 40% in civil rights activities, and 33% who were active on international issues.

Scores of examples could be cited. Here are ten —black, white, yellow and red Americans who learned well the Encampment's lesson that democracy needs more than lip-service from all of us:

Miss Margaret Bucher, Education Director, Montana Farmers Union, and all-time champion recruiter of Encampment participants.

Dr. Edgar S. Cahn, attorney and recent editor of OUR BROTHER'S KEEPER: THE INDIAN IN WHITE AMERICA (World, 1969); former Special Asst. to OEO Director Sargent Shriver.

Miss Maria Canino, member of New York City's Commission on Higher Education; former Asst. Director, East Harlem Tenants Council.

Mrs. Joyce Lee Conrad, 1968 candidate for the North Dakota State Senate; State President, United Nations Assn.; Chrmn., North Dakota Parks Advisory Council.

Miss Ada Deer, Director of Upward Bound program for Indian Youth, Wisconsin State University.

William Haddad, Board Chairman, U.S. Research & Development Corp.; former Assoc. Director under Sargent Shriver at Peace Corps and OEO, and member of New York City's Board of Education.

Congressman Allard K. Lowenstein, who "probably has greater standing among the nation's youth than any other member of Congress" (N.Y. *Times*); key figure in 1968 Presidential primaries.

Arnold J. Malone, 1968 Conservative Party candidate for the Canadian Parliament; Asst. Director of 4-H Clubs in Alberta.

Lawrence S. Okinaga, Adm. Asst. to Hawaii's U.S. Congressman Spark Matsunaga; organized Moiliili Community Center program for hard to reach youth.

Charles Patterson, Vice President, World Airways; former Urban League staff member and Associate Director of Peace Corps.

Who says The Encampment gets results? The campers do!

An 18 year-old Midwesterner: "The Encampment brought together exciting and talented people from all over the country. Each was unique, but deeply involved in the urgent social and political problems of modern America. The Encampment provided few easy solutions, but all of us left with greater determination and ability to cope with those problems wherever we find them."

A 17 year-old Arizona Pima Indian: "EFC made me realize that other races and other religions are people, and I've gotten to realize myself as an Indian. When I go back home I plan to teach others what I've learned. I've become responsible in many ways I've never known. I learned that everybody has the right to express himself right or wrong. I'll respect people as human beings."

A 16 year-old from Kentucky mountain country: "The Encampment enriched my life in many ways. It aroused my interest in finding out more about my own Breathitt County than I had cared about before. It has made me realize the social and economic conditions that families are in, even in my own community. I've gained a sense of responsibility to help my people. I have learned respect for other peoples' different ideas. I have gained the ability to respect Negroes as equals with all others. I hope I can convert others to my new point of view."

A 15 year-old from Harlem: "Today I tried two places for jobs. At one of them I found myself looking at the white people in the office, and saying things like 'She thinks she's something because she has the job, and I'm sitting here asking for one.' Then I thought about the Encampment, and how I learned to like the white people there, and suddenly I began to look at the girl in a different way. Instead of as white, just as another person sitting behind her desk doing a job. To me the Encampment was like a new life."

The 17 year-old niece of a recent Pennsylvania Governor: "It was the most wonderful experience of my life. I intend to keep trying to give to others as much as possible of what I learned from people of all colors and creeds at the Encampment. For my Encampment summer and for the future it opens I thank you eternally."

A 16 year-old Puerto Rican New Yorker: "I was born in East Harlem. I had never been out of Harlem—I thought Harlem was the world. I thought only Harlem had problems. Taking part in the Encampment for Citizenship for six weeks opened my eyes. During those weeks I got well acquainted with people from every kind of background, from all over the country. It really hurt, at the end, to have to say goodbye to people I hadn't wanted to shake hands with, when I got there. Now I'm on the steering committee of the anti-poverty coordinating group in my neighborhood, trying to put into practice some of what I learned at the Encampment."

A 16 year-old Ohioan: In the Encampment I learned that to get anything done, one has to get out and work for it and not just talk about it. I have learned that it isn't bad to be 'square' because 'squares' get things done."

A 17 year-old Massachusetts camper: "I learned the importance of trying to change things that need changing. I also learned there are differences between people and one should love those differences."

Their Parents do!

A rancher's wife in Victor, Montana: "Attending the Encampment last summer was worth as much or more than a year at college to Jessie, and I am sure it will be equally a shaping and learning experience for our son this year. It's hard to give our youngsters enough knowledge about their world and enough feeling for the people in it, bringing them up in the rather isolated environment of Western Montana, and therefore we are everlastingly appreciative of the opportunity the Encampment offers."

continued on next page

A St. Louis mother, herself an Encampment alumna: "Out daughter Susan was fifteen when she went to the Montana EFC. It was definitely a case of the right girl in the right place at the right time. We think Susie derived immense benefits from all aspects of the program. I have not heard *one* unfavorable remark from her about any part of it. The tradition of variety among the youngsters is undiminished. Because we delivered Susie and picked her up, we met some of the staff and were favorably impressed, and two of the young couples among them we have seen since and visited with. It seems to me the staff was admirably chosen and must have had excellent preparation. There was quite a bit of human stress, but it was used very creatively. To me, this is the single most vital element."

University Evaluators do!

Columbia University's OEO-sponsored evaluation of two Encampments: "Studying and working and living together, the campers—blacks, whites, and Indians; Christians and Jews; believers and non-believers; young people from farms, from city slums, from manicured suburbs; students from boarding schools and students from one-room schoolhouses—had intense reactions to their six weeks at the Encampments. Never bored, often excited, sometimes disturbed, they believed their experience had been of great value, though perhaps 'not long enough.'

"Changes which trainees most frequently saw in themselves were increases in tolerance and understanding, in maturity, in independence, and in activism. Friendships to an extraordinary extent cross-cut class lines."

Prof. Herbert Hyman of Columbia University, in presenting results of an earlier four-year evaluation of Encampments: "I can inform you with full confidence that the Encampment for Citizenship is a rare and successful experiment in democratic education."

It began 25 years ago...

In 1946 Algernon D. Black, Mrs. Alice K. Pollitzer and others in education and social welfare recognized that there were very few significant opportunities for young people to further their knowledge of other racial, religious, and economic groups and to learn about the problems and issues facing each group. Mr. Black and Mrs. Pollitzer also recognized the alarming lack of clarity among young people about the meaning of democracy, and that these young people had little understanding of how they might help bring about solutions for pressing social problems.

Under the sponsorship of the American Ethical Union and its affiliated societies, the Encampment for Citizenship was launched. 128 campers came to New York's Fieldston School from every part of the United States, and from other countries too, to take part in what the founders termed "a pilot project in democratic education." Black, white, Indian, Japanese-American, and Mexican-American, North and South, Protestant, Jew, Catholic, farmer, office worker, factory worker, miner, veteran, student—all were represented.

For a period of six weeks each summer since 1946 this training for an informed and responsible citizenship has proceeded under the guidance of that same group of dedicated founders. Now more than 4,000 young people have attended a total of 49 Encampments in such places as New York, Puerto Rico, Kentucky, Montana, California, and Mexico. Now in its 25th Anniversary year, the Encampment for Citizenship is re-dedicating its pro-

gram to educating youth to face and meet the distinctive problems of the 70's, to lead the march for community progress.

In this 25th Anniversary Year, the Encampment for Citizenship pays particular tribute to the 100th birthday of its Honorary Chairman, Mrs. Alice K. Pollitzer. "Nanny," as many generations of Encampment graduates call her, counts her work with the Encampment and with Walden School—where she was a much-beloved staff member—her "greatest life work." She has also been a local school board member on the East Side, a volunteer in political reform movements, and active in dozens of civil liberties and social service causes. She was one of nine in the first graduating class of Barnard College, in 1893, and helped start its Alumnae Association.

This year a special Alice K. Pollitzer Scholarship Fund has been created by the Encampment to honor the personality who has given vitality and strength to its program since its beginning. Contributions to this special fund will provide more youth, in whom Nanny places such faith, the opportunity to participate in what independent evaluators have termed "a rare and successful experiment in democratic education."

Encampment for Citizenship co-founders Algernon D. Black and Mrs. Alice K. Pollitzer, making the announcement in 1964 that, after 18 summers of college-age Encampments, a high school-age (15 through 18) Encampment was being launched. The need for such leadership training and social service opportunities for high school students has grown rapidly. For summer, 1970, four high school-age Encampments are planned.

Expansion in the 70's

The Encampment for Citizenship is an idea whose time has come. Never was there a greater need for genuine communication among youth of differing racial and economic backgrounds. Never was the need for teaching *constructive* ways of participation in social change more urgent. No other agency or program so clearly serves these needs.

If an additional 80-camper teenage Encampment can be started each summer for the next ten summers, then during the decade of the 70's the total of Encampment alumni can be more than doubled, from over 4,000 to over 10,000. By the end of the 70's there would be more than 10,000 Americans who had shared an Encampment experience and the inspiration to constructive action it imparts.

Expenses per camper in 1969 were $720, for 284 young men and women. Funds are needed for full scholarships, and to match half scholarships offered by Urban Coalitions, local school boards, and minority, farm, labor and church organizations.

Who makes it possible?

The Encampment for Citizenship is sponsored by the American Ethical Union and directed by a volunteer Board which meets monthly in New York.

Abraham P. Kanner (vice president for finance at Maidenform), is chairman of the Encampment Board. Vice Chairmen are Simeon Golar* (New York City Housing Authority chairman), Mrs. Michael Elbert (manpower executive), Morris Kellner (radio-television association executive), Mrs. Jean Kotkin (mother of two Encampment alumni), David Rothenberg* (theatrical producer and founder of the prison reform organization, The Fortune Society), and Miss Althea Simmons (National Training Director, NAACP). Secretary of the Board: S. Arthur Dembner (Vice President and Circulation Director of NEWSWEEK). Treasurer: Mrs. Albert Mannheimer, long a devoted Encampment volunteer worker.

Honorary Chairman of the Encampment Board, and still nearly as active as when she was Board Chairman, is Mrs. Alice K. Pollitzer (Her 100th birthday will be observed in conjunction with the Encampment's 25th at the Plaza Hotel, New York, May 18.)

Additional members of the Encampment Board include Ethical and religious leaders Algernon D. Black, Douglas Frazier, M. Michael Grupp, Rev. Robert Polk, Howard Radest, and Rev. Lucius Walker, Jr.;

Businessmen Barnett Berch, Paul W. Fink, Milton Goldstein, William F. Haddad*, Alan Kalmus, Lawrence S. Mayers, Raymond Marcus, Martin Racine, Shy Raiken, George Shettle, and Robert Stein;

Educators, anti-poverty and social workers Miss Sally Bowles, Miss Maria Canino*, Raymond de Vera, Mrs. Carl Goldmark, Jr., Dr. James Gutmann, Dr. Anna Lee Hopson, Steven Jervis, Miss Judith Katz*, Dr. Lucile Kohn, R. Edward Lee, Mrs. Arvil Lovett, Miss Virginia Price, Franklin D. Roosevelt III, and Charles Trice;

Other professional men and women Roy Berkeley*, Charles A. Boyles, Mrs. Frank Field, Mrs. Alan J. Freedman, Mrs. Marjorie Iseman, Dr. Douglas Kahn, Leonard Kolleeny, Congressman Allard K. Lowenstein*, Frank Opton, Sheldon Pollack, William R. Schmidt*, Mrs. Roger Strasser, Donald Wardle*, and Robert C. Weinberg; and **Civic and community leaders** Mrs. Ted Benjamin, Mrs. Sid Berman, Mrs. Herbert Epstein*, Mrs. Horace Friess, Mrs. Frank Karelsen III, Mrs. Ulysses Kay*, Mrs. John Kernochan, Mrs. Robert Kintner, Mrs. Gerhart L. Kobrak, Mrs. H. Robert Kobrick, Mrs. Julius Medwin*, Mrs. John Sommer, and Mrs. Peter Weiss.

* Encampment for Citizenship alumni.

PHOTO BY CHARLES BROTHERS STUDIOS

American Civil Liberties Union founder Roger Baldwin is congratulated after a speech at a recent Encampment annual dinner. Left to right are Mr. Baldwin, Encampment Executive Director Douglas Kelley, the Encampment Board's Honorary Chairman Alice K. Pollitzer, Encampment Board member Congressman Allard K. Lowenstein, and Board Chairman Abraham P. Kanner. Congressman Lowenstein, an alumnus of the 1947 Encampment, was Director of the 1965 New York Encampment—whose alumni include presidents of student governments at Harvard, Stanford, and the University of North Carolina, and a recent president of the U.S. National Student Association.

The Encampment's year-'round Executive Director since 1965, Douglas Kelley, was a camper in the first (1946) Encampment. Prior to '65 he was Assistant to Michigan's Senator Philip A. Hart, an Assistant Professor at Michigan State and with Peace Corps in Washington, D.C. and Africa. In *The Complete Peace Corps Guide* he is credited with being one of the initiators of the Peace Corps idea, in the 1950's.

Encampment Scholarships, without which the unique economic, racial and religious diversity of the Encampments would be lost, are made possible by individual contributions of alumni and friends of the Encampment.

During the 1960's there has been major assistance from: Louis D. Beaumont Foundation • College Entrance Examination Board • Commonwealth of Puerto Rico, Education Department • Danforth Foundation • Marshall Field Foundation • Merrill and Emita Hastings Foundation • International Ladies Garment Workers Union • Ethel K. Loeb Foundation • Montana Farmers Union • New York Foundation • Newark, New Jersey YMCA • Office of Economic Opportunity, Community Action Program Training Division • Readers Digest Foundation • Laurance S. Rockefeller • Samuel Rubin Foundation • Stern Family Fund • Taconic Foundation • United Scholarship Service, Denver • U.S. Office of Education, Elementary & Secondary Education Act, Title I • Vinmont Foundation

Your help is needed...

In 1969 total board, room, and educational costs were $720 per camper. A $720 gift makes possible the grant of a full scholarship, [illegible] times the value of his scholarship to the well being and [illegible] of our [illegible] gift will permanently endow a scholarship in the name of Alice K. Pollitzer, or [illegible] All [illegible] possible [illegible]

ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW ORLEANS
7887 WALMSLEY AVENUE
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA 70125

HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION
TEL. (504) 861-9521

October 27, 1970

Mr. Jim Wood
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Jim:

Since I have not yet received the copies of SOUTH TODAY, Vol. 2, No. 3 (October 1970) containing the story on Catholicism in the South, I thought I would write to you to remind you that I would like to have fifteen or sixteen copies.

The housing group that I told you about here, the Broadmoor Improvement Association, has been in contact with your Mr. Burke. They also have an expert coming in from Cleveland to help them develop their plans.

Sincerely yours,

Jack

John P. Sisson
Executive Director

JB File

October 29, 1970

Mr. John P. Sisson
Executive Director
Archdiocese of New Orleans
Human Relations Commission
7887 Walmsley Avenue
New Orleans, Louisiana 70125

Dear Mr. Sisson:

Enclosed are sixteen copies of SOUTH TOADY, Vol. 2, No. 3 (October, 1970) containing the story on Catholicism in the South.

Mr. Wood will be out of his office for several days, but upon his return you will be receiving correspondence from him. I am quite sure Mr. Wood would appreciate any continued correspondence on the Broadmoor Improvement Association.

Sincerely,

Gwendolyn M. Sapp, Secretary
Office of the Executive Assistant

Encl. 16

Pending

September 28, 1970

Mr. Gunnar Myrdal
Institute for International
Economic Studies
Wenner-Gren Center
University of Stockholm
Stockholm, Sweden

Dear Mr. Myrdal:

It has just come to my attention that you are to be in Atlanta in early November. We would be more than pleased to have you visit with us while you are here, or to allow us to, in any way, assist you in your visit.

It would be a rare priviledge for our staff to have you meet with them and discuss any observations you have about race relations in the nation and the region as you see them now, compared to the time when you did your extraordinary study on that subject.

Also, the annual meeting of the Council, when our one hundred members from throughout the south are assembled, is to be held in Atlanta on November 17-18. It would be an honor for us to have you attend, and participate in any portion of that meeting. If modest financial considerations would make a difference in allowing you to say over, and meet with the staff or the full council, I am sure arrangements could be worked out.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb
Via Air Mail

October 12, 1970

Dr. Prince B. Wilson
Executive Secretary
Atlanta University Center Corp.
55 Walnut Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30314

Dear Dr. Wilson:

On learning that Dr. Myrdal was to be in the state, I wrote him expressing the hope that at some point during his visit he could stop by the Council. I think our staff would benefit enormously from an opportunity to talk with Dr. Myrdal. Today I received a letter from him indicating that you and Professor Dince are making all of the arrangements for his visit. I can well sympathize with the problems the two of you are having, and the request for special considerations which you are receiving.

However, if there is any way in which Dr. Myrdal could spend a brief time with us, we would be more than grateful.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb
cc: Dr. Myrdal
Professor Dince

October 12, 1970

Mr. Gunnar Myrdal
Institute for International
Economic Studies
Wenner-Gren Center
University of Stockholm
Stockholm, Sweden

Dear Dr. Myrdal:

Thank you for your letter. I have today written Dr. Wilson as enclosed, and hope very much something can be arranged.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Enclosure

UNIVERSITET STOCKHOLMS

INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC STUDIES

Telephone: 34 08 60, ext. 413
Cable address: Interrelations

Wenner-Gren Center
Sveavägen 166 19th floor
S-113 46 Stockholm

OCT 12 1970

October 8, 1970
GM/gf

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
ATLANTA, Ga. 30303
USA

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In agreement with the Atlanta University Center and University of Georgia I am not taking any engagements myself. Please get in touch with Professor Robert R. Dince, Department of Banking and Finance, University of Georgia, College of Business Administration, Athens, Ga. and/or Mr. Prince B. Wilson, Executive Secretary, Atlanta University Center Corp., 55 Walnut Street, S.W., Atlanta.

At the time of your annual meeting November 17-18 I will already be home in Sweden again.

With kind personal regards,

Cordially yours,

Gunnar Myrdal

Gunnar Myrdal

November 30, 1970

Dr. Gunnar Myrdal
Institute for International
Economic Studies
Wenner-Gren Center
University of Stockholm
Stockholm, Sweden

Dear Dr. Myrdal:

Thank you so very much for your visit with us. All of us found it stimulating and most enjoyable. I do hope we will have an opportunity for a longer visit in the not too distant future.

Warmest regards from all of us here.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

November 30, 1970

The Honorable Louis Stokes
Member of Congress
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C. 20515

Dear Louis:

Again, personally and on behalf of the Council, I want to thank you for taking the time to come to our annual dinner, and for your very stimulating speech.

We are now collecting small contributions toward your honorarium and will send it to you shortly. Please send us your expense account when convenient.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

December 2, 1970

Miss Maggi Barrett
Box 12
Franconia College
Franconia, New Hampshire 03580

Dear Miss Barrett:

Please forgive me for this inexcusable delay in responding to your inquiry. I suggest you write Berea College, Berea, Kentucky, and the Council of Southern Mountains, Inc., College Box 2307, Berea, Kentucky 40403.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Miss Margi Barrett
Box 12, Franconia College
Franconia, New Hampshire 03580

October 29th, 1970

Dear Sir:

As of January I will be on an outreach project which is an independent study program through our college.
Would you know of any programs that I might be able to work with either in the Appalachian (Kentucky, West Virginia, North Carolina) area or the Mississippi Delta Region in the areas of education, social service or community work (similar to Upward Bound, Head Start or Teachers Corps)?
Thank you for you assistance.

Sincerely,
Margi Barrett
Margi Barrett

WORLD PUBLISHING
TIMES MIRROR

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, 3
Georgia

December 9, 1970

Dear Mr. Anthony,

Thank you very much for sending me so promptly the copy of SOUTH TODAY in which you printed an article on the Orangeburg situation. Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of the book and some letters you may find interesting.

Unfortunately, with reference to the refusal by Atlanta's main department store to stock the book, there is no way I can get you formal evidence to support the fact; this is indeed a pity as it would give considerable impact to an article in SOUTH TODAY. I hope that,in spite of this lack of documentation, the relevance of Jack Nelson and Jack Bass' book will still reach your readers.

I enjoyed talking with you the other day; if you have any questions or suggestions, please do not hesitate to call - if I am not here at the time, Mr. Gervasi, the director of publicity, will be delighted to speak to you.

Cordially,

Virginia Lloyd-Davies

Virginia Lloyd-Davies

110 EAST 59TH STREET, NEW YORK 10022, TELEPHONE (212) 759-9500, CABLES: "WORLDPUB"

734-4121

STETSON UNIVERSITY
DELAND, FLORIDA
32720

DEPARTMENT OF AMERICAN STUDIES

DEC 22 1970

December 18, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In regard to our conversation in October, this is to confirm your agreement to speak with a small group of Stetson students at 9:00 o'clock Monday, January 11, on the work of the SRC.

I recently read the excellent report on the Daytona situation by one of your writers. I am sure it will be a real treat for our students to be able to learn about your organization.

Sincerely,

Robert Sherer

Robert Sherer

RS:zec

SEP 30 1970

STETSON UNIVERSITY
DELAND, FLORIDA
32720

DEPARTMENT OF AMERICAN STUDIES

September 25, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter indicating the willingness for you or someone in your office to speak to our seminar during January. Mr. Ted Banks, director of off-campus projects, and I will be in Atlanta Thursday and Friday, October 1 and 2. We hope that we will be able to speak with you then about a definite time when you could speak to our group.

Sincerely,

Robert Sherer

Robert Sherer
Assistant Professor
American Studies

RS:lme

file

One God | One Aim | One Destiny

PARENT BODY

Universal Negro Improvement Association

AND AFRICAN COMMUNITIES LEAGUE AUGUST 1929 Of THE WORLD

He created of one blood nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth

1611 W. COLUMBIA AVENUE
Philadelphia 21, Pa.

DEC 22 1970

Hon. Marcus Garvey
Founder

CE 6-6063

December 18, 1970

The Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

The better leaders in the U.S.A. have stated from the time the Union was formed the fact that the White and Black races could not live together.

Your organization as well as the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League have for years agreed to this fact, and have worked diligently toward obtaining the separation of the two races. Over the years the situation demanded serious consideration and presently the problem is momentous on both sides. We dislike the idea of the government forcing citizenship (so called) upon us, something we as African descendents never have asked for. You, on the other hand, have to accept or fight your government for their action.

However, we who are members of the Universal Negro Improvement Association feel at this time that we are in a position to gather together the many intelligent minds of the race and steer them along with the majority of the Afro-Americans toward repatriation. Your race brought the problem (slavery) to your shore several hundred years ago, therefore, you must at this time put forth some sort of aid to relieve yourselves of that problem. The aid we need for repatriation is currency from you and your government. We have formulated a plan by which you could free your country in short order.

Can you afford to delay this forward move forever one more day? If not, you should discuss the matter with your division heads, and come up with a positive answer. We of the U.N.I.A. await your answer with a last word, "Remember Senator Bilbo".

Respectfully yours,

Thomas W. Harvey

Thomas W. Harvey,
President General U.N.I.A.

TWH:ag

December 21, 1970

Professor Leslie J. Shellhase
University of Alabama
School of Social Work
P. O. Box 1935
University, Alabama 35486

Dear Dr. Shellhase:

January 20th at 10:30 a.m. is fine with us. We look forward to seeing you and Dean Gundy at that time.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL WORK
POST OFFICE BOX 1935
UNIVERSITY, ALABAMA 35486

December 14, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I have shared with Dr. Howard B. Gundy, Dean of our School, the exchanges you and I have had regarding the possibility of some of our graduate students working within your organization during the summer of 1971.

Pursuant to your suggestion that we meet with you during January, may I suggest that Dean Gundy and I come to Atlanta on Wednesday, January 20, 1971 to meet with you and your staff at 10:30 a.m.? At that time, we could discuss the range and modes of collaboration possible between your council and our school.

Sincerely,

Leslie J. Shellhase

Leslie J. Shellhase, D.S.W.
Professor

LJS:ls

BUTLER STREET

22 Butler Street, NE
659-8085

Atlanta, Georgia 30303
659-3714

February 16, 1971

Dear YMCA Friend:

The Butler Street YMCA is presently engaged in its Annual Membership Enrollment Campaign. The actual tip-off is scheduled for March 1, 1971, however, the staff is working feverishly to prepare the required materials and to notify our friends of our plans.

We are fortunate to have Senator Leroy Johnson as General Chairman and the leadership of Reverend Andrew Young and Mr. T. M. Alexander as Divisional Leaders. We have also been offered the services of Mrs. Geneva Haugabrooks, Mrs. Lottie Watkins, Reverend W. J. Stafford and Reverend Jasper Williams as assistant Divisional Leaders.

Though we have such excellent leadership we will need your help if we are to reach our goal of 5,000 members and $70,000, therefore we are again asking you to either renew your membership or to sponsor the membership of some underprivileged boy or girl.

The Butler Street YMCA serves more disadvantaged boys and girls than any other Community Chest institution throughout the Metropolitan Atlanta area. More than 10,000 youngsters, 85% of them unable to pay for YMCA membership, were served during 1970 because interested persons like you secured memberships during the 1970 Membership Campaign.

You will be contacted by one of our workers in the near future. Please think of the many youngsters who need the guidance of the YMCA when you greet them and give generously.

Sincerely yours

Benjamin E. Mays

BEM:fbc

Benjamin E. Mays
President Board of Directors

JS
JB file

January 5, 1971

Miss Miriam Haas
15 Blenis Place
Valhalla, New York 10595

Dear Miss Haas:

Please forgive me this long delay in responding to your inquiry.

We will be very pleased to put you on the mailing list without charge for South Today, our monthly newspaper. All of our other reports are mentioned in this, and we will be happy to send you any of those in which you have interest.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Sept 7, 1970

SEP 10 1970

Dear Mr. Anthony,

I have been reading some of the Southern Regional Council's special repots which my grandmother, Mrs. James Dabbs has lent me and I have found them highly informative and intelesting.

Since I live in New York I would like to know how I could be sent them. Is it possible to pay a yearly rate and be put on a mailing list. I would appreciate it if you could inform me of any such possibility. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Miriam Haas. over

My address is

Miriam Haas
15 Blenis Place
Valhalla,
N.Y. 10595

Same letter sent to all Executive Committee members. Deviation in second paragraph to Huge, Ruffin, Chubbuck, and Palmer:

Please let us know your arrival time so that accommodations can be made for you.

V.E.P.
VOTER EDUCATION PROJECT, INC.•5 FORSYTH STREET N.W. ATLANTA, GA. 30303 (404) 522-7495

January 5, 1971

Mr. Frank Smith
Director
Tennessee Valley Authority
405 New Sprankle Building
Knoxville, Tennessee 37902

Dear Frank:

The Executive Committee of the Voter Education Project, Inc., will meet at the Sheraton-Biltmore Hotel, on Friday, January 29, 1971, beginning with dinner at 6 p. m. We will convene in Seminar rooms C and D.

We look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely yours,

Donald L. Hollowell
President

DLH:js

cc: Paul Anthony

January 8, 1971

Mrs. Frances H. Coker
Assistant Professor
Department of Sociology and Anthropology
Millsaps College
Jackson, Mississippi 39210

Dear Mrs. Coker:

We will be more than pleased to place your department on our mailing list.

You have assembled a very interesting group of speakers, and I hope the series goes well.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

J S I-8-71 JB-File

MILLSAPS COLLEGE Jackson, Mississippi 39210
DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

JAN 5 1971

Jan. 4, 1970

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sirs:

Mrs. Claire Harvey suggested that we write to you and ask that you place our department on your regular mailing list. She said that you had regular mail-outs that we might be interested in and so we would appreciate it if you would add us to your list. I personally subscribe to the "New South" already but had not realized that you had additional materials.

She said that you would also be interested in knowing that Mr. Frank Smith, a member of your Board, is appearing on our campus in mid-February as the second speaker in a series that we are sponsoring as a result of a grant from the Sperry and Hutchinson Foundation. The series is entitled "Mississippi: A Search for a New Identity" and will mark the one hundredth anniversary of our re-admission to the Union! Other speakers in the series will be Dr. Ray Marshall of the U. of Texas, Dr. Frank Rose, formerly President of the U. of Alabama and Dr. T. Pettigrew of the Dept. of Social Relations at Harvard. We will send you a brochure on the series as soon as it is prepared.

Most sincerely,

Frances H. Coker

Frances H. Coker
Asst. Professor

JAN 7 1971

CENTER FOR GOVERNMENTAL STUDIES

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Brunswick, Maine
Mrs. Mary A. Dresser
Mason City, Iowa
Ernest F. Estepp
Huntington, West Virginia
Lauro Garcia, Jr.
Guadalupe, Arizona
Mrs. Doris Graham
Dorchester, Massachusetts
Charles T. Henry
University City, Missouri
Jose Lucero
San Antonio, Texas
Rev. A. J. McKnight
Lafayette, Louisiana
William T. Patrick, Jr.
Detroit, Michigan
S. H. Roberts
Nashville, Tennessee
Con F. Shea
Denver, Colorado
Norvel Smith
Oakland, California
Hector Vazquez
New York, New York
President
Howard W. Hallman

1701 K STREET, NORTHWEST, SUITE 906
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036
(202) 638-4474

January 5, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We talked once a few years ago when I was directing a study of the poverty program for Senator Clark's subcommittee. A year and a half ago I organized the Center for Governmental Studies, and since then we have been concentrating on action oriented research related to administrative decentralization and community participation. We are now broadening our interest to look at a number of national issues, among them policies of national growth, including concentration of urban growth.

Although I hear of activities of the Southern Regional Council from time to time I am not up to date on the full scope of your program. For my background information I would appreciate receiving material about what you are doing. In particular I would be interested to know whether issues of urbanization in the South comes within the scope of your activities.

Sincerely yours,

Howard W. Hallman

Howard W. Hallman
President

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5. Little City Halls, by George J. Washnis. December 1970. 35¢

Research Reports

State Manpower Organization, Volume I of a Study of Decentralization of Manpower Programs, by Howard W. Hallman, Everett Crawford, and Alden F. Briscoe. July 1970. $3.00

Metropolitan Manpower Organization, Volume II of a Study of Decentralization of Manpower Programs, by Everett Crawford, Alden F. Briscoe, and Howard W. Hallman. September 1970. $3.00

Neighborhood Facilities and Municipal Decentralization, by George J. Washnis. Volume I. Comparative Analysis of Twelve Cities. $3.00
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Other Publications

Community Participation in Public Elementary Schools, a Survey Report. September 1970. (free)

State Government: A Selected Bibliography, compiled by B. Crichton Jones. February 1970. $1.00

Center for Governmental Studies
1701 K Street, N. W., Suite 906
Washington, D. C. 20006

January 8, 1971

Mr. Donald R. King
109 Zeigler Street
Boston, Mass. 02119

Dear Mr. King:

Please forgive the delay in responding to your inquiry about the Southern Rural Research Project.

The Project has ceased operation, and when last we heard, Donald Jelinek was in California, although I have been unable to find an address for him.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

SEP 6 REC'D

109 Zeigler Street
Boston, Mass. 02119
September 17, 1970

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga.

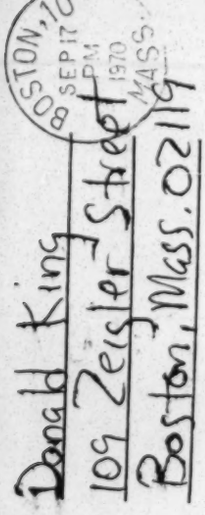
Dear Sir,

In the summer of 1967, I worked briefly in the Southern Rural Research Project (S.R.R.P.), which investigated poverty and malnutrition among black farmers in the Alabama black belt. The project was headed by a civil rights lawyer, Donald Jelinek. It was based in Selma. For the past few weeks, I have been trying to locate the program's director, Mr Jelinek, but so far I have been unsuccessful. I believe that the Southern Regional Council was one of S.R.R.P.'s sponsors. Would you have any information concerning the fate of S.R.R.P. or

the current whereabouts of Mr. Jelinek.
If so, would you kindly forward
this information to me.

Sincerely yours,
Donald R. King

SECOND FOLD



Donald King
109 Zeisler Street
Boston, Mass. 02119

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

AÉROGRAMME • PAR AVION

FIRST FOLD

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
EXTENSION DIVISION
UNIVERSITY, ALABAMA 35486

JAN 13 1971

LIBRARY EXTENSION SERVICES
P. O. BOX 2987

TELEPHONE
AREA CODE 205
348-6300

January 11, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

In order to inform the members of the Alabama Library Association about the happy prospect of your visit to our annual meeting in Tuscaloosa April 15-16, we plan to send out a preliminary announcement of the meeting. We wish this to include biographical information about all of our speakers. Please send me something helpful as soon as you can.

We also plan to send out a short reading list to encourage those interested to do some advance preparation for this meeting. One of the titles will be the USDA's 1970 yearbook, Contours of Change. If you have not seen this you might be interested in looking into it. If you have suggestions about items for this list, I should like very much to have them.

If you have available a glossy photograph which we might use for advance newspaper stories, please send this also.

Sincerely yours,

Bethel Fite

BETHEL FITE
Director

Yale University *New Haven, Connecticut 06520*

JAN 14 1971

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

JAMES DAVID BARBER
Professor of Political Science

January 12, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

James V. Allday has asked me to let you know what I think of him. We have had eight or ten conversations. Jim strikes me as an unusually perceptive person and a dedicated champion of social progress. He has a fine eye for the critical elements in a situation, an ability to express his ideas clearly and succinctly, and a grand sense of humor. I would be surprised if he did not write as engagingly as he talks.

Jim has had a rough time of it and deserves a break. But even without that side of it, he does seem to have the open-mindedness, resolution and energy to make a good writer.

Sincerely,

James David Barber

JDB/sf

January 20, 1971

Mrs. Bethel Fite
Director
Library Extension Services
University of Alabama
P. O. Box 2987
University, Alabama 35486

Dear Mrs. Fite:

In the absence of Mr. Anthony, I am enclosing biogrpphical information as requested in your letter of January 11th. I am very sorry, but we do not have a photograph of Mr. Anthony available at this time.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Jay Brothers
Secretary to Mr. Anthony

January 25, 1971

Mr. W. E. Solomon
Associate Executive Secretary
Director of Special Services
The South Carolina Education Association
421 Zimalcrest Drive
Columbia, South Carolina 29210

Dear Mr. Solomon:

Thank you for the information correcting the article in South Today. That information is being passed on to the appropriate persons on the staff.

We very much appreciate your continued interest in the Council.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

The South Carolina Education Association

Walker E. Solomon
Associate Executive Secretary
Director of Special Services

421 Zimalcrest Drive
Columbia, South Carolina 29210
(803) 779-3420

January 19, 1971

JAN 20 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I have just received and read Vol. II, No. 6, January-February issue of The South Today. I want you to know that I enjoyed reading it and look forward to receipt of each issue. The colorful tabloid is an attention getter which makes individuals read.

My reason for writing this letter is because there are some errors in the report in the second column on page 2. In listing the number of lawyers in a state and the number of Negro lawyers, the figure for South Carolina is in error. There are ten (10) lawyers in Columbia, South Carolina, and many others scattered over the state. I am not taking the time to check my information, but I am certain that there must be twenty-five or thirty lawyers in the state. About 1965 we had a meeting of lawyers and I know twenty-two were present at that time.

As a former member of the Board I am interested in your work and I do not want any southerners to discredit all of your work because one error is made. I am sure you know how they work and this error will be passed along as an example of the erroneous reporting of The South Today.

Yours truly,

W. E. Solomon

W. E. Solomon, B
Associate Executive Secretary
Director of Special Services

WES/bfb

January 26, 1971

Mr. Roland H. A. Gottlieb
German Consulate
909 Peachtree Center South
225 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Gottlieb:

Thank you very much for the calendar. It will be used with real appreciation.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Science International
12 Herm-Cuth.

Mit verbindlichen Empfehlungen

Deutsches Konsulat

Atlanta, Georgia 30303
909 Peachtree Center South
225 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Tel.: 525-2097/98

With the compliments of the

German Consulate

Atlanta, Georgia 30303
909 Peachtree Center South
225 Peachtree Street, N. E.
Tel.: 525-2097/98

January 26, 1971

Mrs. Jean L. Powers
Director of Migrant Services
National Council of the Churches of Christ
Division of Christian Life & Mission
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N. Y. 10027

Dear Mrs. Powers:

This will acknowledge with our most grateful appreciation, the contribution of $20.00. It certainly was not necessary, but we appreciate the spirit which prompted it.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

VOUCHER NO. 3- - .63995

THE MEMORANDUM BELOW IS FOR YOUR FILES. PLEASE DETACH BEFORE DEPOSITING CHECK. IN ENDORSING THE ATTACHED CHECK THE PAYEE ACCEPTS IT IN FULL SETTLEMENT OF THE ACCOUNT INDICATED BELOW.

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CHURCHES OF CHRIST IN THE U. S. A., 475 RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK, N. Y. 10027

TYPE	ACCOUNT CODE	INCOME CODE		AMOUNT	DESCRIPTION
	407601160			2000	GRANT- IN APPRECIATION FOR DUPLICATING SERVICES GIVEN DURING THE MIGRANT MINISTRY MEETING IN ATLANTA.

JA

division of christian life and mission

national council of the churches of christ in the u.s.a.

475 riverside drive, new york, n. y. 10027 telephone: (212) 870-2131

mrs. theodore o. wedel, president r. h. edwin espy, general secretary

rev. jon l. regier
associate general secretary

January 14, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, GA 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I cant tell you how much we appreciate the way you and your staff came to our rescue when we needed duplicating services while we were meeting in Atlanta last week. It surely pays to have friends in the right places and Augie knew where to find one at the right time!

Please give a special word of thanks to the typist who was able to figure out that paste-up job we sent her. I know it was not easy, but she turned out a perfect paper for us!

We are enclosing a small check which really does not adequately repay you for the work that was done in your office, but is a feeble attempt to express our appreciation for the tremendous favor. I don't know what we would have done without your help. Thank you again.

Ck 20.00
1-28-71-3

Sincerely yours,

Jean Powers

Mrs. Jean L. Powers
Director of Migrant Services

p
cc: Rev. August VandenBosche

rev. kenneth g. neigh, chairman • mrs. muriel s. webb, vice chairman

January 27, 1971

Division of Legal Information & Community
Service
Suite 2030
10 Columbus Circle
New York, N. Y. 10019

Gentlemen:

We would like 500 copies of the enclosed "Feed kids - it's the Law." If available, please bill us. If not, we would appreciate permisstion to reprint.

Your prompt attention is appreciated.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Jay Brothers
Secretary to the Director

Enclosure

1/28/71

Dear Sirs:

I would like to inquire your assistance concerning any information you may be able to give me pertaining to volunteer work in poverty-stricken areas in the southern region during the summer of 1971.

I am 17 years old and I would be willing to work all summer with or without pay.

Please let me hear from you soon. My address is: Lione Hartman
2209 Sunrise Ave.
Lafayette, Ind. 47904
Thank-you very much for your assistance.

Sincerely,
Lione Hartman

February 8, 1971

Miss Cynthia E. Gubernick
P. O. Box 11222
Bethabara Station
Winston-Salem, N. C. 27106

Dear Cynthia:

Please forgive me this delay in responding to your letter. While I am very disappointed, I certainly understand your rationale.

Every good wish as you work things out.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

JAN 27 1971

from the desk of cynthia e. gubernick

ceg

January 25, 1971

Paul--

I have wrestled with this for several days, and wish my decision could have been otherwise. The regional housing corporation is too important an effort to jeopardize, and I simply don't have the inner resources I feel necessary to deal with it yet. Perhaps time will have its healing powers--I don't know.

I hope that SRC will go ahead with this effort. It's an experiment and should be tried. And you should be able to find staff who can handle the undertaking. Just make sure that everything is done at all levels during that year to make delivery possible at the end of the organizational year.

Again, thanks to all of you.

Cynthia

P. O. Box 11222
Bethabara Station
Winston-Salem, North Carolina 27106
January 25, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thank you for inviting me to visit with you and some of the staff of the Southern Regional Council to discuss a proposed regional housing development corporation and other possible housing and planning efforts of the Council.

I think that the regional housing corporation is an extremely exciting proposal, and the effort to undertake its organization is a worthwhile challenge. Such a corporation may be what is needed to move the Southeastern Region into meaningful development of low income housing programs.

I regret to say that I shall not be able to participate in the development of a regional housing corporation, at least in the foreseeable future. I would nonetheless hope that the Southern Regional Council would undertake this project, as I believe that the Council is the right vehicle for this effort. The organizational staff will both have to be thoroughly familiar with the region, and will have to rely heavily on the Southern Regional Council staff for information and contacts. A thorough knowledge of the region and access to its leaders at all levels and in all fields will be critical to the success of any organizational effort. Without this combination, I doubt that the projected timetable is realistic. The questions I raised regarding manpower training and revolving fund availability, as well as several other questions, will also have to be answered.

I wish my answer could have been a positive one, as I deeply respect the Southern Regional Council staff and its work. Best of luck in this undertaking and in all the rest of the SRC program. I shall get in touch with you when I know I am going to be in the country for more than a month or two at a time.

My very best regards to Emory, Jim and Moreland, and my thanks to all of you for a pleasant and provocative day at SRC.

Sincerely,

Cynthia

Cynthia E. Gubernic

February 8, 1971

Mr. Art Glenn
336 Elm
Lombard, Illinois 60148

Dear Mr. Glenn:

We will be more than happy to guarantee that any grant made to us would go directly to a deserving group in the Delta, to be used solely for food and medicine. You are correct in assuming that the needs in that area are very great. In fact, we have just made a rather substantial grant to a headstart program in that area where federal funds have been cut off, at least temporarily.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

1-27-71

Sirs

If I send you a donation of say, fifty dollars, can you guarantee that the money will go specifically to the people of the Mississippi Delta? I would sincerely appreciate a reply to this inquiry.

Kindest Regards

Art Glenn

ART GLENN
336 ELM
LOMBARD ILL 60148

P.S. I have made a donation to your outstanding organization before, with no strings attached. But this time of the year, i.e. winter, I feel that things are especially rough for those delta sharecroppers. Do you agree?

February 9, 1971

Miss Vicky Spiegel
Crusade Against Hunger
National Council of Churches
Room 552
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N. Y. 10027

Dear Miss Spiegel:

We would like 100 additional copies of THE CRUSADER, Vol. 1-No. 2.

Thanking you in advance for your prompt attention.

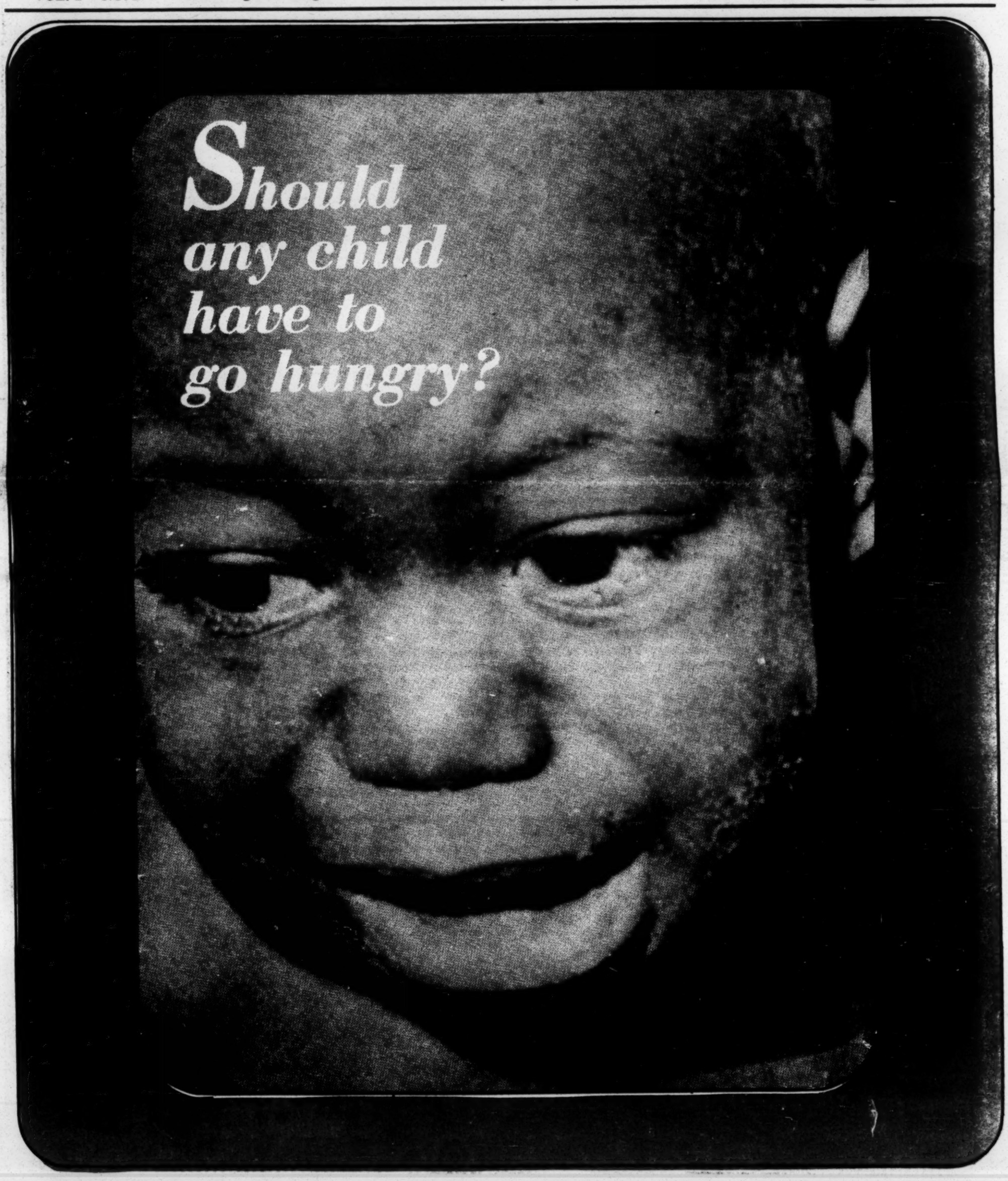
Sincerely,

Mrs. Jay Brothers
Secretary to the Director

jb

The CRUSADER

VOL. 1 — NO. 2 Crusade Against Hunger 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027 (212) 870-2386 103



The Hunger Crusader

In the last issue of THE CRUSADER this page was devoted to the story of one "hunger crusader," Mrs. Myra Dreifus, who has been actively involved in the School Lunch Campaign in Memphis, Tennessee. In this issue, we have an article about Ron Pollack, a crusading young attorney. Our hope is that these profiles will serve as an inspiration to our readers. Let us know about your own hunger crusade—we'd like to be able to put your story on this page in the near future.

Ron Pollack is a 'Hunger Crusader' from "way back." Only 26 years old, he has been deeply involved in and committed to the movement to eradicate hunger and poverty from this country since his student days. Although he grew up and was educated in New York City, he spent a great deal of his early manhood as an organizer in the South. While studying at Queens College and later at New York University School of Law, he was deeply involved in efforts to bring civil rights and welfare rights to the disenfranchised people of Mississippi.

After law school, a plan to return to Mississippi as an attorney did not materialize. Ronnie did the next best thing—accepted a job as a Staff Attorney with the Columbia Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law, where he remains today. Through the Center, he helped to bring about litigation in almost every state to the benefit of the poor people to whom he had committed himself in the Delta country years earlier.

Increasingly, the kinds of cases that he became involved in were concerned with hunger—commodities programs, food stamps, school lunches. And it became clear to Ron that feeding the hungry was the most basic and necessary kind of anti-poverty program; that it had to be the prerequisite to ensuring the health, the educational aptitude and the employability of the very poorest segments of our society.

Because of the enormity of the hunger problem in America, and in order to coordinate lawsuits with community organizing efforts, Ron Pollack has received a substantial grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity (which also funds the Columbia Center) to establish the Food Research and Action Center (FRAC). As Director of FRAC, Ron supervises a staff of fourteen, mostly organizers, who are assigned to work with community groups in various regions of the U.S., developing an organized constituency for school lunch and similar programs and, if called for, a possible support movement for a lawsuit.

Ron brought the first food program law suits filed in the U.S., working alone at the Columbia Center but contacting sympathetic lawyers around the country. One of his earliest achievements at the Center, using this outreach method, involved filing 26 similar suits in 26 states on the same day, against the U.S. Department of Agriculture and local welfare departments. The suits were filed locally by attorneys in each of the states, armed with technical assistance and strategic advice from Ron: a model for bringing test cases which he still uses. Ron's services are also available to the local attorneys around the country who call his office about the implementation of food programs in their areas and who may want to initiate their own suits.

Because of his past experiences in the South and because of his belief in "people power," Ron feels strongly that litigation should not be used **instead** of direct organizing as a tactic. Legal measures, this young lawyer feels, should only be resorted to when all other efforts have failed or should, at least, be utilized as a tactic in concert with community organizing. He is convinced that sound organizing strategies have longer lasting effects than litigation; too often, court orders have been circumvented.

"Washington, D.C. is issue-oriented, not people-oriented. When President Nixon talks about eliminating hunger, he means eliminating it as an issue."

—Ron Pollack

It is important that lawyers not attempt to bring litigation unless they have grassroots backing and involvement in the development of the suit, Ron feels. Thus, if a conscientious legal services attorney finds that the school lunch program in his locality is discriminating against eligible children, his first step should be to speak with those being discriminated against or, probably, their parents. If there is a local Welfare Rights Organization, he would approach its membership. These groups are generally knowledgeable about their children's entitlements through the "School Lunch Bill of Rights" prepared by Ron Pollack and distributed through the National Welfare Rights Organization and the Crusade Against Hunger.

The local W.R.O. may already be involved in a school lunch campaign of its own; the lawyer may be most helpful to them at this stage by helping to enlist the involvement of other middle income people in support of this campaign—professionals, church groups, civic organizations and the like. These efforts should also be accompanied by an effective public relations campaign, so that many segments of the community would be aware of the problems either through community meetings, newspaper articles or rallies.

If, at this point, the school and state officials fail to respond to community demands, an effective suit might be brought showing how the legal rights of local children have been violated. In this way, enough segments of the community have been involved in the process to hopefully ensure a favorable climate for change, and to act as watchdogs to see that the law is upheld. If it works out, it would also represent the first step towards a very necessary coalition between different ethnic and economic groups working together to make social changes beneficial to all.

Another food issue to organize around, and against which Ron has filed many lawsuits, is the Food Stamp Program. Unlike the School Lunch Program, there is no clearcut strategy applicable in every community. Ron sees it as basically an "asinine" program: an admission by Congress that welfare programs are inadequate for feeding people. But until there is something better, this program must be made to work. By creating a situation of full utilization of the program—through organization and litigation—Ron's hope (and that of NWRO) is that these kinds of piecemeal and temporary programs will have to be replaced by an income distribution system that is not only less cumbersome and more efficient but which more adequately meet the needs of poor families.

Ron Pollack has a very close working relationship with the National Welfare Rights Organization. In addition to providing legal and technical information, he has addressed local WRO's around the country about their legal food rights. He feels that, though many such organizations of poor people may know what the problems are in their communities, they do not always easily find a "handle" around which to organize. Often, a lawyer can be most helpful in finding legal loopholes or entitlements not readily apparent to laymen.

He totally endorses, the NWRO's goal of "adequate income" for all Americans and sees that hunger programs are a primary "handle" for getting at this or at some sort of redistribution of income. An organization like NWRO helps poor people to attain the kind of power that they need.

How can non-poor people who believe that there must be a more equitable distribution of our country's resources participate in this kind of movement? By working in local school lunch campaigns, for one thing, Ron feels. Most middle-income people do not really understand the hunger problem in the U.S., because they do not really look at its source. The basic injustices which account for the massiveness of this problem might be affected if poor people had more power and if middle income people helped to contribute to this empowerment. Ron feels strongly that we must all see that it is in our own self interest to improve the world we live in.

He feels that it is significant that the National Council of Churches is sponsoring the Crusade Against Hunger, since the goals of the school lunch campaign are so intrinsically a part of what the role of the church has always been. This campaign is not only a good organizing tactic, but the ideal vehicle for bringing together organizations of poor people, church members and other concerned community people to work together for the common good.

Lawyers wishing to reach Ron Pollack may do so through the Columbia Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law, 401 W. 117 Street, New York, N.Y. 10027; (212) 280-4112. Welfare Rights and other community groups interested in obtaining assistance, might want to contact the Food Research and Action Center, 423 W. 118 Street, New York, N.Y. 10027; (212) 666-3004.

Unkept Promises

The following press release and background fact sheet were issued by The Children's Foundation, Washington, D.C., on November 23, 1970. They reaffirm what Nick Kotz had asserted a year earlier in "Let Them Eat Promises": that the government has neglected its commitment to hungry children.

Seventeen national organizations, representing millions of concerned Americans, sent President Nixon a telegram on November 23, asking him to make good on his promise to provide free or reduced price lunches to all the nation's needy school children.

The text of the telegram read:

"Last Christmas Eve you promised to provide free or reduced price lunches to every needy American school child by Thanksgiving 1970. That time has come. The Department of Health, Education and Welfare's estimate that there are potentially 14.7 million economically disadvantaged school children indicates the enormity of the problem. We believe millions of these children are going hungry at lunch, since the U.S. Department of Agriculture reports that an average of 4.2 million free or reduced price lunches were served during September. Your promise has not been fulfilled for those children who still come to school hungry and try to learn while they are hungry and go home hungry. We urge you to take whatever steps are necessary to ensure that all needy children will be fed."

Those signing the telegram were:

Charles U. Daly, President
The Children's Foundation

Jean Fairfax, Director
Division of Legal Information and Community Service
NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund

Mrs. Robert W. Claytor, President
National Board of the Young Women's
Christian Association of the U.S.A.

Jean L. Harris, M.D., Executive Director
National Medical Association Foundation

Glenn Allison
National Association of Social Workers

Sarah Herbin
Black Women's Community Development Foundation

Johnnie Tillmon, National Chairman
George Wiley, Executive Director
National Welfare Rights Organization

Mrs. James M. Dolbey, President
Church Women United

Patricia Young, President
United Presbyterian Women

Dorothy I. Height, President
National Council of Negro Women

Louis W. Schneider, Associate Executive Secretary
American Friends Service Committee

Marion Wright Edelman
Washington Research Project

Hulbert James, Crusade Against Hunger
National Council of Churches

John Kramer
National Council on Hunger and Malnutrition

Ronald Pollack
Food, Research and Action Center

Jack Beidler
Center for Community Affairs

Richard Boone
Robert F. Kennedy Memorial

Rodney E. Leonard
Nutrition Consultant

BACKGROUND

"I think what is being said here is that the 6.6 million needy children will get a free (or reduced price) school lunch by Thanksgiving 1970, and that it will cost what it costs."

The White House, Dec. 24, 1969

The Thanksgiving promise raises three questions:

1. Did 6.6 million children get a free or reduced price lunch by Thanksgiving?

2. Is 6.6 million the number of children who are needy (i.e., eligible to receive a free or reduced price lunch)?

3. Did all needy children receive a free or reduced price lunch at Thanksgiving?

The answer to all three questions is no.

The White House statement was a pledge to reach all needy children with a lunch program by Thanksgiving. It assumed that there are no more than 6.6 million.

1. No one knows whether the school lunch program will reach 6.6 million children who are needy. On the basis of the Department of Agriculture's (USDA's) own data, it is highly unlikely. In September, the USDA reported that free and reduced price school lunches were served daily to more than 4.1 million children, or over a million fewer than in April, the peak month of last school year. The USDA reports that free and reduced price lunches were served to 5.2 million children each day in that month.

In order to achieve at least 6.6 million, the USDA will have to increase participation by more than a million children just to get back to the peak levels in the 1969-70 school year, and then add another 1.5 million children.

2. The prior question is somewhat irrelevant in view of the fact that there are more than 6.6 million needy children in school. Rep. Carl Perkins, chairman of the House Education and Labor committee, asked state school lunch directors to estimate the number of children who would be eligible for free or reduced price lunches. He was told that the number of needy children would be at least 8.9 million. Since this figure was based on income eligibility levels which are below the income eligibility standard established by the USDA in August, Rep. Perkins placed the eligibility level at more than 10 million.

In a related action, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare recently published an estimate of 14.7 million children who are economically disadvantaged, using criteria applied under Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

In addition, the USDA survey of how states were performing in the school lunch program cast serious doubts in the 6.6 million figure. In April, 14 states were serving free or reduced price lunches to more children than the USDA had estimated would be eligible. Florida, for example, served 196 percent of the number of needy children used by the USDA, and Alaska served 208 percent.

3. Regardless of the debate over numbers, it is abundantly clear that all needy children were not reached this Thanksgiving with a free or reduced price lunch. Of the 52 million school children, over 10 million attend schools which do not operate a national school lunch program. It is likely that as many as 1.5 million of these children would be eligible for a free lunch.

In addition, many states are not implementing the school lunch program as the law requires. They have no data to indicate whether all the needy children are being fed, because there is no data to indicate how many needy children have even requested a free lunch, because there is no procedure spelled out for them or their parents to use.

Pennsylvania and Massachusetts will not know until December 1, if then, what standards or procedures school districts will use to reach needy children. In Maryland some schools only this week are distributing forms to parents. In New Hampshire, the state does not intend to follow federal regulations until January 1, 1971.

In West Virginia the state director was forced by the USDA to withdraw the program standards which had been distributed at the beginning of school, and the action has thrown program operations into a state of near collapse. Similar confusion has been created in a number of other states, such as Alabama and Mississippi, which attempted to comply with the law by issuing instructions early in the fall only to have them apparently countermanded by new instructions from USDA regional offices sent out belatedly in mid-October, well after the school lunch programs were supposedly in operation.

W. Virginia Plan Rejected

The National School Lunch Act amendments of 1970 were to have taken effect partially by September and totally by January 1, 1971. Those dates have both elapsed, and many states have still not adopted the new required procedures for feeding hungry children. There is widespread confusion, some of it due to community and state governmental inaction. But the U.S. Department of Agriculture has compounded the problem. A case in point is the West Virginia situation alluded to in the above fact sheet and reiterated below, in a report from the CNI Weekly Report.

The USDA has told West Virginia that its plan to provide free lunches to all children who qualify under federal income guidelines and to extend reduced price lunches to all other children is unacceptable.

State Superintendent of Schools Daniel H. Taylor said last week that the West Virginia plan "was developed over a period of some months following the passage of the new act. State personnel met with USDA personnel and developed the plan according to our interpretation of the guidelines."

Taylor told the State Board of Education that the USDA had said that pupils must be individually qualified for reduced price lunches. He said the USDA had informed the state that a school can qualify for serving reduced price lunches to all students only if the "number of children qualifying is near 100 percent." Taylor said the ruling is a change from earlier interpretation and past practice under the previous Act.

"Despite the President's announced intention of feeding 6.6 million (needy) children by Thanksgiving." Dr. Taylor said, "the USDA has ruled the West Virginia plan for providing reduced price lunches to be unacceptable."

As a result of the USDA action, Dr. Taylor has asked school districts to revert to lunch policies in effect prior to Oct. 1, and to follow these procedures until the state can clarify USDA policy and issue new procedures.

The state plan called for school children in West Virginia to pay no more than 15 cents for a school lunch; over 100,000 children were to be served at no cost, according to news reports from the state.

Under a program announced by the state Department of Education, children in families with incomes which meet the USDA August guidelines were to receive free lunches. A private agency in the state estimated recently that 107,000 children live in poverty families.

The remainder of the state's 400,000 school children were to be served lunches for a maximum price of 15 cents.

The new standards had been announced to West Virginia families through letters sent to parents of school children.

THE CRUSADER

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	A	B	C	D	E	F	G
	Total Attendance In Schools In which NSLP was available	Total Participation In NSLP For Peak Month (April, 1970)	Children receiving Free or Reduced Price Lunch In peak month (April, 1970)	Estimated Total Number Eligible for F/RPL Based on Poverty Standards For School Year 1970-71	Total Initial Apportionment of Funds for Child Food Services (F.Y. 1970)	Percent of "Perkins Fund" diverted for F/RPL (F.Y. 1969)	Child Nutrition Program Funds Contributed (F.Y. 1970)
Alabama	723,332	578,496	162,530	310,123	$ 13,305,584	83.6	$ 0
Alaska	58,434	29,898	11,361	15,000	559,081	100	0
Arizona	304,800	189,239	47,223	73,100	3,351,439	0	0
Arkansas	339,111	284,672	75,384	54,612	8,265,881	0	0
California	1,262,000	855,000	196,000	800,000	21,588,791	91.8	500,000
Colorado	473,223	188,772	25,251	67,000	3,852,065	53	0
Connecticut	475,957	215,031	29,597	45,000	4,086,733	Not Significant	0
Delaware	130,358	63,000	65,000	*	1,142,808	100	835,350
District of Columbia	105,000	47,000	27,000	100,000	1,569,251	100	2,569,000
Florida	1,114,343	939,663	253,161	309,780	14,289,093	98	0
Georgia	1,055,584	824,095	187,438	350,000	15,872,610	52	1,760,400
Hawaii	178,000	130,000	10,500	12,000	1,714,246	0	3,844,941
Idaho	154,123	84,901	9,755	15,814	1,395,682	*	0
Illinois	1,992,848	723,964	197,461	259,000	15,318,007	60.5	5,400,000
Indiana	1,015,907	669,297	713,969	107,434	8,915,966	42.5	0
Iowa	597,398	376,805	36,820	90,000	6,613,014	35	0
Kansas	404,335	260,438	31,524	43,248	4,270,131	0	0
Kentucky	740,000	552,000	220,000	350,000	11,585,912	100	0
Louisiana	933,617	707,435	130,079	186,000	12,862,459	0	15,046,149
Maine	169,500	102,300	20,192	50,000	2,190,778	0	0
Maryland	768,275	315,441	58,521	97,373	6,210,913	25	1,200,000
Massachusetts	826,458	543,173	75,801	171,138	9,730,835	0	4,399,775
Michigan	1,530,404	559,738	90,612	260,000	12,349,078	100	0
Minnesota	763,570	483,034	29,000	58,000	8,692,621	17	500,000
Mississippi	522,133	406,635	133,230	150,000	11,370,459	0	0
Missouri	894,484	576,050	67,731	82,796	9,571,117	29	0
Montana	109,216	60,675	7,511	18,000	1,202,651	0	0
Nebraska	268,813	183,721	21,821	*	3,025,188	Not Significant	0
Nevada	44,850	21,468	2,000	10,000	494,023	Not Significant	0
New Hampshire	142,654	71,361	6,455	19,351	1,393,787	0	0
New Jersey	703,940	315,248	51,829	130,000	8,141,164	0	2,800,000
New Mexico	282,258	132,123	55,054	65,500	3,418,167	*	0
New York	3,037,750	474,546	430,000	600,000	33,040,550	45-100	12,500,000
North Carolina	1,029,581	812,061	209,261	547,000	19,894,121	100	0
North Dakota	132,313	91,206	9,273	*	1,856,320	40	0
Ohio	1,830,846	819,634	92,922	136,150	17,560,045	0	0
Oklahoma	401,400	271,409	46,624	100,000	5,595,151	18	0
Oregon	383,788	212,933	21,139	114,668	2,890,313	19	0
Pennsylvania	1,831,370	1,091,461	113,542	775,000	16,287,974	100	0
Rhode Island	154,254	45,229	11,077	74,000	1,280,244	45	1,092,242
South Carolina	603,900	481,532	196,275	206,648	11,878,134	42	0
South Dakota	85,000	90,594	17,304	25,000	1,767,244	*	0
Tennessee	728,565	549,449	124,548	228,000	12,399,962	75.6	0
Texas	2,319,709	885,248	194,548	500,000	21,511,899	86	0
Utah	262,550	171,406	27,860	30,646	2,604,875	100	1,737,857
Vermont	81,424	47,191	10,130	15,000	946,838	0	165,000
Virginia	925,316	596,437	143,259	250,000	11,407,128	*	0
Washington	714,398	296,790	45,694	150,000	4,765,082	0	65,000
West Virginia	318,076	200,285	78,391	270,000	5,009,512	0	475,000
Wisconsin	682,316	369,433	31,863	80,000	8,308,411	53	2,300,000
Wyoming	64,225	39,272	5,435	2,000	636,920	0	*
Guam	24,471	13,720	*	3,813	253,066	*	549,221
Puerto Rico	423,169	355,552	255,552	460,000	8,421,411	*	13,524,769
Virgin Islands	*	*	*	*	283,770	*	1,015,198
Samoa	*	*	*	*	*	*	103,202
Total	36,079,385	19,727,461	5,214,507	8,895,194	$417,126,810	National Average 54%	

*No Data

Translate These Figures Into Action!

What this chart shows:

Column A. There are approximately ten million children in schools with **no** School Lunch Program at all. It is estimated that 1.5 million of these children would be eligible for free or reduced price lunches.

Column C. The poverty standard used in the determination of eligibility in 35 states was less than the prescribed $3,720. This means that the true estimate of needy children is probably closer to 14 million. It should be pointed out that families above the mandatory guidelines are eligible as well if they can show need. This may happen during periods of long layoffs from jobs due to illnesses, strikes or cutbacks. Also, many states are setting eligibility levels higher than the mandatory $3,720 which automatically increases the number of eligible children. (Welfare Rights Organizations have been demanding levels of $5,500.)

Column E. This does not include $230 million worth of food commodities distributed to the states. For fiscal year 1971, the Congress has appropriated an additional **$300** million plus an increase in commodity distribution, bringing the federal share of the NSLP to over $1 billion. However, this amount of money was based on a USDA target population of just over 7 million children. There will be a need for additional federal funds when the 7 million mark is passed. This should not deter citizens groups from organizing since major Congressional spokesmen are on record as saying that Congress will appropriate whatever it takes to meet its obligations to the NSLP.

Column F. The figures in this column were taken from a report, "Why Child Nutrition Programs Fail," by Rodney E. Leonard, Community Nutrition Inst. It is based on the fact that in 1968, $45 million of "Perkins money" (named after the Congressional sponsor, Rep. Carl Perkins of Kentucky) was allocated to states for the express purpose of providing free and reduced price lunches. Through the use of a formula explained fully in his report, Mr. Leonard found that 1 million additional lunches should have been provided instead of the 460,000 reported by state school lunch directors. He concluded that 54% of the money allocated for this purpose was not used to provide **free and reduced price lunches (F/RPL).**

Column G. The figures in this column will become increasingly important because, under the School Lunch Act of 1970, every state will be required to contribute state funds to the SLP. Less than 20 states do so now. This is why it is important that local School Lunch Committees begin to plan statewide coalitions. (See "Hunger in the Classroom," Readers Digest, April, 1970, for how Illinois and Maryland citizens organized to get funds from their legislatures. This article, in reprint form, may be obtained from the Crusade Against Hunger office.)

Food For Thought

We know that there are at least 5 million children still going hungry at lunch time in America. One recent estimate has put that number as high as nine million. The National School Lunch campaign has one goal. To close the hunger gap at **lunch.** Looking at the above figures it may seem that the gap has widened. What has happened is that the number of needy kids has increased. In state after state, citizens have begun to raise the chant of "Free Lunches now." These citizens' efforts around the country have met with many successes; active informed School Lunch Committees have been carrying their "School Lunch Bag" to the offices of principals and school superintendents and to meetings of their local school boards and state legislatures. In many of these states, guidelines have been adjusted to reflect more realistic poverty levels than those set by the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA). These more realistic poverty levels coupled with an economy that creates increasing unemployment means that there are many more needy children. Backed up by technical and other forms of assistance from such national organizations as the Food Research and Action Center (FRAC), the Children's Foundation and the Crusade Against Hunger, School Lunch Committees have won many battles; but they must now intensify their action.

On January 1st the unrealistic poverty levels set by USDA become mandatory in every state. (See report on West Va., p. 3) Discrimination is still rampant in many school lunch programs. Many school boards begin planning their budgets for the Sept. '71 - June '72 school year early in the Spring. Will they use all the federal funds available? Will they request additional funds? Unlike its role in many other social programs, Congress has said it will appropriate whatever school lunch funds are needed to fight **this** War on Hunger.

What about schools still without equipment? Have they looked into the non-Food Assistance programs? Have they looked into private caterers who can provide good nutrition "airplane" type food to as many as 300 children in less than an hour in spaces no bigger than regular class room. Have you seen your state plan to bring a nutritious meal to every needy child (See Mass. story p. 4-5)? Many legislatures will be meeting this spring. Is your state one of those that do not provide state funds for school lunches? Attempts have been made for three years in Michigan to have the state legislature appropriate $10 million for school lunches only to be defeated each time. Yet the last legislature voted to build a $100 million State Capitol. Where are the priorities of our nation, of our states, of our communities? That is the job we have—changing the priorities from guns and bricks to people.

May **1968,** saw the publication of a book which documented the 22 years of failures of school lunch. **(Their Daily Bread).**

May **1969,** President Nixon said the time is at hand to put an end to hunger in America for all times.

May **1970,** the President signed the School Lunch Act of 1970 which set as its goal a free lunch for all needy American children **without** discrimination.

May **1971???**

(You can write the next chapter in the War that must be won for, as the President stated at the White House Conference on Hunger," A child ill fed is dulled in curiosity, lower in stamina, distracted from learning. The cost of medical care for diet related illness; remedial education required to overcome diet related slowness in school; institutionalization and loss of full productive potential; all of these place a heavy economic burden on society as a whole."

What You Can Do

1. Take this test. (see below).

2. Form a school lunch committee. This committee should be broadly based and should include representatives of the poor. (Write **NWRO** for **information** about the Welfare Rights Organization in your community.—1419 H. Street N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005).

3. If your community has a school lunch committee or is about to organize one—plan your agenda around a **Spring Program for Action.**

a) Jan. 1st mandatory poverty levels came into effect;

b) Getting good Free or Reduced Price Lunch program in your community without discrimination.

c) Starting school lunch programs in schools that do not have them;

d) Find out about your state plan of operation;

e) Organize citizens action to get funds from state legislatures.

f) How about a Victory Day for Hungry children **May 14?**

3. Write the National Coordinators for support in your school lunch campaign.

(For description of what kind of help each provide, see back page.)

SCHOOL LUNCH TEST

(This test is being used by the United Presbyterian Women in their National School Lunch Campaign. Please fill it out and return it to us, so that we may disseminate this information.)

There are 13 numbered spaces on the questionnaire. Here are two steps to apply in analyzing the way you have filled them out:

STEP 1 - If no.'s 6, 8, 10 and 12 are blank, you do not know, for sure, the policy on school lunch in your community. Ask to see the written material and check the answers against requirements of the legislation.

STEP 2 - If you can check only 8 or fewer blanks, your community program is inadequate, and you have a problem that requires immediate attention.

(If each question can be answered yes, put an X in the numbered space.)

Does the school which the children in your neighborhood attend serve

breakfast? ----(1)

lunch? ----(2)

milk break? ----(3)

Do all schools in your school district serve meals to children? ----(4)

Does the school board in your community have a plan developed which states the child nutrition needs for the community and contains a timetable and financial program to meet those needs? ----(5)

Have you read this plan? ----(6)

Did the school board send a letter to all parents this year to tell them that lunches would be served free or for 20 cents or less to children whose family could not afford the regular price? ----(7)

Did you see the letter? ----(8)

Did the school board include in he letter an income eligibility guidelines in the form of a table showing family size and income? ----(9)

Did you see it? ----(10)

If your school district privides children with a reduced price lunch of 20 cents or less, does it also have a written policy to determine which children are eligible for a free lunch? ----(11)

Did you see it? ----(12)

Can you describe it in terms of family income? ----(13)

School Lunches Nationally

The first lawsuit filed under the new school lunch act and the Sept. 4 regulations was filed recently in **Arkansas.**

The action, brought by the Arkansas Community Organization for Reform Now (ACORN), was filed in the Federal District Court for the Eastern District of Arkansas.

The suit asks that needy children in North Little Rock public schools be provided a free lunch, that parents be notified of the availability of the program, and that school officials be prohibited from participating in hearings on appeals if their action led to the hearing.

ACORN, an organization of Arkansas low income families, contends that school officials are withholding food service from children who are eligible, and cite that children in the same family are provided with free lunch while brothers and sisters are denied the same benefits in other schools.

The organization also contends that school officials have failed to tell parents about the program, and that the same person who has denied lunch to a child also rules on appeals made by the parents.

The ACORN group is being represented by Ron Pollack, a lawyer with the Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law. Pollack is actively engaged in about a dozen lawsuits related to child feeding programs. Most recently he obtained consent decrees in Detroit and Milwaukee where the school boards agreed to changes sought by local groups which will improve the program in the community.

All 20 **Butte, Montana,** schools are offering hot lunches to their 10,000 students. Before, only one school had been in the lunch program. With help from USDA's nonfood assistance program and the Model Cities Program, the school district was able to equip two junior highs and one senior high with food service equipment and facilities. Meals are prepared at these schools and transported to the other "satellite" schools. At the Taft School in **Billings, Mont.,** students participating in a hot lunch program last fall showed significant weight gains and an increase in classroom attendance. The school is one of three on a "satellite" program of hot lunches for disadvantaged students in Billings. Before the program, teachers report that some children brought almost nothing for lunch or a bread and butter sandwich; one child bought only a bag of popcorn each day.

Brookline, Massachusetts. Older folks come back to school for lunch in Brookline and 9 other Massachusetts communities, as part of a new and growing program to provide nutritious noon meals for the elderly in school lunchrooms, with special authorization in the Massachusetts State legislature. USDA-donated foods and funds from the State Commission on Aging help to underwrite the cost of the meals, for which the elderly pay 50 cents. For some it is their only decent meal of the day, and for everyone a real event—a chance to socialize with their contemporaries, enjoy entertainment, and learn about community services they may need.

Massachusetts chalked up a "first" when Gov. Francis W. Sargeant signed a bill recently that will result in a lunch program in all public schools by 1973. Needy children will get lunches free under the newly enacted law. Parochial and nonprofit private schools also will be reimbursed for lunches served to children. Single session schools will be required to provide lunch service by 1972, double session schools by 1973.

The **District of Columbia** has focused on getting food to children in schools which have had no food service, because they had no place to prepare the food. Available kitchens at other schools are used to prepare the food, and it is trucked (in insulated containers) to the kitchen-less schools. In some, the food is served in classrooms; at others, in corridors. Through such innovations as these, meals served to needy children have climbed 83 percent in the District—from 24,200 last October to 44,200 this October.

In **Georgia,** 1,847 public and private schools take part in the National School Lunch Program. Throughout the State, only one school—because of its remote location—does not have food service of some type. State Department of Education officials report that over 50 percent of the pupils in some 31 key Georgia school systems are receiving free or reduced-price school lunches.

Chicago public schools are feeding needy children at an unprecedented rate—about 125,000 free lunches daily and about 60,000 free breakfasts. There are 325 schools served by regular lunchrooms, 44 schools feeding children cold lunches from a central kitchen, and 38 schools receiving hot lunches from 11 production kitchens scattered around the city.

At the same time, the Archdiocese of **Chicago** is operating the Nation's largest non-public school lunch program originating in a single kitchen. Starting in September, Type A lunches are now reaching more than 11,000 youngsters daily in 38 of the Archdiocese's 112 elementary schools in the inner city, with expansion planned. Over half of the meals are being served free or at a reduced price to needy children.

All of the 113 schools in **Oklahoma City** are now participating in the National School Lunch Program, and 27 are also in the School Breakfast Program. This is an increase of 67 schools in the lunch program. Free and reduced price lunches have increased to about 5,500 per day and the principals are receiving many new applications.

Rich Square Elementary School's lunchroom (in **Northampton County, N.C.**) seats only a third of the student body but they manage to serve breakfast to more than half of the students each morning. The simple menu provides for presweetened cereal, milk and juice to meet USDA breakfast standards. For added calories and essential nutrients, a sandwich was also served. It requires no cooking or dishwashing, a necessary boon considering the school's small kitchen. A teacher's aide and three fifth-grade girls serve about 200 of these breakfasts in half an hour, with no loss of classroom time and no teacher supervision. Those who could afford it pay some or all of the 15-cent cost. Needy children get their breakfast free. Teachers report a marked improvement in the student grades as well as an increase in attendance.

In **Atlanta, Georgia,** radio station WSB and the Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs conducted a special fund raising campaign that brought in over $20,000 to help Georgia schools provide lunches to the needy.

Also in **Atlanta,** volunteer workers with Economic Opportunity help distribute application cards for free and reduced price school lunches and follow-up with the families to help see that needy children are enrolled in the program.

Fifteen schools in **Roanoke, Va.,** joined the school breakfast program this fall, serving free breakfasts each day to 1,200 of their 8,300 students. At least 27 other Virginia schools will join the program, bringing the State's total to 131 participating schools. Last year, 89 schools in Virginia served an average of 9,200 breakfasts daily, with 53 percent free or at a reduced price.

Indianapolis scored a major breakthrough to get school lunches to children in typical core city situations by developing a central kitchen to serve several surrounding schools. The city received $125,000 to buy necessary kitchen equipment from USDA's Nonfood Assistance Program. The School Board bought a suitable central kitchen building which had been a soft drink bottling plant. The owner sold the building to the school system for about 15 percent of real value. The central kitchen is geared to serve at least 27 schools with lunches for about 15,000 children.

Over 28,000 youngsters are served Type A lunches daily in 102 **Indianapolis** public elementary schools and one parochial school. This is 43 percent of the average daily attendance of 64,000. During October, 32 percent of the meals were served free and 2 percent at a reduced price. The 103 schools include 39 inner city schools which receive meals from a central kitchen and 64 others that have individual unit kitchens. Also in October nearly 9,000 free lunches were served in 11 Indianapolis high schools.

Project 93 will combat hunger in **Nebraska,** with help from an OEO grant. A citizens' organization which emerged after the White House Conference on Food, Nutrition and Health, Project 93 will inform Nebraskans about existing and new food programs and increased emergency food and medical services. Representatives from low-income families make up a third of the 34-member governing board; other members come from State agencies and civic organizations.

California school officials will be required to provide lunches in every public school in the State, if the federal court accepts a petition (GSL C-70 1800) filed August 25 by California Rural Legal Services.

The suit, brought as a class action in the Northern District of California for organizations representing Spanish speaking citizens, charges that 150,000 children will go unfed this school year solely because of where they go to school.

Failure to provide lunches would result in the loss of all State and Federal funds to the particular school under the action requested in the suit.

Modesto, California public schools are serving nearly 1,900 children with free or reduced price lunches this school year. The information is significant for a number of reasons, including these:

1. The number of lunches is four times as great as in the last school year, and over 10 times greater than in he 1968-69 school year.
2. The program represents an expansion of 250 percent in the amount of local school board funds made available for school food service.
3. Last May "experts predicted that any effort by Congress to enforce uniform and adequate free lunch standards would drive school boards across the country" to follow the example of Modesto and drop out of the school lunch program.

These were the points made by two attornies from the California Rural Legal Assistance program in testimony before the Committee. Daniel H. Lowenstein and Philip Neumark are the attornies who in February won a court action which forced the Modesto school board to provide free lunches to every needy child.

As a result of that decision, the Modesto schools dropped the National School Lunch program, an action which many persons suggested at the time would be the result of efforts to obtain a greater compliance with program objectives.

The California attornies quoted a statement made by Dr. Bert C. Corona, superintendent of Modesto schools, that "The continuing financial participation by the state and Federal Government is absolutely essential to the maintaining of the (NSLP) in the Modesto City Schools," and adding that the Modesto experience "shows that school boards will willingly participate in a program that will feed every needy child, so long as Congress provides the necessary funds."

All children in families with income below the USDA August guidelines will receive free lunches in **Connecticut** Public Schools.

Reduced price lunches will be provided to children in families with $5,600 or less gross annual income, for a family of four. Adjustments of $600 per child will be allowed.

The criteria for free and for reduced price lunches appy statewide, according to announcements from Mrs. Edith M. Blakely, director of school lunch and nutrition.

Schools were required to submit local policy statements and have them approved by the state Department of Education before Nov. 1, 1970. Once approved, school authorities will publicly announce the new policy.

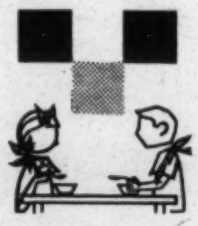
The policy statement and the procedures for public announcement are the same as in the Sept. 4 USDA regulations.

(The above reports are reprinted from newsletters published by the Food and Nutrition Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture; and by the Community Nutrition Institute. If you or your organization are interested in subscribing to the latter, write to: Rodney E. Leonard, Editor, CNI Weekly Report, 520 Colorado Bldg., Washington, D.C. 20005.

Other Food Programs

In addition to such programs as those for school lunches, food stamps and commodities, the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) sponsors several important but lesser-known programs which, if implemented, can help to feed hungry children and adults. The following descriptions of four of these programs are edited from literature distributed through USDA. Most of these programs will not be implemented unless eligible people in communities around the country find out about them, look into what their own communities are doing about them and, when necessary, demanding that they be implemented.

Special Food Service Program for Children



Children need good food every day —at home and away from home. USDA's Special Food Service Program helps children in day-care centers and in summer programs get good meals.

The U.S. Department of Agriculture helps State and local communities to provide meals for preschool and school-age children in public and private nonprofit institutions. USDA gives some money and food for the meals and some money to buy or rent food service equipment.

Day-care centers, settlement houses, and recreation centers that provide day-care for children from low-income areas or from areas with many working mothers can join the Special Food Service Program. Summer camps and summer recreation programs can also join. Also, only those places which accept children without regard to race, color, or national origin can get Federal help. They must give children nutritious meals.

Children who can pay for their meals do so. The other children get their meals at a lower price or free. Those who do must not be openly identified, or discriminated against, in any way.

For More Information:

Service institutions in the following States should apply to the appropriate USDA Regional Office as listed.

Service institutions located in other States may apply directly to their State Educational Agency in their capital city.

Regional Office
Food and Nutrition Service
U.S. Department of Agriculture
26 Federal Plaza
New York, New York 10007
(212)264-1194/5

NORTHEAST
New Hampshire

Regional Office
Food and Nutrition Service
U.S. Department of Agriculture
1795 Peachtree Road, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30309
(404) 526-5131

SOUTHEAST
Georgia
South Carolina
Tennessee
Virginia

Regional Office
Food and Nutrition Service
U.S. Department of Agriculture
536 South Clark Street
Chicago, Illinois, 60605
(312) 353-6664

MIDWEST
Iowa
Michigan
Missouri
Nebraska
North Dakota
Ohio
Wisconsin

Regional Office
Food and Nutrition Service
U.S. Department of Agriculture
500 South Ervay Street
Dallas, Texas 75201
(214) 749-2877/8

SOUTHWEST
Arkansas
Texas

Regional Office
Food and Nutrition Service
U.S. Department of Agriculture
630 Sansome Street
San Francisco, California 94111
(915) 556-4951

WESTERN
Idaho
Montana
Nevada
Oregon
Washington

Supplemental Foods for Health

Low-income mothers-to-be, new mothers, babies, and young children who need extra food for better health can now get it. The United States Department of Agriculture's Supplemental Foods for Health Program helps children from birth through the pre-school years get foods they need for early growing and learning. The program also helps mothers, during pregnancy and for 12 months after giving birth, to keep good health.

When doctors find that new mothers, mothers-to-be, babies, and young children need extra food in their diets to grow healthy and strong, they authorize food orders for them. These extra foods are donated by USDA to local health centers or other local storage and distribution places near the health center. The orders for extra foods are filled at these locations.

The extra foods given are of the kinds that women and children need for good health. They include evaporated milk, corn syrup, nonfat dry milk, canned fruits and vegetables, scrambled egg mix, iron-fortified farina, and various canned meats.

Who Can Get Foods For Health?

Mothers-to-be, new mothers, babies, and young children:

1.) who are eligible for free or substantially free medical care.
2.) whose doctor or nurse say they need more food, and
3.) who have an authorization from the doctor showing the kinds of food they need, can get supplemental foods for health.

They may also get the extra foods whether or not they are participating in other food help programs.

Families should ask about food help at the local health clinic or center. If families ask about the Supplemental Foods Health Program, the local health office will know food for health is wanted in the county.

The Supplemental Foods for Health Program is sponsored jointly by:

1. United States Department of Agriculture
2. Department of Health, Education and Welfare
3. Office of Economic Opportunity

Local health officials can get in touch with the nutrition service of their State Health Department to ask for help in setting up the program. The State official who runs the USDA donated foods program in the State should also be told.

School Breakfast Program

Children who come to school hungry find it's hard to learn. The School Breakfast Program helps give children a healthy send-off for the day's lessons.

This breakfast program is a lot like the National Lunch Program. Participating schools can serve a nutritious breakfast every school day which pupils can buy at a reasonable price. If children do not have the money for breakfast, the schools usually can give them breakfast free or at a lower price.

To help schools, the U.S. Department of Agriculture gives them some money and food. The local programs are run jointly by State and district school officials.

Because Federal funds for the School Breakfast Program are limited, the number of schools participating must be limited. Schools are selected which have many needy pupils or many pupils who must travel great distances from their homes.

To be in the School Breakfast Program, public and nonprofit privates schools must agree that any money obtained from running the breakfast program be used for the program. Schools must give pupils nutritious foods.

The breakfast menus are planned to give children a healthy start toward their daily food needs. They must include milk, fruit or vegetable juice or fruit, bread or biscuits or muffins, and cereal. The Department of Agriculture urges schools to include such protein-rich foods as eggs, meat, fish and poultry, cheese, and peanut butter whenever it is possible.

Each school in the breakfast program must offer breakfast to all its children, regardless of race, color or national origin. Schools are also required to provide breakfast free or at reduced rates for pupils who, local school officials find, are unable to pay the full price, which usually ranges from 10 to 15 cents. Children getting free or reduced price breakfasts must not be openly identified, or discriminated against, in any way.

If someone is treated unfairly in the School Breakfast Program, a letter telling about it should be sent to the Secretary of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. 20250.

Special Milk Program

The U.S. Department of Agriculture gives money to schools, camps, and homes for children, to help them buy milk. In schools where the children buy milk, the Federal money helps to lower the price that the children pay—often to just a few pennies. In camps, settlement houses, and other child-care institutions where milk is given to children, the Federal money helps give the children more milk to drink.

All public and nonprofit private grade schools and high schools can join the Special Milk Program as well as nonprofit summer camps and homes for children. Only those camps, private schools, and homes which accept children without regard to race, color, or national origin can get Federal money for milk.

When milk is served with the help of the Special Milk Program it is for all children. No child can be assigned to a separate table or served at a different time or in a different line because of race, color, or national origin. If any child is treated unfairly in the program, a letter telling all about it should be sent to the Secretary of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. 20250.

An agency of the State government pays out the money. To find out which office does it in your State, write to Food and Nutrition Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C. 20250.

The following examples show how some communities around the country utilized funds from the USDA for carrying on their own special food programs.

SUMMER FEEDING. The Special Food Service (Vanek) Program has provided Federal funds and USDA-donated foods in many feeding programs last summer. Plans in the **District of Columbia** were for an average of 70,000 meals per day over a 10-week period. **Philadelphia** planned summer recreational feeding in low-income areas of the city. It proposed to provide lunches for over 5,000 children. At **Offutt AFB, Omaha**, they expanded the highly successful AFB program to include additional inner city children in Omaha. With help from churches and charitable organizations, the Base tried to reach 5,000 children per day for 10 weeks last summer. The **Portland, Oregon**, School District expanded last year's summer food service to reach 18,000 children in 20 schools for a period of 11 weeks this year. Migrant children feeding programs for the summer were indicated for four counties, and possibly two others, in **Maryland**. In **New Jersey**, 18 schools for migrant children operated feeding programs throughout the summer.

What It's All About

A Brief History

The Crusade Against Hunger, an outgrowth of the Committee on Domestic Hunger of the National Council of Churches, began its work early in 1970. Its purpose is to enable various denominations and community groups to coalesce around such demands as a decent school lunch program. The Committee on Domestic Hunger is chaired by Rev. Ian McCrae, who played a vital role in the Religious Action Task Force of the White House "Hunger" Conference. The Crusade is under the direction of Hulbert James, formerly the Associate Director of the National Welfare Rights Organization (NWRO).

The Committee and Crusade are ecumenical undertakings in every respect; committee members include both ordained and lay representatives. They cooperate in providing educational material, organizational and other technical assistance to incipient School Lunch Committees around the country.

In addition to a focus on the School Lunch Campaign, the Committee has promoted "Live On Family Assistance Week" (in cooperation with NWRO) and coordinated hunger projects which resulted in the shipping of 15,000 lbs. of food to the Delta Ministry.

Demonstration projects the Committee has funded include: Welfare Rights Organizing Projects in West Virginia sponsored by the Council of Southern Mountain, and Citizen Action to Stop Hunger, a student-staffed project to develop citizen action in Michigan sponsored by the Ann Arbor Council of Churches. Other grants have been made to the National Council on Hunger and Malnutrition and Council on Religion in Appalachia.

FEED HUNGRY CHILDREN NOW!

Why A Crusade Against Hunger

The continued existence of poverty-caused hunger and malnutrition in this land that overflows with milk and honey is a **national** shame and a **moral** wrong. It must not be permitted to persist.

We have for too long passed by on the other side of hunger and malnutrition. We have blinded our eyes and deafened our ears. But the comfort of ignorance can no longer justify our indifference. We have eaten of the tree of knowledge, and we know hunger to be wrong. Upon that knowledge, we must act.

While we must not forget that hunger is a world problem, and that population control must play a major role in its solution, our concern is to begin to heal the divisions in our society **by** righting its injustices.

The curses that afflict our society stem not from hunger and malnutrition but from our own irresponsible indifference.

How We Work

Developing coordinated ecumenical efforts at the local level to:

A. Support national remedies to the problem,

B. To address the problem of hunger locally by determining the extent of local need and mobilizing resources to meet that need,

C. To investigate in detail the administration and effectiveness of Federal food delivery programs at the local level, and,

D. To participate in the administration of these programs where such involvement may be required to make these programs effective.

These efforts must in no way interfere with the independence of the poor to determine their own destinies. To this end, all programs **must** include the poor in the planning and development of these programs.

National School Lunch Campaign Coordinators

Hulbert James
Director, Crusade Against Hunger
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N.Y. 10027
(212) 870-2386
(For church groups and other civic organizations wishing to form local School Lunch Committees.)

Barbara Bode
Program Director, The Children's Foundation
1026 17th St., N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202)296-4451
(For groups needing technical information or organizational assistance.)

Ron Pollack
Staff Attorney, Columbia Center on Social Welfare Policy and Law.
401 W. 117 Street
New York, N.. 10027
(212) 280-4112
(For legal information and assistance.)

HELP WANTED MALES & FEMALES

School Lunch Coordinators

* No age requirement.
* We will train.
* Knowledge of community helpful, but not necessary.
* Equal Opportunity Employer
* Progressive and dynamic young organization has immediate openings to persons who enjoy meeting and working with other people.

[of course, there is no salary, but you will be helping to feed millions of Hungry Children.]

APPLY NOW
Crusade Against Hunger
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N.Y. 10027
or call (212) 870-2386

February 10, 1971

Miss Elizabeth J. Burns
736A East Franklin Street
Chapel Hill, N. C. 27514

Dear Miss Burns:

Regrettably, the Council does not have funds for the needs expressed in your letter. In fact, at this time I am unable even to suggest a source, unless you can find guidance through your faculty advisor.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

JAN 28 1971

736A East Franklin Street
Chapel Hill, North Carolina 27514
January 26, 1971

Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sirs:

I would like to apply to your organization for travel funds to be used in the completion of my dissertation. Would you please send me the proper application forms and/or information concerning the procedure I should follow?

Thank you for your time; I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth J. Burns

Elizabeth J. Burns

February 10, 1971

Mr. John Gillies
Acting Director
Task Force on World Hunger
341 Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E., Rm. 506
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Dear Mr. Gillies:

Thank you for the information in your recent letter. We will be pleased to place you on our mailing list to receive all publications.

Growing out of our sponsoring the book "Still Hunger in America," we created a special hunger fund, described in the enclosed document. To date we have given over $20,000 to local groups. This morning, for instance, I saw a report from a group in Mississippi in which a $500 grant had enabled them to give emergency food grants to families, which resulted in the acquisition of over $5,000 in food.

We continue to get more of these request than we can handle should you have any interest in considering them under your program.

Under separate cover we are sending several documents.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Telephone: 404-875-8921

JAN 29 1971

TASK FORCE ON WORLD HUNGER
Presbyterian Church in the United States
Box 54432 Atlanta, Georgia 30308

January 27, 1971

Dear Friends:

I think you will be interested to note that your organization has been included on the enclosed listing. This listing, together with other materials, is sent to persons responding to our television announcements.

In order for the Task Force on World Hunger to have current information about the way your group is responding to hunger and its root causes, may I request that you

1. Send us a packet of your current publicity materials;

2. Place us on your mailing list for news releases and your publication;

3. As appropriate, send us information about special projects for which assistance in funding is needed.

The above information should be addressed to:

Task Force on World Hunger
341 Ponce de Leon Avenue, N. E., Room 506
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Many thanks.

Cordially yours,

John Gillies

John Gillies
Acting Director

JG/jls

Division of Christian Life and Mission/NCC - 475 Riverside Drive
New York, N.Y. 10027

Crusade Against Hunger
Delta Ministry
Migrant Ministry

World Council of Churches
Division of Inter-Church Aid
North American Office - 475 Riverside Drive
New York, N. Y. 10027

National Association of Evangelicals
World Relief Commission
33-10 36th Avenue, Long Island City, N. Y. 11106

3. Through voluntary agencies, such as:

Agricultural Development Council, 630 Fifth Ave.,New York,N.Y.10020
American Dietetic Assoc.,620 N. Michigan Ave.,Chicago, Ill. 60611
CARE, 660 Fifth Ave., New York, N.Y. 10016
Cooperative League of the USA, 59 Van Buren St. Chicago, Ill. 60605
Farmers and World Affairs,Inc.,1201 Chestnut St.,Philadelphia,Pa. 19107
Heifer Project, Inc.,1720 Chouteau, St. Louis, Missouri 63103
Meals For Millions Foundation,1800 Olympic Blvd.,Los Angeles, California 90406
National Welfare Rights Organization, 1419 H St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005
Planned Parenthood/World Population, 515 Madison Ave, New York, N.Y. 10022
The Population Council,245 Park Ave., New York, N.Y. 10017
Self-Help,Inc., 116 Sixth St.,S.E., Waverly, Iowa 60577
Southern Regional Council, 5 Forsyth St.,N.W., Atlanta,Ga. 30303
VITA (Volunteers for International Technical Assistance),College Campus, Schenectady, New York 12308
World Neighbors,Inc., 5116 N. Portland, Oklahoma City, Okla. 73112
UNICEF, United Nations Plaza, New York,N.Y. 10017

The preceding listing is provided as a public service by the

TASK FORCE ON WORLD HUNGER
Presbyterian Church in the U. S.
Box 330, Nashville, Tennessee 37202

<u>or</u>

341 Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Funds are not solicited by the Task Force but as received are placed in a special "Halt Hunger" fund, with periodic distribution made to many of the agencies listed above.

How your money can begin to attack root causes of hunger

How much should you give?

Of course, you're already "giving" through your taxes, which in part foster development and fight hunger. Hopefully, you're also giving to this cause through the benevolence program of your church.

Many persons feel they can and must do more.

Some persons set aside 1% of their gross annual income -- and distribute this "over and above" amount to agencies of their choice.

Some families impose a voluntary "self-tax" in a slightly different way. They save their cash register tapes of food purchases, total these periodically, and "tax" themselves 5% of this total -- distributing this amount to agencies of their choice.

How much you give is ultimately up to you, of course.

Suggested channels for your "over and above" giving:

1. Through your own denomination:

   In the Presbyterian Church in the United States, the following program agencies are responsible for many projects which fight hunger and its root causes:

   Board of National Ministries
   341 Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E.
   Atlanta, Georgia 30308

   Board of World Missions
   Box 330
   Nashville, Tennessee 37202

   Other representative church channels are:

   Catholic relief Services, 350 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10001
   American Friends Service Committee, 160, N. 15th Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19102
   Lutheran World Relief, Inc., 315 Park Avenue South, New York, N.Y. 10010
   Mennonite Central Committee, 21 South 12th Street, Akron, Pennsylvania 17501
   Fund for the Self-Development of People, United Presbyterian Church, Room 1007, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027

2. Through your ecumenical (or cooperative) agency:

   Division of Overseas Ministries/National Council of Churches
   Church World Service -- 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027
   Agricultural Missions, Inc.
   INTERMEDIA
   Planned Parenthood Program
   CROP - Community Hunger Appeal of Church World Service
   Box 968, Elkhart, Indiana 46514

SURVEY

SPECIAL ISSUE: WORLD HUNGER

Presbyterian Survey/a semi-monthly magazine/January 25, 1971

HUNGER HIKERS

HUNGER HIKERS

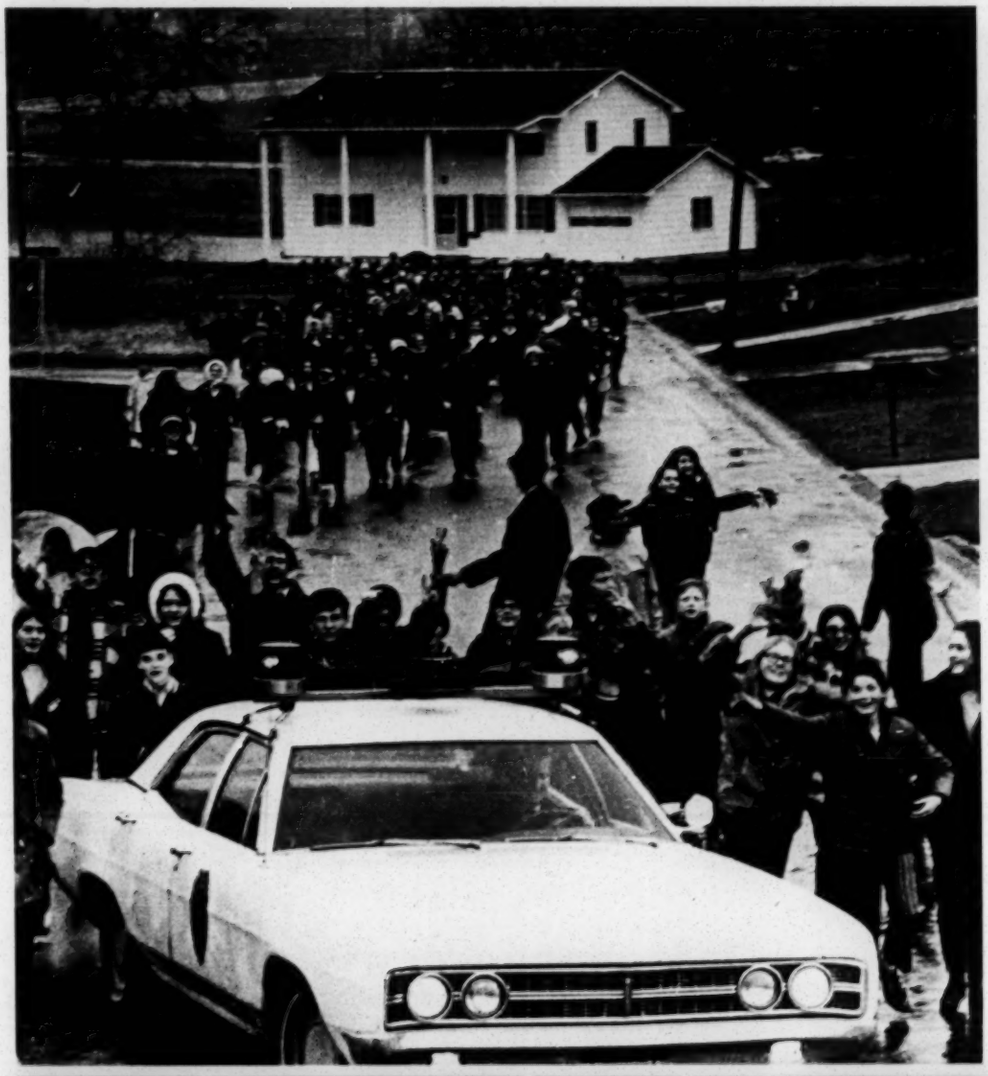
Action-oriented youth not only study about world hunger; they do something about it, as these photos from Mexico, Mo., show. Young people volunteered to hike and signed up sponsors to pay them for each mile they walked. Money collected, almost $3,000, was turned over to CROP, (Committee for Rural Overseas), an agency of Church World Service, for relief of hunger throughout the world.

Initiated by Presbyterians and sponsored by six different denominations and the Student Council of the high school, the project was aided by newspaper and broadcast publicity that explained the purpose of the Hike: to visibly call attention to the urgent need to be aware of world hunger and to raise funds to be administered in the name of Christ by a recognized worldwide agency.

Spirits were high as the boys passed a football up and down the line and the girls led some singing. The hikers were encouraged by waves from windows and doorways along the route and a mobile unit from the radio station gave "live" broadcast reports with personal interviews with hikers along the route.

continued on page 4

ON THE COVER:
Hikers check in at the six-mile check point where their cards were validated. Pay off by sponsors came at the end of the hike when the validated cards were presented (right).



The ten-mile hike began with a police escort. Every hunger hike seems to begin also with rain.

Hot chocolate provided at each check point helped to provide another spurt of energy.

continued from page 2

Nearly 250 hikers set out from the courthouse the morning after Thanksgiving to climax six weeks of study, planning, committee work and organization. But, says Rev. Robert Collins, pastor of First Presbyterian Church, "even these photographs cannot capture the spirit of youth concerned for others and visibly demonstrating their compassion."

A tired pup was sponsored and made the ten miles (with a little help from his friends!)

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MAYBE WE NEED A SLOGAN

By Reese Cleghorn

Hunger. We prefer that word, or "malnutrition," to a harsher word: starvation. We do not want to believe there is starvation in America. Something in the mind balks; or perhaps, just something in our own special kind of middle-class mind, the kind that exists in the heads of most of us who bear the label "Presbyterian." Why is it we, and the country, find it very hard to take the matter seriously, even when we try? Ours is a middle-class world. It has no starvation.

"These children go to bed hungry and get up hungry and don't ever know nothing else in between." Words from a Mississippi mother to a team of doctors in 1967. Words from the doctors themselves, after investigations in six counties: "We saw homes with children who are lucky to eat one meal a day .... They live on starches – grits, bread, flavored water .... In almost every child we saw we observed one or another parasitic disease .... These children would need blood transfusions before any corrective surgery could be done. . . .The teeth of practically every child we saw were in awful repair .... Now, at 7 or 8, their knee joints or elbow joints might show the 'range of action' that one finds in a man of 70, suffering from crippling arthritis."

To the doctors the word to use for what they saw was "shocking." Children suffer brain damage because of lack of proper nutrition before they are born, and afterward. Teeth are ruined. Bones are weakened. Some die. These middle-class doctors, reporting for their middle-class readers, knew that not many would understand. They said they found "poverty so extreme as to be – in an era of comparative national prosperity – beyond the comprehension of middle-class America."

Beyond the comprehension. When the doctors testified in Washington about their findings, Mississippi's two senators scolded them, saying no such conditions existed in Mississippi.

Beyond the comprehension. Others of us, non-Mississippians, tend to say such conditions may exist in Mississippi but not where we are. But in my state of Georgia, clear evidence

is there. And I suspect that everywhere there is a Presbyterian Church the health of children not far away is being damaged for life by hunger.

What of the Church, then? Does it comprehend? The name of John Calvin does not get thrown around much these days in places where people discuss such problems as starvation of children in a wealthy land. But he understood something about the uses of public policy, of government and its extensions, to take care of the basic welfare of the people of Geneva. It wasn't a "dole," with the benevolent giver and the lucky recipient; it was a fundamental obligation of government and the Church. Even in the Dark Ages, the Church recognized a mandate to satisfy the basic needs of people in distress, not with an alms-giving attitude, but with the knowledge that the Church's *duty* was to feed the hungry. "Feed the hungry." In fact, hadn't somebody spoken those words as a command even before the Dark Ages? We have to come to our own time to find a widespread churchly concept that one must be very, very cautious about doing such things, lest there be "free-loaders."

The stress that Presbyterians are now placing on the hunger problem – the starvation problem – is a wonderful thing to see. On paper. I read the booklets, the letters, the programmatic outlines, the descriptions of the task forces on hunger, the lists of supplemental readings. I like the tone of what I have read, and the sense of urgency. Unfortunately, out there where the churches are, non-comprehension sometimes sets in. Not the dumb kind, but the kind that the team of doctors understood. In this middle-class country, it is difficult to believe anyone starves.

It is also hard – and this may be a greater difficulty – to persaude people who are at least *reasonably* comfortable with the functionings of their government and their school system to take up causes that require them to confront, to irritate and to insist, for good causes that do not directly affect them. We like to be gentlemen and ladies, we middle-class folk, and we don't want to seem self-righteous, or be "bleeding hearts," or be too presumptuous when we hear that there are perfectly good budgetary and administrative reasons why children who need school lunches are not getting them. But for the interests of hungry children, at least, maybe we could risk it.

For 20-plus years, I have watched governmental bodies at work, perpetually astonished at how effective a small band of insistent people can be, at a zoning hearing, a school board meeting or a city council committee session. If somehow these Presbyterians, this small minority within a minority, could be mobilized for action to feed the hungry, no other force would be required.

If within every church a group as determined as a building committee would consistently work at it – see what is happening with school lunch programs and follow through insistently from school board to congressman and senators, and follow through again; check on government food programs to determine whether they are really reaching the people; press local and state health officers for action; report their findings with a Who's Who of governmental helpers and foot-draggers – well, the job would be done.

And a good many people who today are indifferent to the Church might say: Well, that one seems to have found out that this tough country we live in, which hasn't stopped long enough to take care of its hungry children, doesn't operate by charity basket.

Of course, someone would have to provide a slogan for the campaign. Something new, snappy, punchy, possibly with an odd kind of personality to deliver the message in the ads.

Maybe a bearded man, not looking at all charitable, pointing a finger as if he has just been angrily chasing some money-changers, and saying: "Feed the hungry."

The Green Revolution . . . and Beyond

By Richard Dickinson

Where do we stand today in the war against world hunger? Has the green revolution altered the responsibility of the churches? Let's focus on these two questions.

For years we have been reading of the desperate situation of the poorer countries – the worsening food deficit, burgeoning population, massive rural under-and unemployment, disease, hunger, starvation. Upon this dreary scene in the past three years has flashed a shaft of hope, called the "green revolution." Because of the agricultural revolution, based primarily on technological break-throughs in high-yielding cereals – wheat, rice and corn – it is now possible to imagine victory over hunger. The change in attitude has been dramatic – probably more dramatic than the situation warrants, and undoubtedly more dramatic than actual performance to date. There is reason for encouragement. East Pakistan, a chronic food deficit area in recent years, has moved swiftly toward self-sufficiency in rice. India and Indonesia have made impressive gains in food production. Lysinic corn appears to dramatically improve diets of Colombian children. It is a sign of hope that some farmers are able to multiply their yield many times over.

But the green revolution will prove to be a curse if it lulls us to complacency. Despite heavy fertilizer use, soils are being depleted by the extra drain upon them. Despite family planning programs, populations in the poorer countries will double in the next 20-25 years. More wheat and rice mean more calories for hungry people (if distribution is equitable), but basic protein deficiencies remain.

Then, too, there are more subtle problems in the green revolution. Dramatic increases in rice production are possible when the new seeds are combined with heavy use of costly fertilizers and abundant water, but many farmers cannot afford such costs even when the fertilizer is available, and much land is not irrigated. Experience so far suggests that it is the richer farmers who benefit most from technology. Thus, without land reform, the revolution tends to generate even more imbalance and injustice in the social fabric. A healthy agricultural sector depends upon more than fertilizer and high-yielding seeds. It requires as well an infrastructure of markets, storage, transportation and distribution systems. Further, it is not certain that new strains will prove disease resistant over the long term, a fact which makes heavy reliance upon only one type of seed risky.

The green revolution, then, is an occasion for cautious optimism in food production. The years of research which make it possible have opened up a small lead in the hectic race between food production and population. But it is a tenuous and possibly only temporary advantage; if it leads to euphoria or apathy, it will be disastrous.

There are some who believe that the crisis of large-scale famines can be averted by other means, in conjunction with the green revolution. Food from the sea is frequently cited as a potential source of badly-needed proteins. Even at the present time much of the protein foods taken from the sea is sold to materially developed countries to feed livestock, but even were it kept in the poorer countries, it would not go far toward solving protein deficiencies. Perhaps in the future technological developments will make a greater "farming" of the sea possible, but the plain fact is that we do not now possess that technology, and such break-throughs are usually tedious and infrequent. Others base their hopes on developing chemical processes, such as the use of petroleum base materials, to produce food. Here, too, technology is only at its initial stages, and it would be unrealistic to hope for any large-scale success in the foreseeable future. In short, there are a number of innovative techniques for accelerating food production under study, but none seems on the threshold of any more than very limited and experimental application.

The other panacea is population control. It is significant to note that a large number of poorer countries are opposed to such population control, either because of traditional values, because of expanses of land to be filled, or because of suspicion that population control mooted by Western countries is an effort to maintain the hegemony of the West. Even in those approximately thirty countries where programs of family planning have been pursued by government, there has not been notable success. India, with a population the size of Sub-Sahara Africa and South America combined – a fact which skews all aggregate statistics on the materially poorer countries – has had an active family planning program for approximately fifteen years, but has experienced only very modest success. While the World Bank and other organizations, including the United States Government, have made family planning a key element in their foreign aid programs, there is little evidence to date to suggest that there can be dramatic success in such programs during the 1970's, the Second Development Decade. Plainly, we have to face the issue of world hunger without resort to illusions, and without being captured by despair.

What does this changing situation mean for the churches and their responsibilities in the fight against world hunger? Clearly, it does not diminish the responsibility one iota. Yet it does throw into deeper relief just what those tasks are. One feature of this deepened perspective is the impossibility of a charity-centered, relief-type operation alone. Important as emergency relief is, important as feeding the starving is, if the desperate cycle of starvation is ever to be cut, churches must also orient their efforts to resolving the structural imbalances and problems of society which perpetuate poverty and inequity. It is much easier to raise money among the churches for emergency relief than for long term assistance; the need is obvious and compelling, with few theoretical problems. The danger is that the churches will be satisfied with these simple, but important, acts of charity. Genuine *caritas* demands much more.

Another feature of the deepening perspective is that we have tended towards a simplistic view of the dynamics of the economically poorer countries. It has been popular to think that physical and material problems

were primary, that if basic physical needs could be met, other problems could be resolved. This half truth hides the reality that increased Gross National Product, per capita income, caloric consumption are inadequate indices of development. They are inadequate for several reasons. One reason is that they say nothing about equity of distribution – whether the masses get a greater share in the new wealth generated. Development is not only a question of production, but also of distribution and participation. Another reason is that the psychological dynamics of the developing countries are not reflected in such statistics, any more than to talk about the material well-being of middle class black families in the United States says much about the basic impulses and aspirations of large segments of the black community. For development has as much to do with attitudes and values as with physical well-being as such. That is why it is more meaningful to speak of humanization and liberation, than development, as goals of justice.

A third by-product of the green revolution is a forced re-interpretation of what the churches aim to do through social service. The churches are confronted again with the meaning of mission, and the relation of service to mission. It is relatively easy to justify feeding the hungry, clothing the naked and healing the sick. But it is more ambiguous to talk of liberation and humanization, and to relate these to a theology of mission. It is more complex to reflect on the role of the churches in helping to create a just society. These open up explosive issues which emergency relief work never raises. These issues are explosive whether one is speaking of liberation at home or abroad.

They are tearing apart many of our churches. Yet we have discovered that we cannot be impartial external observers. Development and humanization are not only for the poor and unchurched. The rich need liberation at least as much as the poor, perhaps more, because many of them are oblivious to their need. We see this fact more easily for individuals than we do for nations and churches. Humanization is not something one does *to* or *for* another, but *with* another. Humanization is discovered

through and in engagement, mutuality and reciprocity. For churches, to be involved in the kind of inter-cultural engagement beyond charity raises profound questions about the nature and destiny of man, about American and Western society, about mission. In this sense, for the churches to lose themselves is the precondition for them to constantly re-discover their power and their true nature.

What does this mean for future church efforts in development? Undoubtedly, there will remain practically unlimited opportunities for charity and emergency relief. Beyond that, however, the churches must cultivate a new style of service and mission – a style of openness and sharing which takes seriously the fact that God has not left himself without a witness anywhere in the world. This style of openness is related to the deeper mission of being, witnessing, at the growing edges of life where the most profound questions, affirmations and issues are alive.

Let's be honest; it will be extremely difficult for the churches to develop this style, despite their heritage of being a pilgrim people in a strange land. It is difficult for affluent and successful people to be pioneers; they have too much furniture to carry with them. It is difficult for Western Christians to be pilgrims in the new land that God is creating, working among us to make all things new. All groups, including the Christian community, need to institutionalize and regularize their corporate life. That is how we express both corporateness and creativity. At the same time, however, these same groups become imprisoned in these same institutions as they become stiff and arthritic. It is an expression of our egoism and sin that, as individual Christians and as churches, we try to keep the world on our terms by preserving those forms which we can manipulate for security.

A new age of mission is upon us. It does not come only from an inner impulse in the Christian community, but from being confronted by the world in new ways. Part of that new confrontation comes through the green revolution, which reminds us that our theology of mission may have become sterile and shallow. That new age of mission does not grow so much out of the inner life and impulses of the churches, as out of the dynamics and cross-currents of world scene. It is an age in which some of the most cherished traditions of the churches, and of Western society, will be challenged by other cultures and other religions. The central question for the churches is whether they have enough risk, enough hope, enough faith in a God who is in history making all things new, to venture into new forms and styles of witness and ministry.

The struggle to feed the hungry has not been won. For the churches a major task is to act as a conscience of the people to see that the struggle *is* won, for all men and not only the rich. But in the midst of the struggle, the special task of the churches, and their special privilege, is to be a sign of man's high calling. It can be that sign if it chooses to live sacrificially in his name – for liberation, for koinonia, for humanization.

Opportunities to Invest in People

WOMEN'S BIRTHDAY OBJECTIVE
By Lucy Hestir

The 1971 Women's Birthday Objective is to be an investment in people.

It will establish Christian centers for servicing families in change as a response to an expressed need. In Congo . . . especially in Kinshasa; in Korea . . . especially in Seoul; in Taiwan . . . especially in Taipei.

It will provide a series of person-centered programs which will help families adapt to a new way of life as they move to the cities. It will teach them how to buy in the market place and how to prepare the foods they buy so as to prevent malnutrition.

It will teach women homemaking skills.

The centers will tell all who come of Christ's love for them and enable them to read about Him as they become literate. The centers will help people halt hunger wherever it exists among them.

Change! adapt! be mobile! urbanize! These are household words with the American public. All the voices we hear beat upon our ears with these words. It is the American way of life. But it isn't *just* the American way. For instance in Kinshasa, Congo, a city of 4,000,000, new "communes" (governmental districts of the city) are springing up almost faster than they can be organized for servicing the people who move there. One of our missionaries, Christina Barnes, writes, "It is a slow process to start a skill training program, because we have to stop to teach reading and writing to the women and girls, who have not had the same kind of education the men have had, before we can begin a skill training program. Only as we comply with these vital needs of the women and girls can we gain a step in halting hunger."

It has been estimated that one of every thousand persons now living on this planet lives in Seoul, Korea. By 1972 the government hopes to have settled one hundred thousand families, or nearly five hundred thousand people in high-rise, low-cost housing on the hills surrounding Seoul. A high level of general services was planned for the resettlement areas, but this level has not been achieved. Many of the families who have moved from rural life or even slum areas of Seoul pose unique problems in high density living. They do not know how to buy in the market, how to prepare the available food, or even how to use the available equipment for preparing it.

In Taipei, Taiwan, where many tribal people from the isolated mountain villages and the tribal communes of the plains follow their young people to the city, there exists an almost insurmountable language barrier. It is said that it often takes five persons, each bilingual, just to carry on one conversation! Imagine bargaining for your family's supper under those handicaps . . . or calling a doctor! The adjustment to a commercial society has forced many of these families to sell their security . . . their land. When it is possible these immigrants tend to group with others like them for strength and security. They need our help in adapting to a way of life which will enable them to survive in the city.

Change in our country, and for our church people, may be uncomfortable and even unpleasant but it does not pose the threat to our very existence as it does for many. We can help eliminate world hunger, among other things, by helping other families through this Birthday offering.

IN AFRICA
By Sue Nichols

Dr. John K. Miller has won a bold battle against kwashiorkor, lack of dietary knowledge and his medical colleagues. Dr. Miller is a Presbyterian U.S. missionary in the Congo and kwashiorkor is the malady that befalls those who are dying of starvation. Its incidence is so high in children in the Bulape area of the Congo that a youngster under 5 has only a 50 - 50 chance of reaching adulthood!

Two years ago Dr. Miller set out to combat it. He's not the flaming crusader type but, obviously, in his quiet way, knows how to stick to his guns against uneven odds. He laid out a plan based on what he thought were simple, even self-evident, principles. Seeing to it that they were not violated became another story!

The first principle maintained that the foods used to combat kwashiorkor must be limited to those normally available to and known by the people concerned. No powdered milk from abroad or foodstuffs brought in from another region. The second principle held that teaching must have priority over therapy. In this, Dr. Miller had to run herd on the hospital staff to prevent them from giving vitamin pills and blood transfusions. (These were given, of course, where death might occur.) Mothers of starving youngsters had to be convinced that a faulty diet was the cause of their children's illness and that a corrected diet only – not hospital magic – could make them well again. And keep them well. This could only come about through a program focused *primarily* on teaching the mothers, not on keeping temperature charts on the children.

The third principle contended that the program must fit the area where it is used. To that end Dr. Miller set up his "kwashiorkor unit" in a building apart from Bulape Hospital. At one end of it was a kitchen, similar to the ones the mothers knew in their homes with village style cook-fires and pots and pans.

The main food the mothers cook is one that Dr. Miller concocted himself. It has no name but it consists of two foods in the area, cornmeal and peas. Separately the amino acids in these two are incomplete but, when mixed together, they combine to form an almost complete protein. In a no-meat, no-milk community, any protein food emerges as a kind of manna.

"Then," says Dr. Miller, "the educational aspect began. We had to teach mothers that this combination was better for their babies than manioc pap."

The mothers brought their listless, red-haired (a kwashiorkor symptom) children to the Hospital without the faintest idea what was wrong with them. They did not suspect the diet, because the children were well-fed with manioc. And manioc has been the basic diet of the young for years and years. And for years and years the

young have died, because manioc has such low nutritional value. But the mothers, lacking scientific insight, didn't make the connection. Thus, some of them thought their children were victims of witchcraft.

Any mother who brought manioc into the Kwashiorkor Unit was fined. Once the child was admitted, a regimen began. The mother was required to follow the menus prescribed by the staff and the staff was required to work chiefly with the mother. Four meals, rather than the usual one or two, were prepared and served daily. In addition to the corn-pea mixture (always mixed together) each child received half an egg, manioc greens and fruits and vegetables as available in season.

Essentially, little else was done. No health lectures, slides, movies of flannel graphs were used. The women could not take them in. But "only an idiot" as Dr. Miller says, could fail to get the lesson as sick, swollen children began to return to normalcy.

Mothers and children stay at the Kwashiorkor Unit from four to eight weeks. At first the child's hemoglobin count goes up and, then, slowly his weight. His hair reverts to black and his lively spirit returns.

When they return to their villages, the mothers tell the other women in the village what they have learned. As the word spreads and more and more families begin eating a more nutritional and balanced diet, Dr. Miller predicts that the terribly high child mortality rate will fall. A reduction is already apparent in a 50 mile radius of the Bulape Kwashiorkor Unit. It bespeaks another victory in the fight to eradicate world hunger.

IN BRAZIL
By Charles R. Hughes

After a respite of 12 years, history repeated itself in 1970 for the little community of Umari in northeast Brazil. The summer rains were sparse. The crops failed. The river ran dry. The people suffered.

"The last time there was no water in the river was in 1958," PCUS missionary Charles Alexander explained to me when I visited the drought-stricken area on a hot and dusty day in November. "There was mass hunger then just as you see now."

Trees and branches are cleared from the land so that crops may be planted.

Life has never been very affluent for the small farmer in northeast Brazil, nor in the rest of Latin America where two-thirds of the 260 million people exist on an average daily diet of 1,200 calories, as compared with 3,100 in the U.S. Thus, when the rains fail, existence itself becomes problematic.

Despite the similarities between 1958 and 1970, there is a significant difference – this time the river in Umari is not entirely "dry." Two wells have been dug in the river bed's sandy bottom. The wells are part of a developmental project which Alexander and fellow missionary Bill Wylie hope will change the course of history for the marginalized people of the area.

"It all started when we brought a truck load of food to distribute among the families here who were faced with starvation. Now it has become a full scale attempt to develop a better way of life for the community, which is a legitimate part of the Gospel we preach," Alexander said.

Wylie described what happened that first day when they handed out food:

"The men crowded silently around the truck. Some opened their shirts and patted their stomachs to emphasize their hunger. One man said, 'Friends, you have brought us a fortune.' I never thought of a bag of beans as being a fortune. I guess the reason is that I've never been a hungry man."

As the two missionaries talked about the project, which is being carried out with funds from the Easter Offering and food from Church World Service, I surveyed the scene around me.

From one well, a line of men carried water in tin cartons to an open area about 100 yards away where a group of Brazilians were engaged in making and stockpiling bricks. The second well served as a source of water for a similar group who were manufacturing clay tiles to be used as roofing material. Both operations employed simple, even crude, methods yet they were carried out in a highly professional style.

A third work force was stationed in the river bed, laboring with picks and oversized hoes, digging out the foundation for a massive dam.

In the distance, as far as I could see, others with machetes were working to clear scrub trees and underbrush from a 400-acre tract of future farmland.

Despite the overbearing heat and monotonous labor, morale among the workers seemed unusually high. Work is motivated by a double incentive.

Each man is paid two cruzeiros (about 40 cents) a day, which is used to buy beans and rice, the mainstays of the average Brazilian diet. In addition, he receives a weekly food supplement of flour, cornmeal, powdered milk and oatmeal. It's not much by most nutritional standards, but sufficient at least to ward off the immediate threat of starvation so prevalent in the area.

Moreover, there is the hope that what is being accomplished through the development project will result in long-term benefits.

"We are working against a deadline," Alexander said. "When the rains come this summer (January-March), we must be ready for them. The dam should give us sufficient water to irrigate the fields which are being cleared. And with the constant warm climate, we should be able to produce three crops a year, something that has

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never been done before in this area."

And what about the bricks and roofing tiles?

"We have already started construction of 25 duplex houses," Wylie explained. "Fifty families will be housed in them to carry out the farming experiment."

Both missionaries acknowledge that the project is not without certain problems, one of which was facing us as we talked. In addition to the workers already employed, approximately 100 other men had come to seek jobs. Each one had a tale of hardship resulting from the enforced drought. Some had brought their families with them to emphasize the need of employment.

"We started out with 100 workers," Alexander explained. "Then 100 more were added. Last week 50 more came, so we put them to work, too. Now there are about 100 more and our budget can't stand any more. What can we tell them?"

The Brazilian representative of Church World Service, Jose Sandoval Mendonca, who was also present, was quite moved by the scene.

"We are expecting another shipment of food in December. I'll see that you get enough food to take on the extra men, if you can get the money for their wages," he said to Alexander, with a nod in my direction.

It was an obvious case of "blackmail," but what can a person do in a situation like that? I nodded in return. With the assurance that the Board of World Missions would somehow cover for his overspent budget, Alexander told the men they could report to work the next day.

A far more complex problem involves management of the project once farm production has begun. The agricultural products will have to be marketed. An organization, probably some type of "Co-op," must be devised to extend the project to other areas, equally as destitute, in the surrounding community.

Alexander and Wylie are fortunate in having technical assistance from a group of agriculturalists from the University of Arizona. The Arizonans are in Brazil on an exchange program connected with the University of Fortaleza, located about an hour's drive from Umari.

Among other things, the missionaries hope to experiment with the growing of "Rockefeller rice," a high-yield variety developed in Mexico and used with good results in India.

The tract of land on which the project is being developed originally belonged to George Barr, a North American who formerly lived in Fortaleza, Brazil. He donated the land for the experiment.

The Board of World Missions has invested about $14,000 in Easter Offering funds in the "Umari" project. It has already proved its value as a relief measure, providing a small income and food for some 350 families in an otherwise desperate situation. Whether or not it proves decisive for the future, remains to be seen.

It's the kind of risk that has to be taken to make the Gospel relevant in today's world.

Hungry men appear on the scene and ask for work; missionaries Charles Alexander (at the left wearing cowboy hat and dark glasses) and William Wylie (at right wearing sunglasses) hear their tragic appeal.

"Come back tomorrow," the men are told, so they leave the area with hope. The "man from Nashville" has consented to see if and how the budget can be stretched to include additional families.

POLITICS AND NEED: A CASE STUDY

By David M. Ackerman

The gross national product of the United States will pass the one trillion dollar mark within the next year. We spend $15.6 billion each year on alcohol, $9.7 billion on tobacco, $3.8 billion on jewelry, $1.5 billion on movies. Yet in 1967 a group of doctors, after touring several counties in the Mississippi Delta, reported to the Senate Subcommittee on Poverty:

We saw children for whom hunger is a daily fact of life and sickness, in many forms, an inevitability. . . . Malnutrition is not quite what we found. . . . They were suffering from hunger and disease, and directly or indirectly they were dying then. . . .

In 1968 a citizens board of inquiry concluded in its study *Hunger USA*,

. . . we face a (hunger and malnutrition) problem which, conservatively estimated, affects 10 million Americans and in all likelihood a substantially higher number.

In 1969 the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs concluded after extensive investigation,

Millions of American poor and near poor risk suffering the effects of serious hunger and malnutrition for one overriding major reason: **lack of enough personal and family cash income** *to purchase the food necessary to provide themselves an adequate diet.*

Nevertheless, despite public awareness, despite the stark nature of the issue, despite irrefutable reports that hunger and malnutrition exist in this land of affluence on a widespread scale, the government has responded more with rhetoric than with programs to feed people. Hunger has from the beginning been a deeply political issue. It has had to run a political gauntlet made up of Presidential ambitions, Congressional prerogatives, and bureaucratic infighting. The chronicle of how the political structures have responded to the hunger issue is, on the one hand, a case study of how our political system has failed, and continues to fail, those most in need. It is, on the other hand, a continuing example of the impact that people who care can have on the political system, and of the crying need for their persistence.

Congressional Politics

The very structure of Congress has made it difficult to obtain adequate legislative authority to deal with hunger. The Federal government has three main food programs – school lunch, food stamps, and commodity distribution. In the House these programs, with the exception of school lunch, fall under the jurisdiction of the Agriculture Committee, chaired by Rep. W. R. Poage (D-Tex.). Appropriations for all the programs must pass through the ever-watchful Agriculture Appropriations Sub-committee, chaired by Rep. Jamie L. Whitten (D-Miss.). On the Senate side of the Hill the food programs are controlled by the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, with Sen. Allan J. Ellender (D-La.) as chairman, while the appropriations have been under the jurisdiction of the Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee, headed by now-retired Sen. Spessard Holland (D-Fla.).

If these committees were responsive to the needs of the hungry, the nation probably would have heard little of the issue. The orientation of these committees and their chairmen, however, has been and is toward the farmer and his income, *not* toward the social problems of the poor and malnourished. These committees developed their power and built their bureaucratic empire (the Department of Agriculture) during the Depression, when farmers still constituted a quarter of the population and farm income was absymally low.

After World War II, they devised the commodity distribution and the school lunch programs *not* for the purpose of getting food to the malnourished but for disposing of the agricultural surpluses that the Agriculture Department buys off the market to keep prices from falling. Not until 1964 did these committees establish a program – food stamps – with a primary focus on the nutritional needs of the poor. But this has been meagerly funded, and each time the program has come up for renewal it has proved difficult to get the House Agriculture Committee even to report the bill.

Surprisingly, the chairmen of these committees have made little effort to conceal their indifference and outright hostility to the hungry. Rep. Poage, for instance, during hearings on the food stamp program in October, 1969, said,

Why are you "so concerned with maintaining a bunch of drones? You know what happens in the beehive. They kill those drones. This is what happens in most primitive societies. Maybe we have just gotten too far away from the situation of primitive man."

Rep. Whitten, often described as the "second boss" of the Department of Agriculture because of his power over its appropriations, has maintained that no one in this country is unavoidably hungry "except when there has been parental neglect through drunkenness or mental illness."

The only effective Congressional leadership on hunger has come from the Senate Select Committee on Nutrition and Human Needs, created two years ago "to study the food, medical, and other related basic needs among the people of the United States." This committee, under the able chairmanship of Sen. George McGovern (D-S.D.), has thoroughly explored the shocking inadequacies of the government's food stamp and school lunch programs. Bipartisan cooperation among members of the committee has enabled it not only to be a forum for bringing the hunger issue to the attention of the public, but also to forge a strong coalition in the Senate in support of expanded and reformed food programs. Despite the fact that this committee has no direct authority over the government's food program, in September, 1969, a coalition of Senators under its leadership successfully substituted a strong food stamp reform bill for the weaker version reported by the Agriculture Committee. In February, 1970, the coalition successfully added to a school lunch reform bill a series of amendments removing most of the legislative and financial barriers to participation in the school lunch program by all needy children. In July, 1970, this coalition increased the appropriation for the food stamp program for fiscal 1971 from $1.25 billion to $1.75 billion.

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Yet even these successes have been able to be subverted or at least modified by the Agriculture Committees and their chairmen. The House Agriculture Committee simply refused to act for nearly a year on the strong food stamp reform measure passed by the Senate in September, 1969. The $1.75 billion food stamp appropriation passed by the Senate was whittled in House-Senate conference to $1.42 billion. Only the school lunch reforms were not modified, and this was due in large part to the fact that the House conferees were drawn not from the Agriculture Committee but from the more liberal Education and Labor Committee. Indeed the bill that finally was signed into law by the President on May 15 makes extension of free or reduced price school lunches to every needy child a matter of local administrative implementation and no longer of legislation.

But the power of the Agriculture Committees remains. Reforms have been made and appropriations increased only when these committees have been outvoted or outmaneuvered. Congressional reform may help to some extent, but the basic power still lies with these committees.

Presidential Politics

Soon after coming into office, the Nixon administration moved quickly to preempt the hunger issue as its own, both out of moral conviction and a desire to undercut Sen. McGovern as a possible Presidential opponent. With the eloquence of impatient compassion the President said in a message to Congress on the issue in May, 1969, "The moment is at hand to put an end to hunger in America itself for all time." The eloquence continued through December, 1969, as the President opened the White House Conference on Food, Nutrition, and Health by saying, "Speaking for this Administration, I not only accept the responsibility (to end hunger in America) – I *claim* the responsibility." Yet less than two months later mention of the hunger issue could barely be found in his State of the Union address to Congress.

The history of this Administration's response to hunger has been one of initial public commitment quickly muted by budgetary realities. Like President Johnson in Vietnam, President Nixon quickly discovered to his dismay that the battle against hunger could not be quickly and cheaply won. The Senate Select Committee has estimated the food income gap of the 25 million poor in this country – the difference between what they have and what they need to obtain an adequate diet – to be at least $3.3 billion and more likely $5 billion. More than that, hunger is but the tip of the iceberg of poverty. Poor housing, poor sanitation, poor health, lack of jobs and job skills, poor educational opportunities – hunger is not an isolated problem.

Unlike President Johnson in Vietnam, however, President Nixon chose to de-escalate his brief battle against hunger. Unwilling to commit the necessary funds, he has found himself in the anomolous position of trying to maintain his public commitments while opposing key reforms in the food stamp and school lunch programs when those legislative battles have been fought in Congress. Consequently, the primary leadership on the issue has continued to be exercised by Sen. McGovern. Indeed, the Administration's attempt to preempt the issue not only served largely to reinforce Sen. McGovern's leadership but also opened a credibility gap between promise and performance of major proportions.

Nevertheless, the Nixon Administration deserves credit for what it has done. Its predecessor refused even to admit the existence of hunger, and hid behind legalistic justifications of its inaction. The Nixon Administration has at least improved the timid administration of the food stamp and school lunch programs by the Department of Agriculture. It has substantially improved the cost-benefit ratio of food stamps. It has gotten either a food stamp or commodity distribution program established in nearly all of the 3,100 counties and independent cities in the nation. It has, with its sponsorship of the Family Assistance Plan, shown its willingness to move toward a system of cash income maintenance.

Some Myths About Hunger

By John Gillies

Good food builds strong bodies and minds.

Not necessarily. Malnourished children might develop strong bodies with better food, although those bodies may well be stunted in growth. But malnourished infants – according to the best evidence now available – may suffer irreparable brain damage, particularly where protein is deficient, which no amount of better food can remedy.

We can grow all the food we need.

We can grow a lot more than is being grown at present. Hybrid and new "miracle" strains of seeds will double or triple harvests. More land can be cultivated, through development of water resources or use of fertilizer. But there are definite limits. At some point, population needs will surpass our ability to supply food demands.

The population explosion is the root cause of hunger.

It is a major root cause, but only one of many. People are hungry because of a lack of food. That lack is caused by inadequate or insufficient production of food by transportation and distribution problems, or by too many mouths to feed.

There is no excuse for large families.

The present "technology" of contraceptives is best utilized by a literate and fairly sophisticated clientele. In poverty pockets, domestic and overseas, superstition, fears, tradition, and ignorance all conspire against responsible family planning. And a simple, medically-safe, and effective contraceptive has yet to be found.

People can eat if they will work.

Would you say this about older people, nursing mothers, and children? Many people would like to work – but work may not be available, or the people may be so malnourished that they cannot work without further damaging their health.

Preach the Gospel first, then feed people.

How do you preach to starving people? Jesus fed the five thousand first, then preached to them (they probably weren't starving; they were just hungry).

What You Can Do – Some Handles for Halting Hunger

By Faith Pomponio

A Mini Fable on a Maxi Theme

Once upon a time, there was a very wealthy land that was filled with many people who lived as lords and ladies, compared to their poorer neighbors in the countries to the south and far east of them.

The prosperous people were proud of their hard-earned good fortune, and very often shared it with others. Although fairly generous, they were not totally aware of the desperate needs of those around them. For had not their gifted advertising merchants carefully taught them how to pursue the good life in split-level comfort, surrounded by gleaming machines of magic that cleaned, polished, cooked, washed, disposed, made music, showed pictures, transported them and even brushed their teeth? Could Aladdin's lamp have produced greater marvels?

In the midst of all this goodness, it was not easy for the prosperous people to realize that as their refrigerators and freezers bulged with food 50% of the world's population was undernourished.

As health spas sprung up in all directions to help the overfed lose unsightly excess weight, how could the prosperous people comprehend that every 24 hours another 15,000 human beings starved to death somewhere on their planet?

Perhaps the hardest to grasp was the fact that at least 15 million of their own countrymen were hungry. Children, the aged and those too sick to work made up the largest part of this invisible army of severely undernourished in the richest country in the world.

How embarrassing! Hadn't the prosperous people given huge charitable donations to the poor over many years? Conditions couldn't be that appalling, could they? They could, and they were, and it was clear that within a few short years a devastating famine might easily sweep over the earth, affecting everyone.

Slowly the prosperous people came to realize that although their charity and existing self-help programs were very necessary, they did not go far enough to enable their fellow men to live, let alone happily ever after. So they wisely set about finding additional avenues of service, for now they knew that whatever they allowed to happen in the world community would have a direct bearing on the lives of their children and their children's children.

The End – or was it just The Beginning?

Pinpointing Root Causes

Some experts predict a world-wide famine by 1975, others by 1985. Still others believe it is possible, but that the situation could be reversed if all-out precautionary measures are taken right now. They call for a penetrating look at the complex root causes of hunger at home and overseas, including: population growth, economic-social-political factors, food production and distribution and even ecological balance.

Combatting hunger is such a massive undertaking that no one sector of society can cope with it in isolation from the other.

Christians have traditionally heeded the call of their Saviour to feed the hungry. Today, there are many challenging ways to do it. This article will attempt to spell out some of them. As your synod or presbytery or congregation or community develops even more possibilities, make a point of sending them to the editor of *Survey*, so they may be shared with others.

One word of caution at the outset. There are many "handles" listed here. Don't attempt to get involved in a number of things and risk doing them superficially. There are too many lives at stake. Carefully study the entire list and select those few areas where you feel that you can make the most meaningful, in-depth contribution. Good luck.

Too Many People

Overpopulation, colliding with under production of food, is pushing the world toward widespread famine. It is everyone's problem. Presbyterians at the synod, presbytery and local church level can join with others to help alleviate the population crisis in a variety of ways.

1. Establish continuing educational programs to help clergy and laity, adults and youth to understand the consequences of overpopulation in the world (mass starvation, perpetual war and revolution and even genocide) and how the United States contributes to the growing problem.

2. Request ministers, doctors, family counselors, parents and others to advise young married couples and those planning marriage on the need for voluntarily limiting the size of their families. Financial ability to care for a large family does not change the moral imperative to limit family size. It is now possible for people to have much longer life spans than they did in the past. To maintain a humane balance between annual birth rates and decreasing death rates, a zero population gain is considered necessary. This can be achieved if couples have no more than two children of their own. For those who desire larger families, adoption of additional children is suggested as a more moral alternative.

3. Work toward having family planning clinics in every county and major city that are open to *all* people of the community. Congregations can look into the need for family planning clinics and either make room for this in their church buildings or put their support behind existing facilities.

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4. Help establish family planning and counseling units with services available to all people in every major hospital in the United States and in all our mission hospitals overseas. Stress the fact that identical approaches should be made to all races and classes, including whites.

5. Keep up with legislation on population control and communicate your concern to government leaders.

6. Contribute financially to worldwide population control efforts. In this connection, the following organizations are recommended for your consideration:

PLANNED PARENTHOOD-WORLD POPULATION, 515 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022. PP/WP supports family planning programs in 101 countries and has 472 clinics in 38 states of the U.S. It required $24.5 million for PP/WP to fund its domestic and overseas work in 1969. You may contribute either to the New York headquarters or the PP center nearest to you.

ZERO POPULATION GROWTH, 367 State Street, Los Altos, California 94022. ZPG works through tax legislation reforms and through communication media to encourage Americans to limit the size of their families to two children. You can join ZPG by paying $10 annually. You can also work to organize a ZPG chapter in your community.

PLANNED PARENTHOOD PROGRAM, Church World Service, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, New York 10027. CWS is the coordinating agency which supplies information and contraceptives through 1,200 mission-related hospitals around the world.

Not Enough Money

There are many who feel that hunger is basically an economic problem that can only be solved through economic means. They consider poverty the primary cause of hunger and malnutrition among the poor. There are a number of interrelated economic, political and social steps that can be taken by churchmen in this area of concern.

1. Use every means available to urge your government representatives to help bring about legislation that will enable the giving of at least 1% of our gross national product to developing countries to speed their development and to help people help themselves. Other developed nations of the world are moving in the same direction. Some already are giving a higher percentage of their gross national products than the United States is for this purpose.

2. Ask the officers and directors of companies in which you own stock to invest in projects in developing nations. Ask them to reinvest as much profit as possible within such countries so that the long range interests of both company and people are served.

3. Plan with your family to give at least 1% of your monthly income to help bring about a change in conditions for some others who are now having to live on $100 per year. For a detailed list of suggestions on how you can let your money begin to attack root causes of hunger, write to: Task Force on World Hunger, Box 330, Nashville, Tenn. 37202.

4. Carefully explore the possibilities of bringing about the guarantee of an adequate income for all Americans. Write to your congressmen and senators urging their support for welfare reform legislation that could make this a reality. People who have been without incomes will then need to be educated in the wise use of their funds, but they can't utilize this knowledge until they have some money to use.

5. Study the inadequacies of the present welfare system and work for its reform. To assist you in this effort, contact your local office of the National Welfare Rights Organization, since one of the best ways to learn about welfare is to hear from people who must live with it. If there is no Welfare Rights Organization in your community, contact the national office for information: NWRO, 1419 H St. N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

Also request from NWRO a reprint of *The New York Times* magazine article "Now It's Welfare Lib," by Richard Rogin. The article, which appeared September 27, 1970, gives a penetrating account of the welfare system.

6. Your synod, presbytery or church may want to sponsor a welfare dinner to dramatize hunger as a top priority and to reflect on its meaning for personal and corporate witness. Determine how much your state allocates for food allowances to those on welfare. In PCUS areas, it is often only 14 cents per meal! Then prepare a typical welfare meal, not to exceed your state's welfare food allowance per portion. Dinner could consist of collards, fatback and grits, or similar food. Invite several people who actually live on welfare to come and speak to you about welfare problems. Recognize that even though you have eaten a welfare meal you can not really comprehend what it means to exist on a welfare diet every day of the year. Donate the difference between what you spent for the welfare dinner and what you would normally pay for a dinner to a local hunger project.

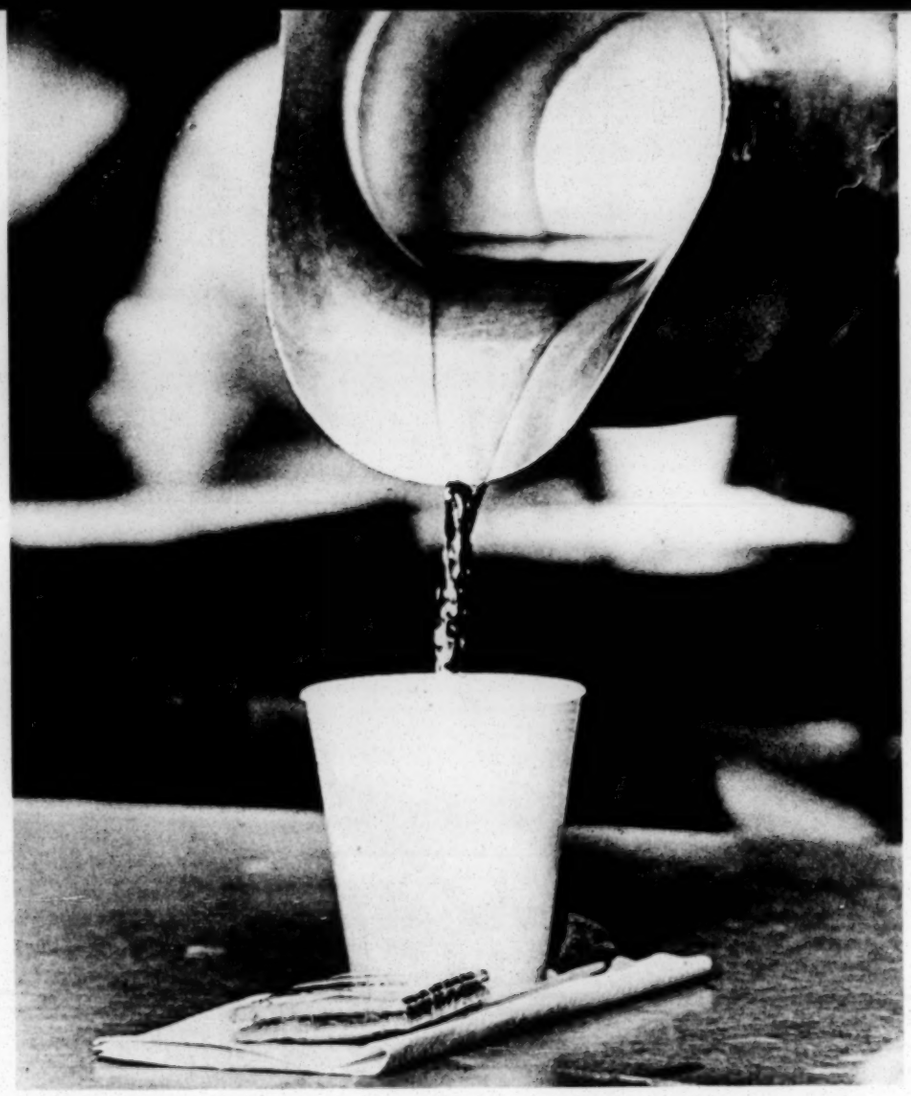
7. Enlist and provide volunteers for various services needed by local welfare groups.

8. Organize a CROP Community Hunger Campaign to collect cash for overseas hunger and self-help projects through Church World Service. Contact: National CROP Office, Box 968, Elkhart, Indiana 46514.

9. Help start a literacy program in your area. A recent Harris poll shows that illiteracy is far greater than expected and it exists to a high degree among those classified as rural, Southern, black or poor. Illiteracy is an economic deterrent which perpetuates hunger. To get started on a literacy program, write for the new leaflet, "How to Fight Illiteracy," available for 15 cents from the Board of Women's Work, 341 Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia 30308.

10. Thoroughly investigate the possibility of establishing a low-cost day care center to look after children whose mothers must work. Often these children must be left untended. Either that or an older brother or sister must stay out of school to care for them. For information and consultation, write: The Day Care and Child Development Council of America, 1426 H Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

11. Help to keep young people from dropping out of school and into the twin traps of poverty and hunger.



12. Keep informed about legislation under debate and when it would be best for you to speak or write about them. Consider making a generous contribution to the Easter Offering as one means of dealing with hunger and human suffering.

Too Little Food

The U.S. produces more food than it can consume, yet millions of Americans go hungry, as do 50% of the world's population.

Matching up hungry mouths with available food supplies presents complex problems, not the least of which are political and economic. Hunger is called "the most devastating curable disease," and there are numerous ways that Christians can participate in an all-out effort to bring it under control.

1a. The national school lunch law became mandatory January 1. (1971) This legislation requires every school receiving federal funds to serve a free or reduced price school lunch to each needy child, regardless of race or national origin. You can learn more about the new law and new instructions and explain them to others. You can also form a school lunch committee to improve school feeding programs. Write today for *The School Lunch Bag,* a community action kit prepared by The Children's Foundation, which explains the legislation and regulations and suggests forms of local action at: The Children's Foundation, Room 309, 1026 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Or write to the Crusade Against Hunger, 475 Riverside Drive, New York, N.Y. 10027.

b. Federal funds and U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA) donated foods are available for a School Breakfast Program in schools that have many needy pupils or many who travel long distances. Your presbytery or local church can do much to urge your school board to initiate a School Breakfast Program in your area. If one already exists, you can provide volunteers to assist in serving the food, thereby easing the financial burdens of the local food service program.

c. Church groups that maintain day-care centers, settlement houses and recreation centers providing day-care for children from low income areas or sections with many working mothers will want to look into the Special Food Service Program for Children. By adding a feeding component to its program, any of these institutions can receive federal cash reimbursements up to 15 cents for breakfast, 30 cents for each lunch or supper and 10 cents for each supplemental food served between meals. Additional aids include: financing of up to 80% of operating costs in cases of severe need, USDA donated foods and technical assistance and guidance to establish and operate a program. If a local church initiates a summer recreation or cultural enrichment program for children from low income areas, it would also be eligible for federal funds to provide meals for these children.

For further information about items 1a-c, write: U.S. Department of Agriculture, Food and Nutrition Service, at either 1795 Peachtree Road, N.E., Room 302, Atlanta, Ga. 30309, or 500 S. Ervay Street, Room 3-127, Dallas, Texas 75201.

2. Study the administration of the Food Stamp or Commodity Food Program in your county to determine which of these is available to help feed the poor and how it is administered. Probe the extent of hunger and poverty in your location. Are all of the poor benefiting from either of these programs? If not, why not? Learn why existing legislation may not be implemented and work toward improved programs of distribution and welfare.

3a. Seek out people in your community who need food and help them know how to benefit from these food programs.

b. Organize transportation pools to assist the poor (who have no transportation) to get to the center where they purchase food stamps or pick up their food commodities. Contact your local welfare department for assistance on this.

c. Help preserve the dignity of aid recipients.

continued on page 16

continued from page 15

d. Provide picture labels for surplus food items for the non-reader.

4. Organize a summer program for low-income children which includes a feeding component.

5. Offer use of church facilities as food distribution and collection centers where needed.

6. Set up survey teams to investigate retail marketing practices in low income areas; work for fair distribution, pricing and services in such locations.

7. Help organize food buying clubs or cooperatives in low-income neighborhoods. Make church facilities available for this purpose.

8. Set up a "meals on wheels" program for senior citizens after determining nutritional needs of this age group. Begin with members of your own church. For further information write: Board of Women's Work 341 Ponce de Leon Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Ga. 30308.

9. Organize a "hunger hike" or "march for development" and use the funds raised for foreign and domestic food projects. For details contact: American Freedom From Hunger Foundation, 1717 H St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20006; Walther League, 875 North Dearborn Street, Chicago, Ill. 60610.

10. Train women from low income areas to teach their peers how to shop wisely and prepare a balanced diet with low incomes. Use church kitchens, schools and other facilities for nutrition classes, particularly in areas where there is malnutrition or imbalance in diet.

11. Urge families to have at least one sacrificial meal each week or to regularly use less expensive foods in order to share the family food budget with hungry people, or both. Money saved could be brought to church on the first Sunday of the month to be dedicated and sent to "Halt Hunger" or other hunger alleviating agencies.

12. Support research into overseas nutritional projects being conducted by land-grant colleges, a good many of which are in the South. Contact these schools to learn how you or your group can give special support, including equipment. If you are not sure which land-grant colleges in your area are engaged in this important field of research, contact your State Department of Education.

SUGGESTED RESOURCES

Print

Sometimes They Cry edited by Estelle Rountree and Hugh Halverstadt, a different kind of study-action book that helps each participant evaluate his own feelings about the hunger problem and to decide for himself what he wants to do. Available from The Presbyterian Book Store. $1.95.

Where Tomorrow Struggles to be Born by Thomas J. Liggett. Sets the context and demands of Christian mission in Latin America. Calls for a creative response by the U.S. for an appreciation and understanding of Latin America's integrity and need for self-determination. Order from The Presbyterian Book Store. $1.75.

Let Them Eat Promises: The Politics of Hunger in America by Nick Kotz, with an introduction by Senator George S. McGovern. $6.95 Prentice Hall, Inc.

The Case Against Hunger: A Demand for a National Policy by Senator Ernest F. Hollings. A walk in the rain among the hungry of Charleston, S.C. led to a complete reversal of the author's opinions on hunger. Sen. Hollings lists 14 specific steps that can be taken by Congress, the administration and private groups to eliminate hunger from America. Cowles Book Co., Inc. $6.95.

Audio-Visuals

Taxes, Tithes and Other Table Talk, a sound film strip which presents the problem of World Hunger with force and clarity. Stocked by TRAV. Sale $8.00.

Not Enough, a 28 min. 16 mm color film on the international aspects of hunger including population, economic development, and agricultural development and production. Available from TRAV. Rental $10.00.

Hunger in America, the powerful 1968 CBS-TV documentary, 52 min. Examines four different areas of the country, each with a different set of sociological conditions: San Antonio, Texas; Loudon County, Va.; Tuba City, Arizona; Hale County, Ala. Available in color from TRAV for $25.00 and in B & W from Mass Media Ministries for $20.00.

To Feed the Hungry, 50 min., 16 mm color film zeroing in on hunger and welfare in Chicago and ending with dialogues on hunger from a national perspective by the Rev. Jesse Jackson and Senators George McGovern and Charles Percy. Distributed by Crusade Against Hunger. Donation.

For additional films and filmstrips dealing with hunger, contact the TRAV Audio Visual Library.

Game

BALDICER, a simulation game designed by Georgeann Wilcoxson to give participants an increased awareness of the related nature of world economy. Order from The Presbyterian Book Store. $25.00.

Addresses

The Presbyterian Book Store
Box 1176
Richmond, Va. 23209

TRAV Audio Visual Library
341 Ponce de Leon Ave., N.E.
Atlanta, Ga. 30308

Mass Media Ministries:
2116 N. Charles St.
Baltimore, Md. 21218
1720 Chouteau Ave., St.
St. Louis, Mo. 63103
1714 Stockton St.
San Francisco, Calif. 94133

Crusade Against Hunger
Division on Christian Life and Mission
National Council of Churches
475 Riverside Drive
New York, N.Y. 10017

Prentice Hall, Inc.
Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey

Cowles Book Company, Inc.
New York, N.Y.

TO HELP YOU AND YOUR FAMILY

REMEMBER HUNGRY PEOPLE

*Make and Decorate Your Own Hunger Savings Bank. (Then put it on your dining table to remind all who eat there that many others have less and that *we* need to share!)

Step No. 1: Find an empty oatmeal box, a plastic milk carton, a coffee or nuts can that comes with a plastic lid, or any empty can or glass container.

Step No. 2: Find pictures in magazines of hungry people or pictures which show causes of hunger or pictures which show how the hunger problems might be solved. Look also for words or phrases in this magazine which might help remind you of the millions of hungry people. (You may be able to use some of the words or phrases on this page.)

Step No. 3: You can either paint the container or cover it with a sheet of white or colored paper that wraps around and glues in place.

Step No. 4: Decorate by pasting the pictures, words, and phrases around the container or draw your own pictures and write or print your own words and phrases.

Step No. 5: Spraying the finished, decorated container with a clear vinyl plastic or varnish will enable it to endure more handling over a longer period of time.

Other ideas: *Sunday School classes may wish to have a Hunger Savings Bank decorating contest and display winners somewhere in the church.

*Or youth groups might mass produce the banks and give or sell them to every family in the congregation.

*Some individuals and families might want to skip one or more meals each week, perhaps having a brief worship service and/or "rap" session at their regular meal time – and using that time also to put the savings from their skipped meal in the hunger savings bank.

*Other people may want to commit a certain amount or percentage of their income each day or week to the hunger cause and deposit this sum regularly in their Hunger Savings Bank.

What to do with the money: When your bank is full or perhaps on a regular monthly or other periodical basis take the money out of your Hunger Savings Bank and give it to some world or local hunger cause supported by your congregation. Look elsewhere in this issue for listing of causes which you and others in your congregation might support or, for more information, write to the Task Force on World Hunger, Box 330, Nashville, Tenn. 37202.

WORLD HUNGER: My Family's Urgent Concern

As you did it to one of the least of these my brethren
You did it to me." – Matthew 25

Bread for myself is a physical question.

Bread for my brother is a spiritual question.

"For I was hungry and you gave me food. . .

A Daily Reminder: While We Eat, Others Are Hungry

CUT OUT AND PUT AROUND CAN OR CARTON.

HOW ONE WOMAN FIGHTS HUNGER

By Margaret Moore

As the latch clicked, a pair of huge, somber, black eyes peered through the torn screen. When the slight woman opened the door, a faded calico curtain flicked across my face in the draft that always seemed to prevail. Every door in the long, smoky, brick block had a gathered curtain hung about eye-level. I was in sight of the US-Mexico border in south El Paso, a beautiful city set in a horseshoe around the southern-most tip of the Rockies.

But it is a city of staggering contrasts. With a turn of my head, the "dream houses" high on the mountainside dissolved cinderalla-like into barren huts and unkempt rows of ancient brick tenements below. Despite all its beauty and sunshine, El Paso ranks second highest in intensity of poverty among the nation's 100 largest cities, according to a survey made by the Office of Economic Opportunity. This survey estimated that 30.3% of its 320,000 people fall below O.E.O. poverty guidelines.

From 1962 to 1967 an extensive study was made in south El Paso under the direction of D. C. Pfannstiel and S. M. Hunter of Texas A&M Extension Service to identify the most effective methods of reaching Mexican-American families with Extension information. The findings were sobering:

Three-fourths of the families lived under crowded conditions; one-third of the homemakers had four grades or less schooling; 88% had incomes under $5,000 – 65% being under $3,500. The elderly, very young and large families were most deprived.

"Most family incomes were inadequate to purchase low-cost adequate diets, or even enough food for many growing children and the elderly. Diets for at least 3/4 of the families depended heavily on beans and breadstuffs with sufficient meat for seasoning beans, stews and soups."

Home visits and a monthly newsletter hastened awareness of the extension program in the research area. The newsletter was a most effective tool, and home visits on a person-to-person basis fostered confidence in the educational program.

When the research project was coming to a close, it became apparent that a continued educational program

in this area was urgently needed. So a Consumer Aid program was established to teach nutrition, cooking, sewing, sanitation, pest control, home improvement, consumer education, and the best use of supplemental foods and food stamps, when these programs came to the area.

In four years this program of concern reached over 1,700 low-income homemakers. Some results were dramatic.

While making home visits, one aid found a very ill epileptic mother sitting at the table and staring at overdue bills. Her deaf-mute husband was making only $220 per month. She had a teenage daughter and two pre-school children, anemic and skinny. In a state of depression, the mother was almost helpless, and the home was unbelievably filthy. As a first step the aid persuaded the finance company, which had been pestering the mother, to erase the account.

Then the aid began teaching her how to budget and also referred her to the clinic for a physical exam. There she also received information on planned parenthood and donated food. The aid taught her how to use the donated food and how to make food storage cannisters from coffee and lard cans. A garden and flowers were planted. With the donated food and a knowledge of nutrition taught by the aid, the mother was able to feed her youngsters much better and their appearance dramatically improved. Many people in the neighborhood commented on the obvious improvements during the five months of repeated home visits by the aid. This, like many success stories, has not been heralded in the news. But for those involved – aids and recipients – the program has been big news and good news.

The philosophy and methods of this type nutrition program offer one approach to combatting hunger. It is an "outreach" effort through which concerned individuals help others at their point of need by showing them how they can help themselves in basic, everyday ways.

Other communities can adapt the idea to fit their own situations. With the help of home economists, aids (either paid or volunteer) could be trained in basic facts of nutrition, food-preparation, and "buymanship." They could go forth then and simply share this with others. What better way to show Christian concern for one's fellow man?

As an associate home demonstration agent for youth phase of the program , which depends almost wholly on volunteer leaders to reach and teach low-income youth, I recruit and train adult volunteers, help set up youth classes, coordinate the nutrition program with other community agencies, and constantly try to make more people aware of the needs. The work can be hard and sometimes discouraging – for example when you set up a class with careful preparation and no one shows up. But satisfaction fills you and runs over when a beautiful wide-eyed youngster with long black hair throws her arms around your neck, plants a kiss, and says "thank you." Yet there is another deeper kind of satisfaction. The expression, "doing my thing," best explains it. Being able to use my training in dietetics to meet an urgent need and thus showing my concern for individuals gives me a clear-cut sense of purpose. For me, this is using my life far more efficiently in the service of God than perhaps ever before.

SHE NEEDS YOUR LOVE

Little Mie-Wen in Formosa already knows many things . . . the gnawing of hunger . . . the shivering of fear . . . the misery of being unwanted.

But she has never known love. Her mother died when she was born. Her father was poor—and didn't want a girl child. So Mie-Wen has spent her baby years without the affection and security every child craves.

Your love can give Mie-Wen, and children just as needy, the privileges you would wish for your own child.

Through Christian Children's Fund you can sponsor one of these youngsters. We use the word sponsor to symbolize the bond of love that exists between you and the child.

The cost? Only $12 a month. Your love is demonstrated in a practical way because your money helps with nourishing meals . . . medical care . . . warm clothing . . . education . . . understanding housemothers . . .

And in return you will receive your child's personal history, photograph, plus a description of the orphanage where your child lives. You can write and send packages. Your child will know who you are and will answer your letters. Correspondence is translated at our overseas offices.

(If you want your child to have a special gift—a pair of shoes, a warm jacket, a fuzzy bear—you can send your check to our office, and the *entire amount* will be forwarded, along with your instructions.)

Will you help? Requests come from orphanages every day. And they are urgent. Children wrapping rags on their feet, school books years out of date, milk supplies exhausted, babies abandoned by unwed mothers.

Since 1938, thousands of American sponsors have found this to be an intimate person-to-person way of sharing their blessings with youngsters around the world.

Little Mie-Wen and children like her need your love—won't you help? Today?

Sponsors urgently needed this month for children in: India, Brazil, Taiwan (Formosa) and Hong Kong. (Or let us select a child for you from our emergency list.)

Write today: Verent J. Mills

CHRISTIAN CHILDREN'S FUND, Inc.

Box 511, Richmond, Va. 23204

I wish to sponsor ☐ boy ☐ girl in (Country) _____

☐ Choose a child who needs me most. I will pay $12 a month.

I enclose my first payment of $_____. Send me child's name, story, address and picture.

I cannot sponsor a child but want to give $_____.

☐ Please send me more information

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Address _____

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Church/World

INTERNATIONAL

Recent political upheaval in Poland is not expected to affect WCC plans to channel $252,000 through to the Polish government to increase hospital facilities for the aging.

Pakistan has reported to the United Nations that although relief operations in the cyclone-devastated areas of East Pakistan are underway, the task is formidable; the financial loss exceeds $150 million, but the human cost is incalculable.

The WCC says its aid to American draft evaders in Canada makes no judgment regarding the rightness of the evaders' position, nor is it intended to encourage draft evasion.

A United Church of Christ congregation in New Haven, Conn., has become the first local church in the United States to make a contribution directly to the international anti-racism program of the WCC – a $1,000 check from the United Church on the Green.

NATIONAL

Even as it gains momentum, the women's liberation movement within American churches is undergoing a transformation; the goals of more equal representation, ordination, and unofficial political power continue, but these expressions are being supplemented, perhaps even surpassed, by a determination to use woman power to move all humanity toward more meaningful personal and group experiences, and a part of this effort aims at steering religious institutions toward more lively theological contemplation, according to a Religious News Service report.

A church for homosexuals, the Philadelphia Homophile Church, has been attracting about 10 to 15 persons to services each week, reports pastor Bob Louis; the word "homophile" was used in the church's name "because we want the connotation to be that of a full love relationship, not merely a sexual relationship."

RNS Photo

Waving an Israeli flag and a banner stating "Never Again," young Jews protest the sentencing of 11 Jews in the Soviet Union, during a rally in New York. Following a series of demonstrations all over the world, the Soviet Union's high court commuted the death sentences of two Jews convicted of hijacking conspiracy and awarded them relatively light 15-year prison terms. The court, ostensibly feeling the immense pressure of worldwide public opinion, also reduced labor camp sentences of three other defendants. All had been convicted of treason for planning to hijack a Soviet airliner.

The beleagured Presbytery of Philadelphia – torn by dissension over the Black Manifesto – now is experiencing internal controversy in the case of six clergymen who are accused of breaking ordination vows for refusing to leave the chancel of the Ambler Presbyterian Church last Oct. when ordered to do so by the moderator of the Presbytery. If found guilty at a Jan. Judicial Commission meeting, each could be admonished, rebuked, suspended, deposed, or excommunicated.

New Castle Presbytery, which includes 56 congregations in Delaware and Eastern Shore of Maryland, has voted to require congregations to pay ministers a minimum salary of $6,500 annually, plus housing and utilities.

The Young Lords, members of a militant Puerto Rican organization, who "occupied" Kings Way Lutheran Church in Philadelphia in October, have been "swept out" of the church by women of the congregation for not keeping the church clean. The women, carrying brooms and dustpans, took back the church from the Young Lords, charging that lax housekeeping had made a "pig pen" out of the building.

Christian Century **magazine has reported that the NCC report showing that giving** to American Protestant churches held "steady" in 1969 "conceals more than it reveals." (Survey, Dec. 7, p. 15) *Christian Century* while not doubting the statistics, contended that "the financial crunch in the denominations is much more severe than this ostensibly encouraging analysis admits."

ECUMENICAL

Disciples of Christ may merge program activities in Arizona with a commission already approved by state units of the UPUSA and the United Church of Christ; delegates to the Arizona Convention of the Christian

Church will be asked in Feb. to join the three-denomination commission.

An unprecedented agreement on the meaning of the Eucharist has been reached by a group of 19 theologians from communions as varied as the Friends, the Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Southern Baptist, and mainline Protestant churches; a document entitled "The Eucharist in the Life of the Church: an Ecumenical Consensus" has been prepared by the group for the NCC.

The Synod of the Evangelical Church of Hesse-Nassau in Germany has decided to release approximately $27,300 to the WCC Fund to Combat Racism.

Summer camps maintained by the Upper New York Synod of the Lutheran Church in America, the Cayuga, Syracuse-Utica Presbyteries of the UPUSA, and the Episcopal Diocese of Central New York have entered a joint camping agreement, the Ecumenical Camp Association, to enable the denominations to offer an expanded and more economical year-round camping program.

A $2.6 million low income housing complex has been launched in Jackson, Miss., by the African Methodist Episcopal Church and the Christian Church (Disciples of Christ). Similar projects are planned in Atlanta, New Orleans, and Baton Rouge, La.

The Canadian Council of Churches has reported that Canadian churches have pledged more than $102,000 in aid to cyclone and flood-ravaged East Pakistan.

PEOPLE

Dr. David H. C. Read, minister of New York's Madison Avenue Presbyterian Church and Union Theological Seminary lecturer, is the new chairman of the Men's Committee of the Japan International Christian University Foundation, a group of 500 men in the U.S. who work on behalf of International Christian University, Tokyo. He succeeds the group's founder, the late Dr. Ralph W. Sockman.

UPUSA moderator **Rev. William R. Laws Jr.** has asked congregations to give the denomination a "vote of encouragement and love" through extra gifts for mission, because inflation has forced many cutbacks in the mission program of UPUSA.

Miss Kathleen Ryan, 33, has become the first woman ever ordained a deacon in the Episcopal Church – the closest thing to a woman minister in the denomination.

Dr. Tracey K. Jones Jr., United Methodist Church exec, predicts that an end to the sometimes bitter debate between "social action" and "spiritual" factions in churches may be in sight. He says "conservatives" and "liberals" are saying many of the same things.

Rabbi Marc Tanenbaum says the recent commutation of the death sentences of Jews in the Soviet Union and of Basques in Spain made for "positive omens for 1971; while there can be no illusions that these regimes have changed their repressive character, these decisions not to commit political murders represent a victory for the emerging conscience of mankind."

Rev. Ralph Abernathy, of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and **Father James E. Groppi**, two clergymen noted for civil rights work, reportedly have been the subjects of Army intelligence surveillance.

Evangelist Billy Graham, speaking at Montreat-Anderson College, says "it is an illusion that freedom can survive without religious faith." He says if the U.S. does not change its course, it is heading for a dictatorship. "I don't know if it's to the right, or left . . . but in our search for new freedom, we are in danger of losing what little freedom we have; an anarchic attitude is growing, an attitude that wants to tear down everything and put nothing in its place; the only thing that can turn the tide is a religious revival."

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Dallas, Texas 75207

85A

- ☐ Letter enclosed with personal request
- ☐ Send special recruitment information, am interested in earning my own way.

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Now Available

Many families and groups use coin boxes as reminders of the Easter Offering. This is the Offering received in our churches during the Lenten, Easter Season to alleviate world hunger and human need. This year portions of it will be used to help disaster victims in Peru and East Pakistan.

OVERSEAS RELIEF BOARD OF WORLD MISSIONS BOX 330 NASHVILLE, TENN. 37202

Presbyterians This Week

$50 Million for Self-Development No. 1 UPUSA Story of 1970

The launching of a massive campaign to aid people in their own development rates is the No. 1 news story of the UPUSA for 1970; the denomination has embarked on a campaign to raise at least $50 million through a Fund for the Self-Development of People.

The campaign, which went through the initial stages of activation during the latter half of 1970, is expected to be high on the UPUSA agenda for the coming decade.

"War Claims" To Be Used By UPUSA for "Reconciliation"

Projects aimed at "reconciliation among nations and peoples" will benefit from $1,979,485 in "war claims" soon to be received by UPUSA. The money will be received for damages incurred to church properties in World War II; recent Congressional action made the grants possible through an amendment to the 1948 War Claims Act. The sum earmarked for the UPUSA is based on the sale and trusteeship of General Analine Co., a German-owned firm operating in the United States before the war.

Although a final decision on the disposition of the funds will not be made until March, UPUSA is "committed by its own actions and the urgency of the times to continue this special emphasis upon the reconciliation of peoples."

Geering Moves to Victoria

Professor Lloyd G. Geering, a Presbyterian who has twice been charged with "doctrinal error" or heresy, has accepted a newly-created chair for religious studies at Victoria University, Wellington, New Zealand; he is currently principal of the New Zealand Presbyterian Church Knox College, a theological school in Dunedin.

In 1967, the minister was accused of heresy by a group of Presbyterian laymen and clergymen; the General Assembly of the denomination exonerated him of the charges, but disassociated itself from some of his theological views. The organization which brought the action against Prof. Geering then withdrew from the New Zealand Presbyterian body.

The General Assembly, in its 1970 meeting last November again withdrew a motion to dismiss the minister. Both times Prof. Geering was accused of challenging the doctrines of the resurrection of Jesus and life after death.

PCUS refers to the Presbyterian Church in the United States; UPUSA, United Presbyterian Church in the United States of America; NCC, the National Council of Churches; WCC, the World Council of Churches; BPLC, the PCUS Black Presbyterian Leadership Caucus; ECOE, Executive Commission on Overseas Evangelism; BCE, the PCUS Board of Christian Education; BWM, the PCUS Board of World Missions; BNM, the PCUS Board of National Ministries; BAR, the PCUS Board of Annuities and Relief; BWW, the PCUS Board of Women's Work; and TRAV, the PCUS television, radio and audio visuals.

New Zealand Presbyterians Contribute $1,000 to WCC

The Presbyterian Church of New Zealand has contributed $1,000 to a WCC "Program to Combat Racism," an effort to aid various anti-racism projects around the world, which has been sharply criticized by some church bodies for its contributions to groups allegedly using guerilla warfare tactics in South Africa.

UPUSA Agencies To Fight Racism in Southern Africa?

UPUSA boards, agencies, and institutions have been requested to use their voting rights as stockholders in the Gulf Oil Co. to express concern over southern Africa apartheid, racism, and colonialism, because stockholder action is "one way Presbyterians can press for justice in southern Africa;" the stockholders meeting is set for April.

"Gulf's $150 million plus investment in Angola clearly involves Gulf in support of Portuguese white minority rule colonialism," a denominational Task Force has established.

UPUSA agencies are being urged: to purchase and/or retain stock in Gulf Oil Co.; to consider assigning proxies to the denomination's Southern Africa Task Force for representation purposes at the annual meeting of the Gulf stockholders; and to be represented at the meeting of the Gulf Oil Co. stockholders, after consultation with the Southern Africa Task Force.

PANORAMA

Jacobs New Thornwell President. Dr. Allen C. Jacobs, president of Presbyterian Home for Children, Talladega, Ala., has been named the fourth president of Thornwell Orphanage, Clinton, S.C. – the children's home of the PCUS South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida synods – effective June 1. Dr. Jacobs succeeds Dr. M. A. Macdonald, who retires after 26 years as president. Controversy had surrounded the admission of black and illegitimate children to the 95-year-old institution. (Survey, June 1, 1970, p. 16).

Strong Performs Wallace Wedding. PCUS minister Dr. Robert Strong, pastor of Montgomery's Trinity Presbyterian Church, recently performed the marriage ceremony of Alabama Gov.-elect George Wallace, a Methodist, and divorcee Cornelia Ellis Snively, a member of Trinity.

Mrs. Taylor Elected President Of FCM. PCUS missionary and college professor Mrs. Arch B. Taylor Jr., of Shikoku, Japan, has become the first PCUS missionary ever and the first woman in more than 100 years to be elected president of the ecumenical Fellowship of Christian Missionaries, of Japan. PCUS missionary Rev. Lewis H. Lancaster Jr., of Takamatsu, Japan, was elected vice president.

PCUS Seminaries To Develop Doctor of Ministry Degrees. Union, Louisville, Austin, and Columbia PCUS Theological Seminaries have announced intentions to develop programs for the Doctor of Ministry degree. The seminaries and the Presbyterian School of Christian Education have agreed to work "in close association" with each other in development of the degree programs.

continued on page 24

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Fr. Geers Addresses PCUS Task Force. Father Edwin Geers, associate exec of the NCC's Agricultural Missions Inc., recently addressed the PCUS World Hunger Task Force on: "Development – Views and Issues," saying "development" is not basically money or an economic concept, but rather an "investment in people." The Roman Catholic priest says the church is basic to the concept of what develops in a community.

First Texas Union Presbytery. PCUS Central Texas Presbytery and UPUSA Brazos Presbytery met Jan. 5, at Fort Worth's St. Stephen Church to form the first union presbytery in Texas.

Street Attends WCC Meet. PCUS BWM exec Dr. T. Watson Street is attending a meeting of the Central Committee of the WCC in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, discussing: restructuring the WCC; integrating the World Council of Christian Education into the WCC; reviewing the WCC's program to combat racism; the church's involvement in helping countries develop constructively; applications for membership from several national groups, including the Methodist Church in Malaysia and Singapore and the Church of the Province of Burma.

Lytton Memorial Fund Established. A memorial fund for the education of the children of PCUS missionary-pilot-evangelist Robert M. Lytton and his wife, Billie Byers, who were killed in a plane crash recently while flying from Santiago to Brazil, following a six-month furlough in the U.S., has been established by the PCUS BWM. Robert M. Lytton Fund, Treasurer, Board of World Missions, Box 330, Nashville, Tenn. 37202.

King College Receives Grant. King College, of Bristol, Tenn., has received a $12,000 grant from the Thomas F. Staley Foundation toward the endowment of the Staley Distinguished Christian Scholar Lectures at the College, according to College President Powell A. Fraser.

Miss Brock Named To BWW Post. Miss Ruby Brock, of Houston, Texas, an experienced Christian education director, has been named to the newly-created post of program associate for the PCUS BWW, effective Jan. 1. She will: research projects; interpret the program of the denomination; and bring back to members of the BWW information on special needs of particular groups of women both inside and outside the denomination.

Council on Church and Society Meets. As this issue of Survey goes to press, the PCUS Council on Church and Society was meeting in Atlanta to adopt its report to the 1971 General Assembly. Read the story in the next issue of the Survey.

Columbia Institutes New Program. PCUS Columbia Theological Seminary, Decatur, Ga., has instituted the Visiting Instructor in Professional Ministry program, which will bring a visiting minister to the campus each quarter. Miss Lena Clausell, associate to the pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, Lake Charles, La., is the seminary's first visiting instructor in the program.

Stidham Receives Fellowship. Dr. James D. Stidham, associate professor of biology at Presbyterian College, has received one of 54 Senior Postdoctoral Fellowships awarded by the National Science Foundation; he plans to do research work in marine biology and tropical ecology at the University of Miami.

Enrollment Records Set At Presbyterian College. New enrollment records have been set at Presbyterian College; 812 students registered for the winter term. This total not only represents the largest student body in the College's history, but it also marks the first time winter registration has exceeded the fall registration number.

Rev. Browne to D.C. General Hospital. A two-year effort by the Women's Fellowship Class of Chevy Chase Presbyterian Church in Washington, D.C., has resulted in the appointment of the Rev. Hosta H. Browne as the first full-time Protestant chaplain at D.C. General Hospital since 1964. The class launched the drive to raise funds for the chaplaincy when it was learned that no Protestant denomination could finance the post. Mr. Browne also will serve part-time as a Baptist pastor.

Questions/Answers

Do persons with no knowledge of the Bible or of Jesus Christ have any valid sense of right and wrong? If so, why do they need a knowledge of the Bible and of Christ?

Persons with no knowledge of the Bible and of Jesus Christ do have a sense of right and wrong. They have, in many cases, a true sense of what is God's will for man. But their perception of it is partial. Their knowledge is incomplete. In Jesus Christ and in the Holy Scriptures we have a full revelation of God's will for man. So we share Christ and the Bible with such persons in order that their knowledge of right and wrong might be perfected and completed. But the primary reason they need to know the Bible and Jesus Christ is that through the Scriptures and Christ they come to know the grace and love of God in all its fullness in ways they could not perceive it from other sources. Most, if not all, religions of the world present ideas regarding the laws of God. It is the Christian faith that says, "God is love." It is the Christian faith that teaches us about His grace and His forgiveness.

In a Presbyterian worship service is it proper for a layman to pronounce the benediction?

As far as the *Book of Church Order* is concerned, there is nothing improper about it. It has been a custom in the Presbyterian Church for many years that the pronouncement of the benediction be reserved to ordained ministers, but there is no rule at the present time requiring this.

It is well to remember that there is a difference between a benediction, a prayer, and an ascription. A benediction is the announcement of a blessing, such as, "Grace, mercy and peace . . . be with you all." Notice the benediction is addressed to the persons receiving the blessing. A prayer, however, is addressed to God, like this: "Father, may thy blessing rest upon us as we leave this place . . . . " An ascription ascribes praise to God. A typical ascription is "Unto Him . . . be glory, honor, dominion and power forever and ever." Notice this is the ascribing of praise to God. In the Presbyterian Church there has never been any objection to a layman offering a prayer or an ascription, but the announcement of a benediction was traditionally reserved to the ordained minister.

Dr. Ben Lacy Rose answers your questions

Can you explain how the year of Christ was established? We see mention of a year BC and another AD. I would like to know when the year AD started and its numerical designation.

I asked Dr. Ross Mackenzie of this seminary to help me with this question, and he has given me the following information: It appears that the Church began to use the phrase AD (anno domini – year of our Lord) around the year 526 or 527. A Christian abbot by the name of Dyonysius Exiguus, in sending out his encyclicals, was unwilling to depend "upon the remembrances of ungodly men regarding the time." So he chose to denote the times of the years from the incarnation of our Lord Christ. This appears to have been the first use of the letters AD, but it did not find general use until it was encouraged and popularized by the Venerable Bede around 725. It was not until the period of the Enlightenment in Europe that we began to use the phrase, BC (Before Christ).

Why did God make men and women of different colors?

The color of a man's skin was God's way of enabling that man to adapt to the climate of the region in which he lived. People with dark skins were able to live more comfortably in a hot climate. There was then this useful purpose in making men of different colors, but aren't you glad that He did? Such differences make for interesting variety, don't you think?

What do you think of a minister reading his sermon every Sunday? It worries me to see him stick so closely to his papers. A few notes would be okay, but we have a minister of years of experience who still reads his sermons.

Some of the great preachers of history read their sermons: Philips Brooks, Jonathan Edwards, John Calvin. But modern congregations prefer that the minister deliver his sermons without sticking too closely to a manuscript. The effectiveness of a sermon is cut in half when it is read.

If a sincere Christian church worker falls into a particular sin and is unable to give it up, will God forgive?

Yes, thank God, as long as there is true confession and an honest request for help.

TO: **Dr. Ben L. Rose** – Union Theological Seminary – Richmond, Va. 23227

Dear Dr. Rose: This is my question –

Please **print** your name and full address. No anonymous question; your name will not be used.

Name:_____

Street Address:_____

City & State:_____ Zip Code:_____

COLLEGE FEATURE

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STILLMAN IS IN VANGUARD OF FIGHT AGAINST HUNGER

A national financial columnist, drawing from the latest U.S. Census figures, recently concluded that four years of college are worth $245,000 to the high school graduate during his lifetime. The financial significance of a college education bears out the significant witness of the Presbyterian Church, U.S., through Stillman College. Regardless of race, there will always be students in need of greater educational opportunity, and Stillman has made opportunities for higher education available to many who otherwise might not have had this chance.

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Forum

Editorial

If we can get serious about hunger

Reading this issue of *Survey* from cover to cover could conceivably result in one of the most uniquely valuable investments of time and effort you will make this year – IF you will but allow its message to penetrate your heart and mind!

Produced with the cooperation of the Boards of World Missions and National Ministries and the Task Force on World Hunger, this special issue has been designed and executed to make us aware of the problem of hunger and some of its root causes without attempting to be exhausting in its depth and scope or shocking in its treatment.

"Presbyterians know that hunger – even starvation – exists in their own communities," a minister said recently. "And they know the problem is even more severe in other parts of the world. But we're reluctant to acknowledge or admit that it exists close at hand, for then we would be forced to do something about it. And it is rather embarrassing to admit that we have hungry people living in our backyards and dying on our doorsteps."

Perhaps "embarrassing" isn't an accurate description of how most of us feel about hunger. We feel sort of helpless and frustrated because the problem is immense, and permanent solutions seem beyond our comprehension.

"What am I supposed to do?" Load a bunch of food in my car and drive into some poor neighborhood and knock on doors until I find someone who's hungry? I just don't see myself doing that kind of thing, and I think this kind of Christmas-basket approach to the problem does more harm than good," a young woman said recently.

She is right! Emergency feeding of hungry people should be done, but by experts and as part of other long range, diverse programs, if possible, to bring about permanent solutions.

So this issue of *Survey* is designed to awaken awareness, perhaps fill some cracks in the information gap, most of all to show us how we as individuals and members of small groups can grab hold and become involved in this war on hunger.

Our Presbyterian US General Assembly in 1969 established hunger as a top priority of our denomination for five years. An Interboard Task Force on World Hunger was set up and made recommendations to the 1970 General Assembly, pointing up some specific directions in which pastors, sessions, congregations, and presbyteries might begin moving.

Some churches and members have begun moving – at times dramatically. For example, a small group of women in a congregation in Kentucky got concerned enough to win enough support in their congregation and community to change the county's commodity food distribution system and establish a breakfast feeding program for hungry children throughout the school system.

There are plenty of "handles" to grab in this fight against hunger here and abroad. Look at the list that Faith Pomponio has compiled in the article beginning on page 13. So hand wringing isn't a valid option for the concerned Christian and his congregation.

"I am perfectly willing to get involved in this project," a woman told her minister, "but I do think we need to make sure that the recipients really deserve it." "Why, Mrs. ----------, I am surprised at you," the minister chided gently. "Suppose God dispensed his grace like that – only to those who deserved it? Sort of scares me to think about it!"

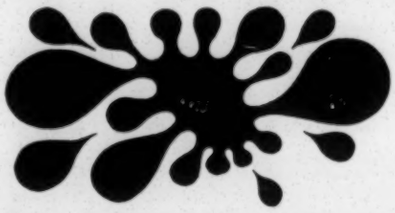
Using God's standard in dispensing grace, we have no alternatives but to give to those who need our help, to give sacrificially as he gave his Son that we might live more abundantly.

If we're serious about our faith, we've got to get serious about hunger! – BH

Letters

Let me compliment you on a very lively magazine which you have been putting out. There is a freshness and sparkle in the layout and the presentation of your material. The news

continued on page 28



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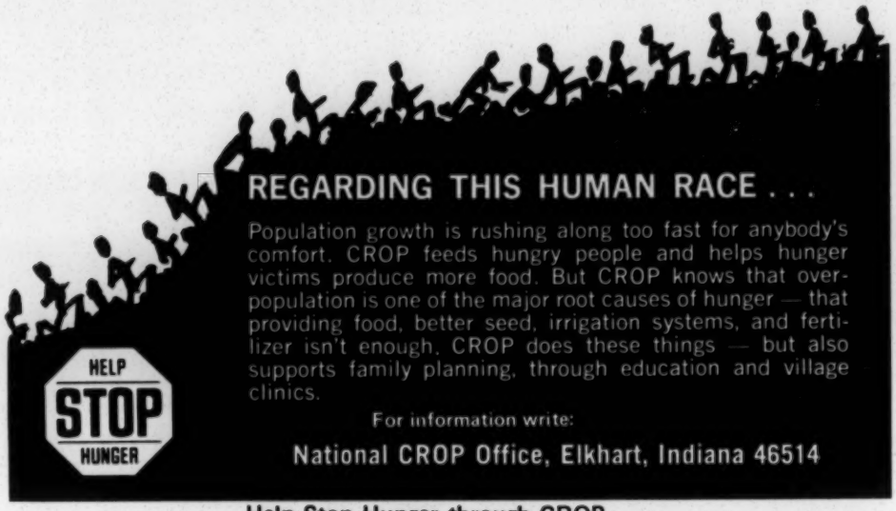

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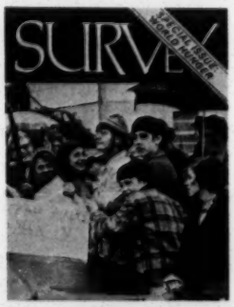

with the SURVEY Every Family Plan

Forum *continued from page 27*

section of your magazine is a marvel of compression; reading the "millions" of pages of the Religious News Service as you and I do, and for you to boil them down to a few succinct sentences is tremendous, as far as I am concerned.

Rabbi Solomon S. Bernards
New York, N.Y.

I recently sent the enclosed letter to my Pastor to express my concern about a problem which exists in practically every church in each denomination . . . .

After having attended your service this morning, I felt constrained to express my feelings about today's church attendance.

I saw so many new faces (some on old bodies) who were virtually strangers to me. Evidently, the last time that I saw them in church was last Christmas and possibly at the Easter service. Where have they been? The church is a 365 day, 52 Sunday operation. From all appearances . . . Presbyterian has been able to operate without "strangers" but, how in God's name, have *they* done without the church? The old theory that one can get close to God on the golf course, while holding a fishing line, lounging around home, etc., is so much poppycock! We all know that God is everywhere. But the place to be on the Lord's Day is in His House. It brings one much closer to Him than all the aforementioned activities.

Many members think that as long as they contribute to the church they are fulfilling their obligation to God. Not so! The pastor, the faithful members of the congregation, the choirs, and even the custodian is entitled to a full house each Sunday. The latter would be out of work if no one bothered to show up! Every one of the 1,400 members on the rolls can devote an hour or two 52 times a year by being present at church services. They need this continuous association to keep in tune to the times and to keep a song in their hearts.

There is no excuse for empty pews in a church when there are enough members to fill them twice!

Name Withheld
Tampa, Fla.

Please discontinue further communication with the person on address

continued on page 30

A Good Fill-in For February

The gift you make to the "Offering for Christian Witness at Home and Abroad" will help sustain vital Christian ministries both in the United States and overseas. Ministries that witness to the love of God in Christ Jesus through word and deed. Ministries spelling hope, care, freedom and dignity for those in need. Won't you make a generous contribution when this Offering is received in your church?

Board of National Ministries/Board of World Missions/Presbyterian Church in the United States

label. She is my daughter who is graduating from college in the spring. I have been mailing to her the Leadership SURVEY, but in the future she does not know exactly where she will be. She also has not made up her mind where she stands within the organized church. She is an activist and is more or less turned off by the churches.

Incidentally, why in the name of Christ (and I use that word in deep reverence) did you choose to put Dean Rusk in a December pre-Christmas edition? His views are pretty well known after eight very long years. Surely you should have interviewed someone with convictions and hopes for love, peace and reconciliation.

Mrs. Adrian Combs
Hazard, Ky.

I would not now or ever pay $3.00 to subscribe to your magazine or to give a subscription to anyone whose spiritual welfare I cared about. I only receive the magazine now because all of the collegiate staff of Montreat (summer 1968) were given a year's subscription. My first impulse was to cancel the subscription, but I decided not to just so I could see what the SURVEY was really all about. I have seen. From now on I will learn what goes on in the liberal mind of our church from other sources.

Linda Prevost
Columbus, Miss.

"DON'T EXPECT TOO MUCH FROM ONE VISIT."

There are voices being raised in our denomination urging us to say to millions of other Christians "We prefer not to be fellow Christians with you; we would rather not even talk to you; indeed, we insist that we don't want to have anything to do with you. Now, let me tell you about the love of God and evangelism."

If that is the Good News, I wonder what the bad news is?

Charles C. Talley
Charlottesville, Va.

'And the Angels Sing' by Mary M. Frye is quite a treat [SURVEY, December 7, 1970]. Thanks for this delightful human interest story, so appropriate for another Christmas season.

I trust other stories will be coming from the pen of Mary M. Frye in the near future.

H. Grady James
Cross Plains, Tex.

APATHY

If restlessness is a broadspread disease, it is, after all, the normal condition of "natural man." But apathy is something else; if restlessness is natural, apathy is unnatural.

Apathy is insensitivity and dullness. Doctors tell us a seriously sick person cannot recover without the will to live. Tragically, many "go through the motions" of existence but never come alive; they are "past feeling."

Apathy derives from Greek *apathein,* "insensibility," and *apathes,* "without feeling." Stoics considered apathy the highest condition of humanity, for they stressed the rule of reason over emotions, which they considered dangerous. Alexander Pope disapproved of "lazy apathy in which Stoics boasted their virtue," and Thomas North, translator of Plutarch's *Lives,* noted that while apathy might be thought of as equanimity with regard to oneself, "with reference to others it is indifference."

North was right. Apathy is insensitivity to others' suffering. It answers the plea to do something about poverty with, "The poor we have always with us" and the tragedies of war with, "There will be wars and rumors of wars." Hubert Covington calls apathy "the spirit of not really caring," which says, "I do not want to be become involved." He adds that nothing is "as dangerous to the life of the church." Broaden that a bit: is anything more dangerous to *life itself* than indifference to air and water pollution, over-population, increasing sex crimes, war?

Let us pray: "Lord, stab me with another's pain!"

– Turner N. Clinard

PRESBYTERIAN SURVEY

January 25, 1971

Official Magazine of the Presbyterian Church in the United States

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Leadership Edition contains information from Boards of World Missions, National Ministries and Christian Education. Published sixteen times annuall. Subscriptions: add $1 to regular SURVEY rates.

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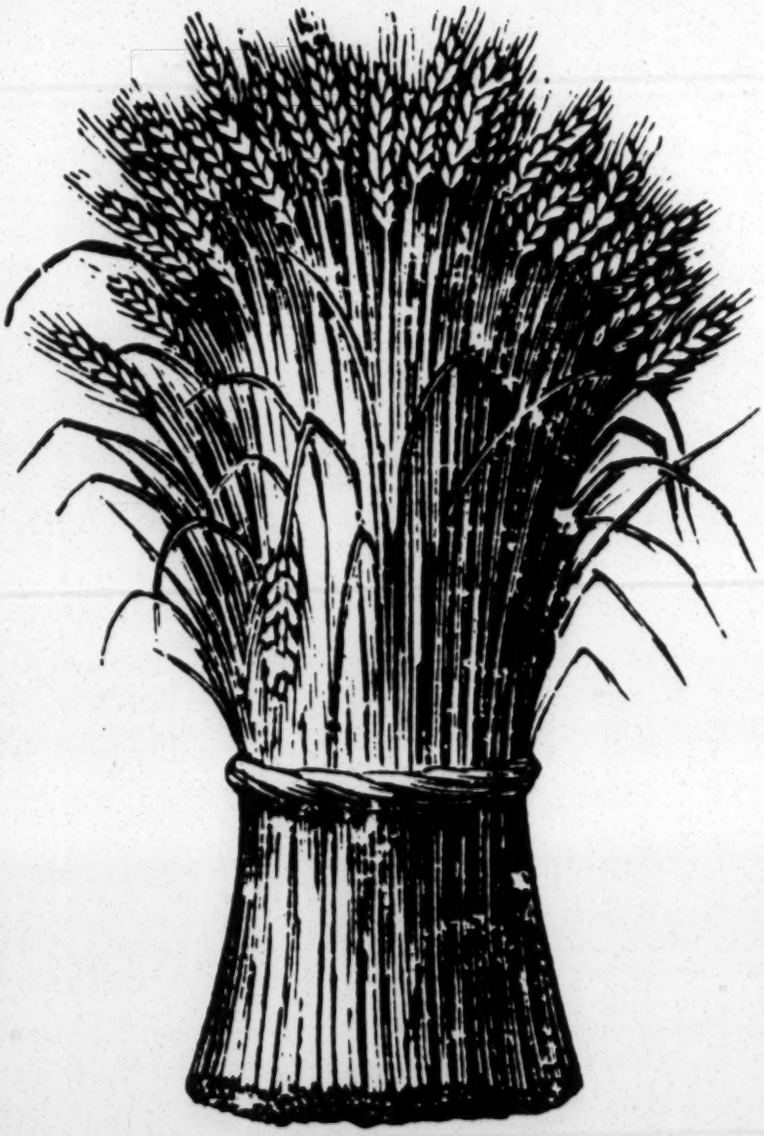
On Reading of Hunger in My Own State

By Nancy Hollis Dillard



I could scream.
It is obscene.
But one mustn't be extreme.
So I turn the page,
Shun the shrunken, crumpled granny,
The milky-eyed granny,
The able only to baby-sit granny,
Empty of hope and full of age.
I am filled with outrage.

Here's a woman, middle-aged,
On the next page,
And in her face read rage.
I don't blame her.
God knows she tried,
Tears dripping inside
At the bloated bellies of her young.
When will her trap of poverty be sprung?

Then see the girl-child,
The barely up-to-my-knee-child,
The too-listless-to-play-child,
Twisting her skirt, showing frail scabby legs,
Turning eyes to the camera as mutely she begs
That I link my fate to her stunted squalor,
As is the message of the Man I say I follow.

Riffle quick the leaves of this horror tale
So not to see the baby pale.
Deny the rush of pain
Like sudden rain
That drenches me
When I see
The after-image plain
Of the baby's dying face.

It is a man-damned disgrace.

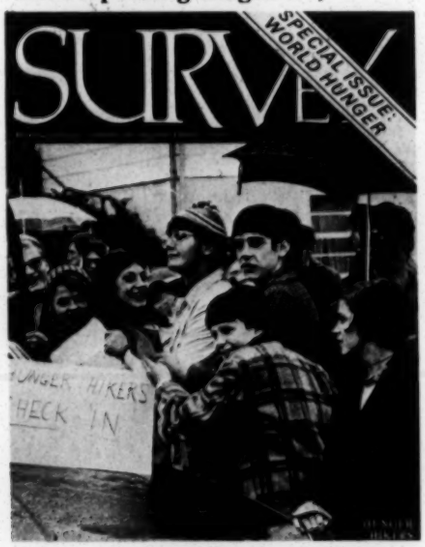
The Presbyterian Survey tells you what in heaven's name is going on.

The purpose of the Survey is to let Presbyterians of all convictions in on what's going on.

The hope of the Survey is that when clear, concise information is made available, tolerance—maybe even understanding—will follow.

So, for example, if you'd like to find out how other Presbyterians are facing contemporary social problems, read the Survey. Or if you'd like to know more about how our missionaries are doing, read the Survey. Or if you're interested in keeping up with the latest movies, books and television programs of religious significance, read the Survey.

Of course, like any self-respecting magazine,



we express a few opinions of our own. Opinions based on what is really going on.

We hope that reading the Survey will encourage you to do the same.

A one-year subscription to the Survey (22 issues) costs $3.00. Churches sending the Survey to every family earn the special rate of just $1.50 per subscription.

Presbyterian Survey
341 Ponce de Leon Avenue, NE
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Know Thy Church.

February 11, 1971

Dean Alex B. Lacy, Jr.
School of Urban Life
Georgia State University
33 Gilmer Street, S. E.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Alex:

Please forgive me this delay in responding to your invitation to participate in the "Dialogues for new Directions" program. It sounds not only interesting, but extremely favorable. After much thought, however, I have no choice but to conclude that it would be foolish of me, with my present travel schedule, to commit myself, and I assume you can use this space for someone else.

Again thanks.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

PAGE PARTIALLY ILLEGIBLE

DIALOGUES FOR NEW DIRECTIONS

A program of the Urban Life Center

Georgia State University

33 Gilmer St., S.E. **Atlanta, Georgia 30303**

DR. ALEX B. LACY, JR.
DEAN, SCHOOL OF URBAN LIFE

MR. JOHN A. RHODES, JR.
DIRECTOR, URBAN PUBLIC SERVICE

MR. JIM BEVIS
PROGRAM DIRECTOR

MRS. JOAN WALTERS
ASSISTANT PROGRAM DIRECTOR

PROGRAM CONSULTANTS

MR. LOU BECKER
URBAN LIFE CENTER

MR. CHARLES BLACK
FRONTIERS UNLIMITED

MRS. JUNE COFER
ATLANTA BOARD OF EDUCATION

MR. KEN GREGOR
MAYOR'S OFFICE
CITY OF ATLANTA

MISS BARBARA LEBOW
DRAMA CONSULTANT

MRS. ETHEL MATTHEWS
NATIONAL WELFARE RIGHTS

MR. ROBERT J. MORGAN
MEDIA CONSULTANT

DR. MARGARET ROWLEY
MORRIS BROWN COLLEGE

MR. JUDGE K. ROWLEY
MORRIS BROWN COLLEGE

MR. JOHN SWEET
STUDENT, EMORY LAW SCHOOL

MR. JOHN WRIGHT
ATLANTA LABOR COUNCIL

January 21, 1971

Paul Anthony, So. Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

The Urban Life Center of Georgia State University is presently engaged in developing a program which will attempt to deal with some of the most pressing problems faced by the city and citizens of Metropolitan Atlanta.

The program will be long-range, consisting of a 15-week series of seminar workshops. Atlanta-area residents from all walks of life will be invited to participate, in the hope that as many diverse points of view and ideologies as possible will be represented. It is our hope to engage businessmen, educators, factory workers, students, janitors, doctors, policemen, elected officials and others, in a collective process of viewing the Atlanta area as a dynamic, growing place which, though beset by problems of great magnitude, can be dramatically improved if people will commit themselves to its improvement. Although 15 weeks of group activity won't provide an automatic solution, it is the first step which will at least put people in touch with one another and permit them to share their hopes, frustrations, fears and aspirations.

One charge often made--and rightly so--by people in communities is that plans are made <u>for</u> them about things which affect their lives in very basic ways. We in the Urban Life Center want to turn that around by involving a broad representation of citizens from the Atlanta community as participants in this program.

These will be workshops. They will not be "classes" to teach you what you need to know about your community. We believe that you are the one who knows best what is happening and what should happen to make our community a good place to live in. Indeed, it might not be an exaggeration to say that the survival of Metropolitan Atlanta as a viable place for living and working may depend on our ability to communicate and act together.

We will begin the series with a kick-off dinner on Wednesday evening, February 10. Each Wednesday evening from then through May 19, from 7:00 P. M. until 10:00 P. M., the workshops sessions will occur. The program consultants listed on this letter are working together to plan a varied set of experiences, including films, speakers, small-group sessions, and feedback opportunities. Topics to be dealt with will be such things as housing, health and welfare, transportation, the environment, the system of justice, jobs, political power, and so forth.

We want you to be one of the 150 Atlantans participating in this program. There will be no cost for the program. This community needs your insights, experiences and commitment if it is to even have the chance to avoid---or at least to counteract---the destructive forces confronting all major urban centers. Moreover, to provide the Urban Life Center with a dynamic body of community experts, upon completion of the program we would like to ask you to consider accepting an appointment as an Urban Life Associate. This is a new concept which we believe will make it possible for the Urban Life Center at Georgia State University to become more responsive to the community on which it depends for its very existence. Your acceptance would be absolutely voluntary on your part. This concept of Urban Life Associate will be explained more fully at one of the early sessions, before we ask you to accept.

We cannot be an Urban Life Center without you. We cannot begin to examine and solve our urban problems without you. Please consider this request carefully. In the next few days, a member of our staff will contact you to discuss the program more fully, if you wish, and to determine your response.

Sincerely,

Alex B. Lacy, Jr.
Dean
School of Urban Life

ABL:bct

February 11, 1971

Mr. Al Ulmer, Ret.
Box 204
Vilas, N. C.

Dear Al:

It was certainly good to hear from you, and to know of the life and times of the Ulmers'. We may very well be in a position to make a modest deposit - or grant - to the credit union, and likely there are individuals here who would consider makeing deposits. I would, however, like to raise another idea with you before going further on that. As you know, several of the foundations have "risk capital" which they lend, and really in my opinion, have no sweat about loosing, if and when it comes to that.

From this fact I strongly feel you should think a little bigger and try to find a little more assistance than that, which would be possible at best through an organization like the Council, or a few friends.

As an example of the above, the Ford Foundation has just made a loan of $850,000 for "economic development" in Hancock County alone. This much committed to one small geographic unit!

I would assume at this point you would not want the credit union to be swamped by big money or messed with by an outfit like Ford. It does seem to me, however, from your description of it, that the credit union is at the point where a sum of perhaps $10-20,000 invested with you specifically, for high risk loans would be very favorable, and it does not seem to me that money of this size either swamps your group or brings in outside influence.

Should you wish to pursue this with Ford, you might write George Esser, their southern representative, at P. O. Box 792, 212 East Rosemary St., Chapel Hill, N. C. 27514.

If for any reason you want to do this elsewhere, I think it will probably be appropriate for you to make a request for a deposit of this size with Field, New World, New York, or Norman Foundations. (If you don't have these addresses, we will send them.)

Money in the private tax-exempt sector is being severely curtailed for tax-exempt organizations, and the future does not look that good for most of us. This is largely the reason why before we consider what would be both something of a strain here, and lend the very modest help for you, that I suggest you go to those places where significant help would really be of no strain at all. Let me say, however, that if this approach fails, or if you feel strongly about not making such an approach, we will make a decision here very promptly.

Life goes on as usual with most of us. As you may know, we lost Mrs. Knox, which was like loosing an institution. The dirt, smog and noise grows at an impressive rate, and we battle it with varying degrees of tolerance and frustration.

On the personal front, the Antique Shop continues to lose money with great efficiency, and this creates for me a very personal issue with Mr. Nixon.

The Ford Foundation has informed us that while we are nice guys, they doubt very seriously if they will play any more after this year. I don't know whether this is proof that we are good guys are not, but it does seem to indicate that the days of affluence are limited.

On that happy note, my warmest regards to you all.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

FEB 8 1971

February 3, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth St.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul,

After the shock is over try to believe this is really a letter from ole Ulmer, retired. I am writing to you because I think you will be interested in something I am involved in here in my home county, Watauga, and because I hope you might be able to help us on a problem we have.

For the past year I have been helping start a credit union in the county in which I live. Last June we got chartered and with a small grant of $50/ month for six months from The Federation rented a little office behind the bus station here in Boone. During the winter the Federation has allowed me to work part time with the credit union assisting in promotional work and consumer counseling. I am also a member of the Board of Directors. We have grown from 26 members and 76 dollars in June, 1970 to 110 members and assets of $10,000 the end of January. We are lucky in having an older man on social security who is treasurer and who keeps our office open afternoons each weekday. The credit union membership is an interesting mixture of people, poor, middle class and even one rich investor from exclusive Blowing Rock. We are doing some good. So far we have made 25 loans totalling almost $9,000 to people who are members, membership in the credit union open to anyone working or living in Watauga County, North Carolina. As yet we have been unable to make the type of loans, except in one or two cases that I will mention below, that really can help turn somebody's financial situation around. This is part of the problem, this lack of capital to loan. The other part of the problem is one I mentioned in both my literary gems about credit unions and cooperatives for SRC, the problem of high risk loans, the loans to people desparately in need of money in the amount needed to really change or help change their situation. If a credit union can be induced to take this risk (and the problem of conservative boards of directors and credit committees is something I am learning much about working on the inside as I am) how can the membership's money be protected in the case of a loan that fails? There is an answer to the protection and that is a special reserve fund set up to absorb high risk loans to very poor people. The question is how to set up such a fund.

There are two problems, then, that I hope you can perhaps help out on. One, the question of capital: Our charter allows us to accept investments from organizations and individuals outside of our field of membership who are interested in the economic development of our county. The investments can be interest earning or the dividend can be waved if the investor so desires. Is there a chance SRC as an organization would like to invest some money it is not presently using in The Watauga Federal Credit Union? What about individuals working for SRC putting their savings to work here in the mountains (part of their savings anyway)? I am sure your first question is how safe would the money be? The answer is, as safe as any bank or savings and loan association. Recent legislation, thanks to old bank hater Patman, has given federally chartered credit unions passbook savings insurance up to $20,000. Would the money earn anydividends? Last year, in order to attract savings we paid 5% dividends on savings. It is pretty certain we will try to pay that % again if we have that much money left over after expenses. Lastly, for every dollar saved in the credit union up to $2000 if you are under 55 years of age (a declining scale of dollar for dollar coverage after 55) the saver gets a dollar of free life insurance. If you all might be interested I'll send you membership cards, or possibly give you a sales pitch in person.

I do not know if you still have an economic development department, but if you do I can think of no better place for it to make a grant of $1000 or even $2000 than to a special reserve fund for a young credit union trying to serve an entire community.

That's it, I guess. I'm not full of hope about anything, but working a little in the county in which a man lives doing something half way helpful is another way of numbing the larger situation in addition to the tall beer recommended by brother Campbell in the fall issue of Look. Now, with the request out of the way let me catch you up on family stuff.

Laurel Kali Mara is one y ear and three weeks old. She walks, she talks, she crawls on her belly like a reptile, and she smiles at me every morning. Robin is weaving and rug hooking, making some beautiful things, several of which are entered in the Mint Museum in Charlotte in a show right now. I did some stone masoh work and farmed during the summer. We are growing organically grown produce and with the recent opening of a health food store in Boone we should do pretty good farming this summer. That and the part-time work with the Fed. of S. Co-ops I mentioned earlier keep us in groceries.

Say hellp to people for me at the SB&C. I miss you all but not enough to brave Atlanta traffic and air and water and noise to do anything about it.

Let me know if you can be of any help to us.

your friend,

Al Ulm

Ret.

Box 204
Vilas
N.C.

February 15, 1971

Mr. Edward C. Story
1273 Josselyn Canyon Road
Monterey, California 93940

Dear Mr. Story:

I have read your proposal with substantial interest. It strikes me that the idea is sound, and if implemented could be very faluable. It also strikes me, however, as being a very difficult proposal to have funded at this time.

On a substantially more modest basis, the National Urban Coalition is interested in the same process. Enclosed is a statement they have just issued.

Do keep me informed and let me know if there is any way that we here can be of assistance.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Enclosure

EDWARD C. STORY
1273 Josselyn Canyon Rd.
Monterey, CA 93940

FEB 8 1971

8 February 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, n.w.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Ross Green suggested that I contact you concerning the proposed Conference on National Priorities. Please find an outline enclosed.

I'm sure you have a busy schedule; however, I would certainly be obliged if you would look this over and forward to me your comments and suggestions.

There are a number of obstacles that must be overcome before the CNP can be made a reality. Your advice would be of great assistance in this regard.

Thank you for your time and for your interest.

Sincerely,

Edward C. Story

Enclosure.

CONFERENCE ON NATIONAL PRIORITIES

Preliminary Outline

The purpose of the Conference on National Priorities is to:

1. Provide an interdisciplinary examination of American values, needs, and desires.

2. Tally our national resources.

3. Provide a structure of thought on national priorities which can be used by the Conference participants and by a concerned public.

4. Synthesize our resources with these values, needs, and desires into a set of national priorities.

5. Focus maximum public attention on the need for public participation in rational decision making on this subject matter.

The Conference on National Priorities is not merely a study of the future. Rather it is a realization of where we are now and what we are now. It is an examination of what we want for the future. And finally it is a dynamic structure for the synthesis of our national personality and resources into a coherent path of action and commitment.

This nation is rebuffed abroad and in turmoil at home. Its politics and its people have become polarized. For lack of a national purpose we are rapidly losing confidence in ourselves and in those around us. We are faced with increasingly complex choices and yet the choices themselves will eventually slip from our grasp unless we attempt to form a coherent and realistic set of national priorities.

We are rapidly approaching our 200th birthday as a nation -- we are still a young nation -- and already there are many that say our system cannot respond to the changing desires we are experiencing, particularly to the rate at which these desires appear to be changing. National policy appears to be formed in the heat of the moment and national priorities by default. To some there appears to be no rational procedure for the selection of national priorities.

National policy responds to national needs only slowly. This is due to many factors. For instance, policy proposals are often submitted by limited-interest groups. The national government must balance conflicting wishes according to cumbersome procedure and in accordance with established precedent. Finally, all policy must be judged to a greater or lesser degree for its capacity to command support from a part or all of the nation. Revision of certain institutional machinery of the government may therefore be considered a prerequisite for, or one of, our national priorities.

The starting point for discussion (and for the ensuing conflict resolution) is the clear delineation of American values. An attempt must be made to define what might be called an "aggregate value system" for the people of the United States. Values are

clearly a dynamic of our system of human interaction. No values can be automatically assumed; it is even more certain that they cannot be ignored.

Needs and desires must be treated as outgrowths or functions of our basic value system and basic human nature. The major needs and desires of the society must be weighed and set into a pattern of reasonable conformity with the aggregate value system. Human nature must be considered vis-a-vis our values with a mind toward the eventual integration of these considerations into our actions or institutions for action.

Discussion will, of necessity, include the private sector and quite possibly imply action there. It is proper that it should. But the Conference will nevertheless attempt to limit itself to the rigorous definition of those activities which should be attempted on behalf of the public as a whole.

Most truly national policy deals with the allocation of resources. We must assume that the resources that form the currency of policy decisions are limited. Therefore, to attempt a selection of national priorities we must define our resources. This is of special importance as we enter a post-hostilities phase in Vietnam which may free sizeable funds for other uses.

At this point in the Conference the "critical mass" will have been assembled -- a value structure and a resources structure. We must attempt to synthesize these values, needs and desires into a coherent set of national priorities. In the process of so doing the Conference will explore rational structures of thought such as systems analysis by which to marshall these inputs.

The focal point and the interpretational heart of the Conference will be the actual synthesis of values and resources into priorities.

The Conference will assemble a catalytic group of distinguished Americans who have already made significant contributions to the still small dialogue on national priorities. These men and women will provide varying perspectives on the process of priority selection.

At the very minimum, the Conference will provide an examination of the aggregate value system, a tally of our resources, and structure for thought in the synthesis of national priorities. With even a modicum of success it should provide a series of more or less well-defined options in the field of national priorities with which the American people can identify. At its most successful, the Conference is capable of actually defining a set of national priorities in a new and meaningful manner.

The Conference must aim at the enlightenment of the public. This will be its lasting value. It is an overriding necessity at this juncture in our nation's history to promote a meaningful public consideration of who we are, where we are, and where we want to go.

The Conference on National Priorities is our most practical starting point.

Conference on National Priorities -- 3 -- Specifications

Date: Summer or fall 1971

Duration: [illegible] week or 10 days.

Location: Asilomar Conference Grounds, Monterey, California

Sponsorship: Monterey Institute of Foreign Studies (tentative).

Financing: Foundations; Corporations. Estimated Cost: $60,000

Program: Major addresses followed by structured discussion groups of ten to twenty people apiece. Panels may be utilized subsequent to major addresses. The content of the addresses and the conclusions of the panels and discussion groups might possibly be edited and published as a collection.

Potential Speakers: (None of these people have as yet committed themselves to the proposed Conference. This list is only made to give an idea of the distinguished individuals whose participation as major speakers would be valuable. Their listing under one of the four Conference categories is not meant to be restrictive concerning their potential participation but rather suggestive of the possible area of greatest contribution.)

1. To provide an interdisciplinary examination of American values, needs, and desires:

James Tobin	Robert Hutchins	Eric Hoffer
Earl Warren	Justice Harlan	Ralph Bunche
Paul Weiss	Ramsey Clark	William Scranton
Edwin Reischauer	Ron Dellums	Max Lerner
Paul Erlich	Arthur Schlesinger, Jr.	Robert Ardrey
Konrad Lorenz	Margaret Mead	David Reisman
George Kennan	Samuel Lubell	Archibald MacLeish
Henry S. Commager	Walter Lippman	Billy Graham
Michael Novak	James Buckley	Barbara Howar
Carl Stokes	Bella Abzug	Sam Brown

2. To tally our national resources:

Charles Schultze	Simon Kuznets	Paul McCracken
Arjay Miller	Louis Lundborg	Bill Moyers
Walter Hickel	Thomas J. Watson, Jr.	Edward P. Morgan

3. To provide a structure of thought on national priorities which can be used by the Conference participants and by the public:

Alain Enthoven	John Keller	Eugene Staley
Charles Hitch	Richard Neustadt	Saul Alinsky
Clinton Rossiter	Kingman Brewster	

4. To synthesize our resources with these values, needs and desires into a set of national priorities:

J.K. Galbraith	Buckminster Fuller	John Gardner
Ralph Nader	George Meany	Herman Kahn
Daniel P. Moynihan	George McGovern	Edmund Muskie
Robert Dole	John Tunney	Alan Cranston
Mark Hatfield	Robert Dole	Paul N. McCloskey
Leonard Garment	Paul Douglas	Albert Gore
George Romney	Nelson Rockefeller	Joseph Califano

Panelists: Panelists would be drawn mainly from philosophy, sociology, economics, and political science departments of colleges and

universities on the west coast.

Participating Audience: Students and professors from colleges and universities and interested members of the citizenry would be invited to attend. Projected participation: 200 to 500.

Set-up Schedule: Work to bring such a conference into being has already begun as of late 1970. Financial support is now being actively sought.

* * * * * * * *

Problem Areas

1. The foremost problem is financing this conference. Primary outlay of funds will be for honoraria and travel expenses of some major participants. Conference facilities will be the next most expensive item. Publicity and reasonable operating expenses of a small staff (despite the emphasis on volunteer help) is a factor. Estimated cost: $60,000. Proposed sources: foundations and public-spirited businesses. Terms of contribution will be restricted to simple recognition of the contributing party or organization.

Suggestions on sources of funding:

2. Certainly the quality of our top level participants (suggested list of names in preliminary outline) will to great measure dictate the quality of the Conference. These men and women will be chosen for their substantive knowledge, for their approach to the problems and their systems of reasoning, and in some cases for their capacity to inspire awareness.

Suggestions on participants:

3. The question of national priorities is perforce of immense magnitude. To some it may seem futile to approach such an all-encompassing question by the means of a conference such as this. It is assumed that no matter how carefully the Conference is planned that it will not be able to cover every conceivable question in the chosen context. It is necessary, then, to further define the format and to shape reasonable parameters of discussion of speakers and panelists.

Suggestions on parameters of discussion:

FOR FURTHER INFORMATION, CONTACT: Ed Story
Coordinator, CNP
1273 Josselyn Canyon Road
Monterey, California 93940

Telephone: Area 408 372-4659

February 15, 1971

Mr. Dohald Ross Green
Senior Research Psychologist
McGraw Hill
Del Monte Research Park
Monterey, California 93940

Dear Ross:

It is absurd that I have been so long in acknowledging your"echo of the past." The document simply got lost on my desk.

Recently I have had an inquiry on a program about a conference on National Priorities from Edward Story. What do you know of Mr. Story, and are you interested in his proposal?

Do let us know how the Green's are doing.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

CTB/McGRAW-HILL

Del Monte Research Park, Monterey, California 93940 · Telephone (408) 373-2932

June 10, 1970

JUN 12 1970

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta 3, Georgia

Dear Paul:

Here is an echo of the past I thought you might find interesting.

Sincerely yours,

Ross

Donald Ross Green
Senior Research Psychologist

Enclosures

February 15, 1971

Mr. M. Hayes Mizell, Director
South Carolina Community Relations Program
AFSC
401 Columbia Building
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

Dear Hayes:

I have not forgotten your inquiry about possible financial assistance to school board members in the region. In fact, I have discussed the matter with several people here, with our attorney, and with several of the smaller foundations. In addition to your situation, and several others, we have been particular aware that Mrs. June Cofer here in Atlanta, could make excellent use of a little assistance.

The general opinion is that school board members are pure and simply elected public officials, and as such, simply cannot receive funds from foundations.

The only alternative of merit would be to create an independent non-tax exempt group and seek individual contributions (contributions, of course, would not be tax deductible). Through such a method, a few thousand dollars might be raised and spent as you indicated.

Of course you know how difficult individual fund raising is, but I would like to have your reaction to this or any other legal alternatives which may have occurred to you. Frankly, I would not strain on this one, sensing the

odds would be very high, except that I also readily see the merits and the potential results.

Let me hear from you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE
SOUTHEASTERN REGIONAL OFFICE
P. O. BOX 1791, HIGH POINT, NORTH CAROLINA 27261
1818 SOUTH MAIN STREET • PHONE 919-882-0109

LLOYD P. TYLER
REGIONAL CHAIRMAN
WILTON E. HARTZLER
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
MELVIN A. ZUCK
FINANCE SECRETARY

December 15, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Recently I wrote to Virginia Frank of the Southern Education Foundation asking if she knew of any sources of funds available to help local school board members do their work. My letter was motivated entirely by self-interest since board members here receive no remuneration or expenses; the whole endeavor is seen as noblesse oblige.

I don't have in mind some slush fund but rather resources which would permit me to do some very specific things I think would strengthen me as a board member and would allow me to accrue additional leverage with which I could do "good things." Without going into a great deal of detail here, let me mention what I would do if I only had the wherewithal:

1. Provide materials to school patrons who are concerned about a specific problem in the schools, but who don't have any idea as to how to approach such a problem. As you can well imagine most folks here are very isolated from literature which could explain the problem, provide models, and offer alternative solutions. I come across such material in my AFSC capacity but can't personally afford to hand it out to constituents who need it in order to more effectively and creatively challenge the school system,

2. Establish a series of dinner meetings involving between fifteen and twenty people--students, teachers, administrators, community people--to discuss issues within the school system in a setting which I am able to orchestrate by the virtue of having selected the topic, chosen the participants, and paid for the dinner. I would hope to have about a dozen such meetings during the school

year and hopefully this would help to bring together disparate people within the community, establish some communication between me and the people, and provide a controlled setting in which we could thoughtfully examine and discuss issues before the district,

3. Produce a personal newsletter for distribution to a cross section of two or three hundred community leaders. The newsletter would serve as a communication link between a public official and the community, would give me a forum in which to report on actions of the school board, and provide me with an opportunity to more subjectively discuss issues and problems before the district. I would hope that such a publication might help citizens and groups to keep in touch with what is happening and to encourage them to monitor the actions of the board.

For my own purposes I am thinking of no specific amount of money. If I had $500 it would be a start. Perhaps $1500 - $2000 is a realistic figure. With as much as $5000 I could obviously bring in resource persons to the dinners and generally involve more people.

I enclose a copy of Gina's reply. You will notice she suggests that perhaps SRC might be able to get a handle on this problem since it exists with other board members around the South too. Of course, I don't know how many board members want to be as aggressive as I am suggesting, but I assume that there must be some who would like to use their board position as an organizing tool.

I would appreciate it if you could give some thought to this matter, perhaps discuss it with some of your staff, and let me know if you see SRC taking any lead in the kind of venture Gina suggests. I have written the Mott people but as a regional chauvinist I would be interested in a Southern "thing." Thanks for being there, and best wishes for a Merry Christmas!

Sincerely,

Hayes

M. Hayes Mizell, Director
South Carolina Community Relations Program
AFSC
401 Columbia Building
Columbia, South Carolina 29201

MHM/nra

Enclosure

SEF
SINCE 1867

SOUTHERN EDUCATION FOUNDATION
1501 EIGHTEENTH ST., N.W. / WASHINGTON, D.C. 20036 / 202—332-4078

December 8, 1970

Hayes Mizell
American Friends Service Committee
401 Columbia Building
Columbia, S.C. 29201

Dear Hayes:

Your letter just came, and I am departing for a week's trip, so this is just to say I'll think. I'm afraid what you are talking about cannot be tax-exempt money at all, it's not just AFSC and SEF role problems. I suspect that even innocent and information producing support to an elected official would be construed as helping you get elected again. I'll check that out, and even if it's true there may be ways.

It strikes me that this is exactly the problem of June Cofer in Atlanta, and perhaps of some black school board members around the South. By combining people into an "advocate school board member" group you might beat the tax-exempt problem, make it appear more general like VEP. I know you don't need more organizations or more meetings, I'm just thinking how to defuse the politics of your idea. If SRC were only up to it, one might develop an alliance of right thinking school board members under their wing, for instance, who could receive individual grants through them.

Another idea that comes to mind is Mott Foundation with their community education program - I enclose a copy of a letter on that which might lead to something between you and Mott.

Anyway, I'll think some more.

Sincerely,

Gina

(Mrs.) Virginia Frank
Washington Representative

VF:lb
enc.

P.S. If you are not a wide-eyed radical, nor even a wide-eyed liberal, you must be a slit-eyed subversive!

The State

WILLIAM D. WORKMAN JR., Editor

WILLIAM E. RONE JR.
Editorial Page Editor

WILLIAM P. CHESHIRE
Associate Editor

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ROBERT A. PIERCE
Managing Editor

18-A Columbia, South Carolina, Wednesday, December 9, 1970

Liberal Is As Liberal Does

THE NEWEST member of Richland's District One school board, M. Hayes Mizell, has made some shocking assertions in his chosen role as crusader for racial integration but none more startling than his Thursday night statement that "I am not a wide-eyed liberal."

Mizell, it will be remembered, is the civil rights activist who wooed and won the black, bloc vote of Richland Democrats in defeating long-time Chairman Caldwell Withers in the June primary. The same support enabled him to defeat write-in candidate Thomas N. Bagnal in the November general election.

A former employe of the National Student Association, Mizell now is state director of the Community Relations Program of the American Friends Service Committee. In this and other capacities, he has made a career of denouncing South Carolina politicians and policies at all levels for failure to bring about the degree of race-mixing he favors.

He has labeled Gov. Robert E. McNair an "agitator" for his handling of the 1968 racial violence at Orangeburg. He has censured South Carolina school officials for "the bleak and shameful performance of our recent past" in moving toward desegregation.

Three years ago, he called upon the National Education Association "to establish closer rapport with the activist Negro community across the state." In that same statement, he slapped at Negro teachers and administrators by charging that they were seen by civil rights and education activists in many Negro communities "not as an ally but as a member of the opposition."

Earlier this year, Mizell told a U.S. Senate committee that South Carolina's school system "remains anti-civil libertarian and pro-military."

Similar citations of Mizell's disdain of the people and practices of his adopted state could be extended indefinitely. Suffice it to say that if we accept his declaration that he "is not a wide-eyed liberal," he will do until a real one comes along.

M. HAYES MIZELL
District One Board Member

Mizell: I'm Not Wide-Eyed Radical

By FRED MONK
Staff Writer

M. Hayes Mizell, newly-elected member of the Richland County District One School Board, said Thursday night that "contrary to what some people believe I am not a wide-eyed radical."

In an interview prior to his address to the graduating trainees at Columbia Industrial Education Center, Mizell said that he hopes to add a new dimension to the school board which has been lacking in the past.

Mizell, who has been criticized for his opinions of the implementation of the unitary school system in the county and hard-integration line, said that as a board member one of the first things he will strive for is to get the board out into the community to see what the problems are.

"Communication is the big problem," he said, "and I believe that the school board at this time does not have intelligent information on some of the problems that exist."

Mizell said that when a group comes before the board with a complaint, the board usually has no foundation at that time to know whether that complaint is a valid one.

The 31-year-old professional civil rights worker said that he believes the school district should hire a full-time community relations director to find out what the complaints of the community are, so the board will know about them before a group comes to a school board meeting with the complaints.

However, Mizell said that the first thing he would try to do would be to get the board to hold school board meetings in different areas of the district, in order to establish better communications with the community.

Mizell, who was elected to the school board despite a last-minute write-in campaign for Columbia businessman Tom Bagnal, said he knew that his beliefs were different from most of the members of the board and he did not expect to see any immediate changes in its policy.

"I don't expect to get a great deal done right away," he said, "but I will present my case."

"I am sure that the board has a distorted picture of me and I'm sure I have a distorted picture of them," Mizell said.

"I am not as bad as some people make me out to be," he said, "Contrary to what some people believe I am not a wide-eyed liberal."

Mizell, who is director of the S.C. Community Relations Program of the American Friends Service Committee, said that there is a definite problem of discipline in the district's school.

"The principals have been caught off guard," said Mizell," and instead of placing more of the burden on them we should put more of the burden on the student."

He said that a system of discipline should be established where students and faculty members would hear certain disciplinary cases and where those who have been accused of an offense would be allowed to present their positions and even bring their lawyers if they desired.

"Just bringing in an extra assistant principal is no way to solve the problem," he said.

Mizell said that principals have to be burdened with too much paper work and other outside duties to adequately deal wih the problems the schools face.

Speaking to the 65 graduate trainees at the Columbia Industrial Education Center, Mizell said, that they could help society by relating the experience of being a victim of circumstances which they could not control.

He said that only through persistent work will accomplishments be made and inequities be dissolved.

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1180 OBSERVATORY DRIVE
MADISON, WISCONSIN 53706

FEB 22 1971

February 17, 1971

Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsythe St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

I am currently compiling a bibliography on the economics of rural poverty for two professors in the Insitiute for Research on Poverty in Madison, Wisconsin. The study covers any material which includes low-income people in rural areas or the income distribution in rural areas.

Any lists that you could send of publications by your organization covering the topic being researched would be appreciated.

Thank you,

Sharon Mastenbrook

Sharon Mastenbrook
Project Specialist

CTB/McGRAW-HILL

Del Monte Research Park, Monterey, California 93940 • Telephone (408) 373-2932

February 18, 1971

FEB 22 1971

Paul Anthony
Executive Director
SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL, INC.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

All I know about Ed Story is that he is a graduate student at the Monterey Institute of Foreign Studies, that he has involved himself in various local political campaigns, and that he has been talking about his conference for more than a year. He purports to be a Democrat but I have no real idea of his convictions and positions on issues.

You can judge better than I can whether or not his conference is feasible and has merit.

Sincerely yours,

Ross

Donald Ross Green
Senior Research Psychologist

DRG:cbe

February 19, 1971

Dr. Louis Barber
San Voaguin General Hospital
P. O. Box 1020
French Camp, California

Dear Dr. Barber:

It was a pleasure being with your group on Wednesday. I only regret that I could not have remained longer. The people and the programs impressed me a great deal.

My round trip air coahh fare to Los Angeles was $270. Minor expenses will be absorbed from the honorarium.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

February 25, 1971

Mr. John O. Boone
Superintendent
The Department of Corrections
Correctional Complex
Lorton, Virginia 22079

Dear John:

Thank you very much for sending me the article on Lorton. It was interesting and informative, and documented what I already felt certain about; namely, that you have quite a job on your hand. You have both my sympathy and admiration.

If you can find time for it, I would still like to have your assessment. If you cannot, no sweat since I understand your schedule. But I would find it helpful in planning any sound program on crime and corrections.

I am sharing you letter with Bob, and he will write you if he has further interest in the other manuscript.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

THE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS
Correctional Complex
Lorton, Virginia 22079

February 12, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forysth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Dear Paul:

I want to apologize for not being in touch with you before this time concerning the manuscript that I owe you on our total assessment of the project on crime and corrections.

I am sure that is unnecessary for me to tell you how many changes I have gone through since leaving the Council (from Gulfsport, Mississippi, Somerville, Tennessee, through Florida and Sandersville, Georgia, to the notorious Lorton Complex of the District of Columbia). Frankly, as I moved from one process to another, my concept concerning criminal justice was regularly confused. Now I believe we do have something to say and we will send the manuscript to you in the very near future.

Bill Farmar will be taking a job over here in the near future and this overview will be authored by Bill, an ex-offender, and myself, consequently we should be able to present a unique point of view, that is if you want it?

We sent you the manuscript on the Employment of Black People in Criminal Justice Agencies. Bill Farmar and Bob Anderson were supposed to get together on this and apparently they did not do this. Just as well because I was not too satisfied with this document. However, if Bob still wants to use it and feels that I can improve it in any manner, tell him to contact me.

Enclosed is a report on the Lorton Community for your information and and for you to circulate among my former co-workers.

Let me know how you feel about the overview of the project. Hope to see you soon.

Sincerely,

John O. Boone
Superintendent

SAN JOAQUIN COUNTY MEDICAL FACILITIES
POST OFFICE BOX 1020
STOCKTON, CALIFORNIA 95201
TELEPHONE 982-1800

February 22, 1971

LOUIS M. BARBER, M. D.
ADMINISTRATOR

ROBERT W. BRISSENDEN
ASST. ADMINISTRATOR

FEB 25 1971

RETURN REPLY TO:
Robert G. O'Briant, M.D.
Director

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Counsel
5 Forsythe St.
Atlanta, George

Dear Paul:

I wish to express my personal appreciation for your appearance and participation in the Synposium held in Stockton on February 17. I thought you would like to know that we had a questionaire filled out by all the participants and you were rated extremely high in the opinions of a majority of the members. There were no unfavorable comments and if you lived in a nearby city, I'm sure that you would be on the speaking circuit. I appreciate your work and effort to present this talk on such short notice. It was well done and well received and I thank you.

Sincerely,

ROBERT G. O'BRIANT, M.D.
DIRECTOR OF
ALCOHOLISM SERVICES

RGOB/jr

February 25, 1971

Miss Analoyce E. Clapp
Director
Statewide Communications
The University of Wisconsin
1652 Van Hise Hall
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Analoyce:

How nice of you to write, and how incredibly nice of you to want the picture for your rogues gallery. It has been several years since I had pictures made. Since I age so fast, I was ashamed to use one more than six months old.

Enclosed is a beauty taken about four years ago and never used. The hair is a little improved since then, but not much. The pained expression is about the same.

Incredibly, I have not had an opportunity to visit Madison, but surely some day I will have. A visit with you will be the first order of business when this happens.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

The University of Wisconsin

MADISON, WISCONSIN 53706

STATEWIDE COMMUNICATIONS
1652 VAN HISE HALL

FEB 15 1971

February 10, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
President
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I expect I should really be writing this to your secretary -- but, hopefully, she will read this and act.

Some months ago you promised me a picture of yourself that I might hang with the rest of my "rogues." Since I talked to you, my walls have changed -- but I would still love to have your face up there with Gaylord's and Harold's and Jack's and Hubert's.

I am now perched atop the highest building in Madison -- Van Hise Hall, at the University. It was a hurried decision, but the job offered me, as Director of Statewide Communications was too challenging to pass up. So I shook off the Republican dust of Washington and took on the Democratic snow of Wisconsin. Norm, incidentally, is the new administration's Secretary of Transportation (at least he took his first step toward confirmation today when he was approved unanimously by a Senate committee).

It seems possible that you might get up this way on occasion. Please remember that we have extra room, full bar, interesting friends, and much warmth to give our extra-special cronies.

Most sincerely,

Analoyce

Analoyce E. Clapp
Director

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February 25, 1971

Dr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul Anthony:

It's been a long time since we've been in contact, and I thought you might be interested in the enclosed set of current Encampment materials, including the small brochure announcing three Encampments planned for this summer.

I would greatly appreciate it if your secretary could send me a current list of names and addresses of executive directors of state Human Relations Councils in the South. I would like to write to each of them offering partial -- or, if foundation aid permits, full -- scholarships in Summer '71 Encampments, if they or their staff or board members can recommend promising applicants of both races.

Many thanks, and best wishes.

Sincerely,

Doug Kelley

Douglas Kelley

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—Mayor John V. Lindsay

March 2, 1971

Rio Caliente
P. O. Box 1187
Guadalajara, Jalisco, Mexico

Gentlemen:

At your earliest convenience, please send me a brochure on your facilities, and the current rates.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

March 2, 1971

Mr. Gisle B. Nodtvedt
2601 Beechwood
Appleton, Wisconsin 54911

Dear Mr. Nodtvedt:

We have been able to find a sponsor who will provide tourist air fare from Appleton to Atlanta. Under these circumstances, we will be able to provide, on a very modest basis, the remainder of your cost for an approximate ten day stay for which involves one day here, and the remainder at a project, probably in Alabama.

Enclosed is our check to cover your air fare. Please advise us of your arrival time, and we will make the other arrangements from here. If you decide not to make the trip, please return the check.

We look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

FEB 26 1971

Appleton, Wis. 549II
260I Beechwood
February 24, 197I

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Paul Anthony:

My name is Gisle B. Nødtvedt and I am ~~w~~ presently a participant in the ICYE - International Christian Youth Exchange - program living for a year in Applenton, Wisconsin where I am studying political science at Lawrence University. My reason for writing this letter is to express my interest in goiing to the Deep Soth during my spring-vacation. This interest stims from my envolvment in a political game at Lawrence University. I was a democratic senator from Mississippi. At same time I was a member of a study-group which was studying "Hunger in America" and SRC's work. As an exchange student I am very eager to see so many parts of United States as possible. I spent two weeks with a black family in Chicago before Christmas. Both husband and wife are supervisors in public aid offices in Chicago. I visited several families on welfare and spent most of the days in public aid offices. It was a wonderful experience.

My future plans are to study law or political science in Norway. I hope I will be able to specialize in international politics and relations. I also hope to enlarge my knowlege of English, German and Spanish at the United Nations college in Geneva, Switzerland.

In line with my desire to make a trip to The Deep South, I would like to inquire about the availability of sponsorship funds for such a trip. It would be several years before I could again consider such a trip after my return to Norway this summer. I worked for two years beside going to High School where I was the student council president, to finance this year in United States.

My interest in sponsorship from your organization would be to cover my travelexpenses to and from The deep South and the expenses while I would be there. I would prefer to be 'placed' at a SRC-project, if possible. I have been in contact with the Director of Community Organization Project and I think it should work out.

It is very hard to estimate the expenses for such a trip. Travel-expenses from Appleton to The Deep South and back would probably be close to $I25 - $I50. I think you should be able to estimate my expenses in The Deep South better than I can. I will be able to leave Appleton March I5, and should try to be back March 26 or 27. If you recommend that I should maybe stay one or two weeks more, I could probably work something out. I would like very much to be "placed" at a SRC-project. That is because I through reading about SRC would like to become more familiar with the organization.

I apprichiate very much the consideration I know you will give to this letter.

Peace
Gisle B. Nødtvedt
2

March 2, 1971

Mr. Douglas Kelley
Encampment for Citizenship, Inc.
2 West 64th Street
New York, N. Y. 10023

Dear Doug:

It is good to hear from you again, and it has been a very long time.

Enclosed is the list of directors of State Councils. I think many of them will be very interested in your offer.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Enclosure

March 4, 1971

Miss Betty J. Stebman
NAACP Legal Defense & Educational Fund, Inc.
10 Columbus Circle
New York, N. Y. 10019

Dear Miss Stebman:

Pat Watters is out of the office and has asked that I respond to your letter about names for the Chambers Dinner.

Enclosed is a list of the members of our board from North Carolina. You should get a very substantial response from each of these persons, and I would suggest that you ask each of them to have others whom they know make contributions ehther or not they will attend the dinner. Enclosed also is a list of our board. I believe if you wrote each of them explaining the purpose of the occasion, you would get a rather significant response. (Would you let me know how checks should be made out, and where they should be mailed for others of us who cannot attend?)

The Council does not solicit individual contributions so we do not have such a list for North Carolina, and I believe our publications mailing list for the state would not be of much use to you.

We are very pleased that this is being done for Julius, and will be more than willing to help in any way possible.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Legal Defense Fund

NAACP LEGAL DEFENSE AND EDUCATIONAL FUND, INC.
10 Columbus Circle, New York, N.Y. 10019 • 586-8397

March 2, 1971

Dear Pat,

On April 29th, LDF is giving a dinner in Durham, North Carolina, to honor Julius Chambers. I am wondering whether it is possible for us to have the use of the Southern Regional Council's North Carolina list of donors for invitation purposes.

If your people agree, we can send the dinner invitations to you or your lettershop for mailing and, of course, pay any costs involved. We would be glad to handle the technical details in the way easiest for you.

I would appreciate knowing as quickly as possible if this idea meets with the approval of the powers at SRC. We are trying to help Julius recoup some of the losses caused by the fire which destroyed his office.

I hope you and your wife are well and I send you both my fond regards.

Sincerely,

Betty

Betty J. Stebman

BJS:gs

Mr. Pat Watters
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

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The "Committee of 100", a voluntary cooperative group of individuals, headed by Bishop Paul Moore, Jr., has sponsored the appeal of the N.A.A.C.P. Legal Defense and Educational Fund, Inc. since 1943 to enable the Fund to put into operation a program designed to make desegregation a reality throughout the United States.

March 5, 1971

Director of Personnel
Eastern Airlines
Atlanta Airport
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

On March 3rd, EAL Flight #568, Atlanta-Charlotte, I experienced a rather substantial delay, and in the first class section there was considerable grumbling.

The two young ladies working this flight handled that situation with extraordinary skill and courtesy. Should you receive complaints from anyone on that flight, I would like for this fact to be a matter of record.

More particularly, these two employees are a prize asset of Eastern Air Lines, and I would appreciate it if this letter of recognition of both their talents and their disposition to the Company is made a part of their personnel records. I send this to you on the assumption that these two young ladies are based in Atlanta. If they are not, I would be grateful if you would forward it to the appropriate office.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

March 5, 1971

Mr. Reverdy Nolley
405 Forrest Park Ct.
Huntsville, Alabama 35806

Dear Mr. Nolley:

The SRC has not in its history issued a medallion. The Council's predecessor, The Commission on Interacial Cooperatives, did at one time issue a medallion; none of them are now available. I would assume these are quite valuable if one should be able to find it.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Jay Brothers
Secretary to the Director

Dear Sir:

I am a collector of medallions. I have a fair collection of commemorative medallions from cities, and states, and some medallions from commercial organizations.

I am trying to build up a section in my collection of medallions from Associations and Societies. Has your organization at any time in the past issued any medallions (annual convention, anniversary, noted members, etc.)? If so, I wonder if you could give me some specimens of them for my collection.

They would be very much appreciated.

Sincerely

Reverdy Nolley

(Mr.) Reverdy Nolley
405 Forrest Park Ct.
Huntsville, Alabama, 35806

March 5, 1971

Mr. Walter Anderson
San Joaquin County Medical Fac.
P. O. Box 1020
Stockton, Calif. 95201

Dear Walt:

I received today a check from the County of San Joaquin, reimbursement for my air fare. In submitting my expenses I indicated the air fare, and said that minor incidental expenses would be taken from the honorarium which was my way of reminding the good Doctor that one was due. It is by no means essential that I receive the honorarium, but if it's budgeted and due, I wish you would follow up on it.

Good wishes to all the Andersons.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

March 5, 1971

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Miss Margaret Fisher
National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing

FROM: Mrs. Jay Brothers
Secretary to the Director

RE: Atlanta Airport Area Motels

The addresses and names of the Atlanta airport area motels are listed below:

Airport Hilton Inn - 1031 Virginia Avenue
Phone: 767-0281

Mark Inn Airport - 3118 Sylvan Road
Phone: 762-8801

Air Host Inn - 1200 Virginia Avenue
Phone 767-7451

Airport Holiday Inn - 1380 Virginia Avenue
Phone: 762-8411

If I can be of further service, please let me know.

March 8, 1971

Mrs. Pat Gail
Radio Station WYZE
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Pat:

Finally I have gotten around to having your name put on our media mailing list, which in time should flood you.

Under separate cover I am sending some of our most recent literature. Included in that is the program report for 1970, which might give you some ideas for additional broadcasting.

Good luck.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

March 8, 1971

Mr. John A. Pecoul, Jr.
Executive Director
Human Relations Committee
Room 2W02 City Hall
New Orleans, La. 70112

Dear John:

In response to your query concerning anti-blockbusting legislation, I am enclosing a copy of the Georgia anti-blockbustin law, signed by former Governor Maddox on March 24,1970; the March 1971 issue of South Today; and a copy of an article on neighborhood transition which appeared in Atlanta magazine.

A recent book on open housing, worth reading, is James L. Hecht's Because It Is Right.

Passage of the George law was psychologically important to the citizens of South DeKalb County who, for various reasons, were interested in "stabilized neighborhoods". The law fails to authorize a comprehensive open housing program, but perhaps it is a first step. The most effective anti-blockbusting actions here seem to be investigations and suits initiated by the Justice Department Attorneys.

Let us know if we can be of further assistance.

Sincerely,

Horace N. Barker, Jr.

HB:jb

CITY OF NEW ORLEANS

HUMAN RELATIONS COMMITTEE
ROOM 2W02 CITY HALL
NEW ORLEANS, LA. 70112
529-4311 - EXT. 475

MAR 8 1971

MOON LANDRIEU
MAYOR

JOHN PECOUL
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

MSGR. A. T. SCREEN
CHAIRMAN

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HENRY HAYES
WILLIAM LOVE, JR.
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MARY ROSS
ALVIN SARGENT
DONALD SONIAT
MATTHEO SUAREZ
ADRIENNE TERVALON
JUNE TWINAM
CHARLES WICKS
WILLIAM WUNDERLICH
LUIS ZERVIGON

March 4, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Conference
#5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I saw a TV news item regarding neighborhood stabilization in Atlanta which mentioned new anti-blockbusting legislation. I would appreciate it very much if you could ask your research department to secure copies of whatever laws have been passed, state, city or county, recently which prohibit blockbusting in the Atlanta area, as well as any background articles on how they have worked or what has been their impact.

Depending on what is going on in this field, I may try to come up for a brief visit to see what your present situation is. I also hope to see you at the Lamar Society meeting in Atlanta this spring if I do not make it to Atlanta before then.

Thanks for your help.

Sincerely,

John

John A. Pecoul, Jr.

JAP:pf

March 8, 1971

Mrs. Elizabeth Morton
Center for Southern Studies
Duke University
Durham, N. C.

Dear Mrs. Morton:

Attached is a list of the newspapers which form the base of our clipping service. In addition to these newspapers, a number of magazines, journals, and state and federal reports are used either with the clipping service or separately in our library. I believe the only effective way in which you could determine what we have or how you might make use of it, would be for you to spend some hours hear assessing our procedures. At that time, we could discuss the possibility of a formal or informal arrangement with the Lamar Society.

Incidentally, I have today had a letter from Gary Scales of the Case Western Reserve University School of Library Science, asking essentially the same information. He does mention he will be in Atlanta in April.

Certainly we look forward to cooperating in any way possible.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb
Attachment

Duke University
DURHAM
NORTH CAROLINA

CENTER FOR
SOUTHERN STUDIES

POSTAL CODE 27706
TELEPHONE 919-684-6774

FEB 18 1971

February 12, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Under the directorship of Dr. Thomas Naylor, the Center for Southern Studies at Duke University is presently engaged in a study of the major economic, educational, political, and social institutions of the South.

We were interested to learn of the Southern Regional Council Clipping Service and would appreciate some information. Specifically, we would like to know if it is possible to subscribe to the service; for example, could we ask to receive current clippings on a topic such as Higher Education in the South? Of course, we would want to know the cost of subscribing, and if possible we would appreciate your sending sample clippings. Could you also send a list of your sources?

Thank you very much for your help. I look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Elizabeth Morton

Elizabeth Morton (Mrs.)

March 8, 1971

Eileen K. Wells
124 Montcalm St.
Lake George, N.Y.
12845

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Gentlemen:

After reading the recent article in Reader's Digest I am interested to learn whether you have a summer program to combat poverty.

At present I am employed as a teacher assistant with Prospect Programs in Glens Falls, New York.

This is a special school for exceptional children both mentally and physically handicapped. I have worked with exceptional children for six years.

Our school year ends June 16th 1971 and will reopen the second week in September.

Please foreward any available information as I am anxious to be of assistance in combatting poverty.

Sincerely,

Eleanor Wells

March 9, 1971

The Reverend Andrew J. Young
Citizens Trust Bank Building
75 Piedmont Avenue, N. E.
Suite 900A
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Andy:

While it was rather hectic and too hasty, I very much appreciated the opportunity this morning to talk with you. I cannot tell you how pleased I am that you are willing to work with us as a consultant as we develop our programs for the future. I am confident your thoughts and explorations will be very valuable to us.

I forgot to mention this morning that I will be out of the office from the 15th through the 26th. If you would pick a date as soon after the 26th as possible, I hope we can get together both to see the film and to talk further about the consultant arrangement.

Enclosed is my personal check for renewal of membership in the Butler Y, and a contribution from the Council.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb
Enclosures

March 11, 1971

Mr. Gary C. Scales
3121 Whitehorn Road, #10
Cleveland Heights, Ohio 44118

Dear Mr. Scales:

We do maintain a clipping service based on the clipping of some twenty newspapers daily, and other sources such as weeklys, bulletins and the like. In addition, we maintain a library with a small number of books and a larger number of state and federal reports, and publications from other agencies and universities of a similar nature. This information is used by our staff in responding to a number of written and telephone requests from journalists, scholars and students, and a number of such persons who visit this office.

Under separate cover I am sending you a copy of our annual report which goes some what more into detail on this process, and our uses of it. Before you make any final conclusions, I do think you should plan to visit us and look at our research and information department. We will be more than pleased to help in any way possible.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

MAR 8 1971

3121 Whitethorn Rd. #10
Cleveland Heights, Ohio
44118
3/2/71

Dear Mr. Anthony,

At Tom Naylor's suggestion I would like to ask for your assistance. I am currently conducting an independent study here at the Case Western Reserve University School of Library Science. Essentially I am working to isolate the parameters of a possible information system for the LQC Lamar Society. I personally would like to see the development of a regional resource depository or technical information service structured around the broad interests of LQC, open for use by members and non-members. While any final determinates will stem from LQC's own goals/needs I feel there first must be a determination and study of currently active information collecting-coordinating-disseminating systems and additional potential sources.

I understand the Southern Regional Council maintains a clipping service. I am interested in the extent of this service, it sources, demands upon it and your evaluation of it as a whole. I would also be interested to know of any other active information service with which you may be familiar or persons involved in such projects. I am currently trying to determine the regional aspects of state, university and special library and data bank services/facilities. Unfortunately working at a distance has its disadvantages, consequently your comments as a user and producer of an information service would be all the more appreciated. I hope I can offer some initial conclusions when I make it to Atlanta in April.

Thank you!

Gary C. Scales

Gary C. Scales

March 11, 1971

Mr. Chris Harte
The Hughes Committee
41 Ivy Street, S. E.
Washington, D. C. 20003

Dear Mr. Harte:

I would be pleased to meet Senator Hughes, and otherwise be of assistance to you in this area. I am not in a position at this point to commit myself to one of the candidates. However, I have read a great deal of material on Senator Hughes, and certainly feel that the party is fortunate to have him as one of the chief contenders for the nomination.

Since SRC is a non-partisan tax exempt organization, please direct future correspondence to my home - 1728 Moores Mill Road, N.W., Atlanta, Ga. 30318. My phone number is - 351-1844.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

the hughes committee

41 Ivy Street, S.E., Washington, D.C. 20003 (202) 544-0737

March 4, 1971

Robert S. Pirie
Chairman

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Haynes:

Tim Rogers has given us your name as someone we should contact in the Atlanta area.

Not knowing whether you've seen them yet, I'm enclosing our first campaign newsletter and an article from Esquire on the Senator.

Please let us know if you want any other information on Senator Hughes or if we can help in any other way. We will be in touch with you the next time the Senator is in Atlanta, if not before.

Sincerely,

Chris Harte

Chris Harte

CH:yw
Enclosures

March 11, 1971

Dr. Frank Marini, Director
Public Administration Programs
Maxwell Hall
Syracuse University
Syracuse, N. Y. 13210

Dear Dr. Marini:

At the request of Mr. Horace Barker, this is a letter in behalf of the admission of him to the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs.

Mr. Barker first worked with us in 1969, on an intern research capacity for six months. In the summer of 1969 we had approximately thirty undergraduate and graduate students with us. Mr. Barker was ranked among the best of them, and on the basis of that, we asked him to remain for the year. He continues to do superior research work for us, largely in the fields of housing and education, and I have had him make several field investigating trips for me. His work in this capacity has also been superior.

I am confident Mr. Barker is the type of student you can accept with the assurance his performance will be excellent.

If you wish more detailed information, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

March 11, 1971

Mr. Jerry Knopf
Brandeis University
Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence
Waltham, Massachusetts 02154

Dear Mr. Knopf:

We are in the process of attempting to complete a study of violence in the southeast over the past three years. This information may or may not be published, depending on several factors including appropriateness for wide circulation and budget. We will, however, be able to send you a copy of our rough draft if you are interested.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

CIVIL WAR IN ILLINOIS

DOESN'T ANYONE CARE ABOUT CAIRO?

A war is taking place on our own shores, involving the lives of our own people, and hardly anyone has stopped to notice. The war is being fought by whites and blacks in a small town in southern Illinois called Cairo (pronounced "care-o" or "kay-ro"). There are about 6000 people in the town, of whom 30-40 percent are black.

Underlying the current crisis are deep-seated tensions which are racial as well as economic. Civil rights activity in the comunity can be traced to 1946 when blacks won a suit demanding equal pay for black and white teachers. In 1963, blacks held demonstrations against a segregated swimming pool. Offsetting their victory in the courts was a decision by the city to close the pool altogether. In 1967—sandwiched in between and overshadowed by the outbreaks in Newark and Detroit—was a disturbance precipitated by the death of a black soldier.

The violence seemed to signal an increasing polarization of the races. The police said that the soldier, who had been in jail awaiting trial on AWOL charges, had committed suicide in his cell. Blacks charged the soldier had been the victim of police brutality. Lending weight to their accusations was the fact that the soldier's body was embalmed before dawn without the permission of the dead man's family. A close relative indicated that the family had wanted an autopsy, but that the coroner had decided that none was necessary.

In the same year, as the races drifted further and further apart, whites organized a vigilante group known as the White Hats because of their headgear. Calling themselves a neighborhood protective group, the White Hats armed themselves, held regular drills and launched attacks on the black neighborhoods. Pyramid Court, a low-income housing development, was their favorite target. In 1969, the White Hats were officially disbanded by the state. However, their place was soon taken by a new group with close ties to the White Citizens Council called the United Citizens for Community Action (UCCA). For all practical purposes, the White Hats are still very much alive.

Complicating things is an extremely bleak economic situation. By every standard imaginable, Cairo is economically depressed. In 1960, 56 percent of the town's housing was substandard and without plumbing. Between 1950 and 1970, the population dropped from 12,000 to its present level of about 6,000. The unemployment rate is now at 10 percent and higher among blacks. About 30 percent of the residents are on some form of public assistance. An ambitious young man seeking his fortune in the world is likely to move to St. Louis or Chicago.

The immediate crisis has been occasioned by a black boycott of white businesses. The boycott is being sponsored by the United Front, an umbrella group formed in 1969, which seeks more and better jobs for blacks. Now almost two-years-old, the boycott has definitely hurt white businessmen. Several firms have been forced to close.

Pitted against the blacks is an equally determined group of hostile, frightened whites led by the mayor, the police chief and the White Hats. Guns have been accumulated by both sides, while shootings, beatings, bombings and burnings have become a common every-day occurrence. Since the boycott was initiated, there reportedly have been more than 140 black-versus-white shooting incidents.

Most of the violence, however, appears to have been directed against blacks. A reporter for the *Guardian*, who recently visited the black neighborhoods, compared the area to a "war zone": ". . . the passage through the black neighborhoods is like a war zone tour. In nearly every block there are the ruins of a burnt-out house, often a row of four or five sets of charred wood."

Not all the facts in the situation are clear, but the dimensions of the tragedy are unmistakable. For unlike the tragedies at Kent State or Jackson State which were quick affairs over and done with, the crisis in Cairo continues unabated. What we have is the logical fruit

Mr. Anthony
How about
a report from
the SRC?
Gary Knoff

of complete polarization—armed, prolonged racial conflict. Cairo threatens to become our domestic Vietnam, a symbol and symptom of national malaise, a possible testing-ground for future race wars to come in other communities across the country.

In recent months, the already critical situation has shown further signs of deterioration. When the federal courts threw out a local anti-picketing law aimed at blacks, the City Council promptly enacted a new set of ordinances designed to curb demonstrations. All five blacks on the police force have now resigned. Meanwhile, the police have deputized auxiliary policemen, some of whom are reputed members of the White Hats. Blacks have charged the police with making discriminatory arrests, using unnecessary force and, in some instances, actively participating in vigilante attacks.

In a highly unusual move, Governor Richard Ogilvie has stationed state troops in the area for an indefinite stay. The Governor is quoted as saying the troops "may be there for several years." Blacks, however, claim they have received no more protection from this group than from the local police, and view the troops as a kind of occupying army.

Not long ago, a black soldier on leave in Cairo died,

The Skirmish Among Catholics

Cairo's seething racial tensions have caught up the Catholic church, and cast it as both hero and villain in the white-black tug-of-war in this river city. The hero image reflects off Father Bernard Bodewes and the property—church and rectory—of former St. Columba's parish here; these have been the organizational loci of the Black United Front of Cairo (UFC). Not heroic has been the image reflected off of chancery headquarters in Belleville; from there Bishop Albert R. Zuroweste ordered Father Bodewes and the UFC out of the property or face eviction proceedings.

Enter now the National Catholic Conference of Interracial Justice, the National Coalition of American Nuns, the National Federation of Priests Councils, the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago, the Illinois Migrant Council, Loretto Adult Education League of Chicago, two Chicago inner-city parishes, St. Dominic's and Holy Angels, and others. They organized a coalition which went to Cairo in an attempt to cool tensions over the eviction deadline, set for February 1. Said Sister Margaret Ellen Traxler, spokesman for the coalition, "We are concerned about the image of the Catholic church as it affects the black community."

There was desire also to support Father Bodewes, whom Sister Traxler described as "really the only Catholic witness" among blacks in Cairo. When the head of the inner-city apostolate for the Belleville diocese left Cairo last year, it was Father Bodewes who stepped in and has been the principal Catholic witness among blacks in the city. The Southern Illinois Association of Catholic Priests, principally from the Belleville diocese, has aligned itself on the side of Father Bodewes.

The coalition said it was not going to Cairo to defend the black cause as such, but to point out to Catholics and the bishop that when one group is in power and it acts against those not in power, this is considered oppression. "Consequently," Sister Traxler told the press, "the image of the church will be that of a white, racist institutional power." The best people in the world can fall victim to the use of such power, she added.

The immediate objective of the coalition was to head off the impending eviction crisis. If the eviction plans stood, the coalition said, a vigil would be kept on the parish property. On the other hand, if Bishop Zuroweste was agreeable, the coalition was prepared to buy the parish property (the property is a creaking set of buildings that was sold to the diocese by a religious order three years ago for $3,000, when the parish was phased out). The purchase being made, the coalition would then turn the property over to the UFC.

The visit to Cairo was less than all the coalition hoped, although it did have the effect of heading off the eviction, at least for the time being. The coalition met with the parish council of St. Patrick's Church in Cairo, the council being authorized by Bishop Zuroweste to listen and convey the coalition's recommendations to him. (Bishop Zuroweste had himself refused to see the coalition; the coalition marched from door to door at the Chancery in Belleville, but door bells were not answered.) The coalition's recommendations were that the church give massive economic help to all of Cairo, both black and white; that church and community work together for an economic program of self-help; that proposals be made to the Bishops Campaign for Human Development to bring a flow of economic help to blacks and whites in Cairo. There was also a recommendation for "outside facilitators" who would bring, not only blacks and whites together, but Catholics as well.

The coalition's recommendations were passed on to Bishop Zuroweste, but as of February 10, no public action had been taken. The Catholic situation in Cairo was still in abeyance. And still on the table was the coalition offer to buy the parish property.

JOHN DEEDY

the victim of an unknown sniper. In the last eighteen months, three police chiefs, one mayor and one county sheriff have resigned.

Given the seriousness of the situation, a question arises as to why Cairo has attracted so little attention? We can begin with the obvious lack of concern on the part of the American public. The reasons for the public's indifference are not entirely clear. Perhaps the war in Vietnam has desensitized us to violence. Perhaps the tragedy at Kent State has drained our energies. Or perhaps black people—the chief victims of this war—are simply more expendable than whites.

In any event, whatever the reasons are, the public's inattention to Cairo has been reflected, if not reenforced, by the media. Relatively few stories have been filed on the beleaguered town—an incident here and there—but hardly the sustained, extensive coverage required. Moreover, insofar as attention has been given, the media have been guilty of some gross inaccuracies and distortions.

Several weeks ago, for example, United Press International and the Associated Press—the two major wire services—issued releases about a supposed raid on a police station by "squads of armed Negro men." Hundreds of rounds of ammunition were reportedly fired in what appeared to be a deliberate, unprovoked attack on the police. The story made its merry way into scores of newspapers across the country ranging from the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, to the *Milwaukee Journal* and the *Ann Arbor News*, not to mention *Newsweek* magazine. Omitted from the story was the fact that a black-owned tavern, a church used for meetings of blacks, and the offices of a civil rights lawyer were all riddled with bullets at about the same time of the alleged raid by blacks.

The story, however, was not only misleading but inaccurate as well. A skeptical *Times'* reporter who did take the trouble to do a follow-up story for his newspaper could only find seventeen pockmarks on the police station which might have been caused by gunfire that night. *Chicago Journalism Review*, which keeps a critical eye on the media, has gone so far as to suggest that the alleged raid may never even have taken place.

The questions raised by this misreporting are: first, why both news services have continued to rely heavily on local stringers for information—individuals who have close ties to the white power structure; and second, why neither UPI nor AP has seen fit to station reporters from the outside area (say, Chicago) in Cairo on a regular basis.

If the media have failed to confront the crisis in Cairo, those in positions of national leadership have not fared any better. Thus far, the Justice Department has failed to authorize a full federal grand-jury investigation, which would include a look at possible violations of civil rights.

The FBI says that it is "continuing to watch the situation," but has no plans to actively investigate—this, despite the fact that a public defender's project partially funded by the federal government has been the target of gunfire. Cars bearing Kentucky license plates reportedly have been seen in the area on the nights of white sniping attacks. Such activity would seem to fall under the anti-riot legislation which makes it a federal offense to cross state lines for the purpose of fomenting violence. Nevertheless, the FBI has chosen not to involve itself—an interesting stance in view of its zealousnessness when it comes to pursuing black militants, student radicals and other "subversives."

Meanwhile, the FCC has yet to act on a petition from the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law which would deny the license renewal of radio station WKRO. The lawyers' brief makes a convincing case against the station for unbelievably biased reporting, for failing to represent the entire community. It is noteworthy that the president of the station just happens to be on the board of directors of the UCCA.

Finally, we have yet to hear from our usually vocal politicians. Both the President who promised to "bring us together" and his chief deputy, who is never at a loss for words, remain strangely silent. At the same time, Congress has declined to initiate its own investigation and hold hearings, just as it does on the other war in Vietnam.

And so the crisis in Cairo—the war in the Middle West—continues. Doesn't anyone care about Cairo?

TERRY ANN KNOPF

(Terry Ann Knopf, a Research Associate at the Lemberg Center for the Study of Violence at Brandeis University, is currently at work on a book about rumors and racial disorders.)

CHRISTIANITY & CRISIS DINNER

The distinguished Protestant journal, *Christianity & Crisis*, is this year celebrating its 30th Anniversary. To mark the occasion, a dinner will be held in honor of the magazine's Editorial Chairman and ecumenical pioneer, Dr. John C. Bennett, former president of Union Theological Seminary. Speakers will include Tom Wicker of the *New York Times*, Eugene Carson Blake of the World Council of Churches, Andrew Young of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, and former Senator Eugene J. McCarthy.

Place: Manhattan's Riverside Church.

Date: March 16, 6:30 P.M.

Tickets: Single, $12.50; for two, $20.

Write: Christianity & Crisis, 537 West 121st Street, New York, N.Y. 10027.

March 11, 1971

Mr. Tracy Sugarman
Rediscovery Productions, Inc.
2 Halfmile Common
Westport, Conn. 06880

Dear Mr. Sugarman:

Andy Young and I are having a very difficult time getting together, although we have spoken several times about planning to view the film. I will be out of the office for the next two weeks, but will make this a high priority on my return.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

March 11, 1971

Mrs. Janice Bailey
University of California Extension
Davis, California 95616

Dear Mrs. Bailey:

I am pleased to recommend Walter Anderson to you as an instructor in the area of Crime and Delinquency. I am not in a position to comment on Mr. Anderson's ability as an instructor, since I have never seen him in that role.

He has worked with us briefly, and I have observed him over a period of several years working in ghetto areas of this city. He has a remarkable ability to relate to teenagers and young people in these situations, and I believe that his grasp of the causes and nature of crime and delinquency is as solid as anyone I know. I would presume this ability and these experiences would make it possible for him to effectively share this information with university students.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

MAR 10 1971

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA EXTENSION

BERKELEY • DAVIS • IRVINE • LOS ANGELES • RIVERSIDE • SAN DIEGO • SAN FRANCISCO

SANTA BARBARA • SANTA CRUZ

DAVIS, CALIFORNIA 95616

March 8, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

University of California Extension, Davis, is considering Walter Anderson as an instructor and has given your name as a reference.

COURSE OR COURSE AREA: Crime and delinquency

It would be a distinct service if you would make a statement concerning the background and ability of the individual named. In order to aid you in the composition of this letter we suggest that you might wish to comment on any or all of the following items and, of course, any other remarks also would be valuable. Please be assured that your comments will remain strictly confidential.

a) Quality of education and experience as related to the course or course area under consideration.

b) Ability as a teacher, including both formal classroom instruction and situations involving the training of employees on an individual or group basis.

c) Ability to present ideas and to speak before groups.

Since we would like to complete the processing of this file as soon as possible, we would greatly appreciate your reply by return mail.

Sincerely

Janice Bailey (Mrs)

University Extension
by:

March 12, 1971

Dr. Jacquelyne J. Jackson
Assistant Professor of Medical Sociology
Duke University Medical Center
Durham, N. C.

Dear Dr. Jackson:

Please forgive me the delay in responding to your letter to Dr. Dunbar, who is no longer with the Council.

We will be more than willing to follow through on the suggestions outlined in your letter. We have also indicated this willingness to the Conference Director. We agree with you completely that the problems of the black aged is not only a serious one, but one that will be generally overlooked unless some of us work to see that it is not.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Duke University Medical Center
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA

FEB 11 1971

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF AGING
AND HUMAN DEVELOPMENT

POSTAL CODE 27706
TELEPHONE 919—684-8111

10 February 1971

Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Five Forsyth Street, Northwest
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Dear Mr. Dunbar:

As you, no doubt, know, the next White House Conference on Aging is scheduled to be held in November, 1971. This promises to be a very important Conference in that policy recommendations affecting the aged especially for the next decade will be considered in nine major need areas (i. e., housing, income, education, employment, health, retirement roles and activities).

Although some effort to obtain significant minority group representation has been made, the National Organizations Task Forces (one of the components of the overall structure from the community forums through the national level schemata) still need additional representation.

The National Caucus on Black Aged (a group organized in 1970, and chaired by Mr. Hobart Jackson, the long-time and very capable administrator of the Stephen Smith Geriatric Center, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and now in its 106th year of operation and among the first black homes for the aged) is particularly concerned about many of the conditions which made being both black and old a highly jeopardous position. Many of the official organizers of the White House Conference on Aging share these concerns, and one way, perhaps, to reduce the undesired conditions of being in "multiple jeopardy" by being black, old, and poor especially may be that of greater participation of blacks in helping to formulate the policy recommendations for the aged for the next decade.

There are at least three ways in which your organization can help enormously. The first, if you have not already done so, is to send two representatives from your organization to the National Organizations Task Forces (with the next meetings scheduled for March 9-10, in the greater Washington, D. C. area). You should contact Mr. Wilbur Ativell, Director, White House Conference on Aging, The White House, Washington, D. C.

A second way is that of helping to boast minority group attendance at your State House Conference on Aging (generally scheduled for May).

A third way is through informing your governor of persons whom you feel might well be named as delegates to the White House Conference on Aging, with such persons being ones greatly concerned about improving the conditions desirable for better and longer lives for aging and aged minority group members.

Thus, in closing, may I, as one very much interested in black aged especially (as evidenced, e. g., by my own research and other work on black aged) encourage you to assist all of those concerned about the aged by sending representatives to the National Task Forces, White House Conference on Aging, by seeking participating on the State level and by doing whatever you can to bring desired changes.

Sincerely,

Jacquelyne J. Jackson

Jacquelyne J. Jackson, Ph. D.
Assistant professor of medical sociology

JJJ:caw

March 12, 1971

Dr. Joseph P. Witherspoon
Executive Director
Citywide Committee for Human Rights, Inc.
1106-B Concho Street
P. O. Box 4404
Austin, Texas 78751

Dear Joe:

Please forgive this inexcusable delay in responding to your letter. I took the material home to pursue because of its length, and inadvertently misplaced it until recently.

I have it here otherwise, but I cannot be optimistic about funding. Because of the economy, foundations have been hard hit in their investments and in most instances, foundation income is down substantially at a time when the demands from worthy groups is increasing very rapidly. Also, the tax reform law has frightened some marginal foundations away from "controversal" causes. This situation is very much reflected in our own budgeting, for instance our modest grant making operation is reduced by over 40% this year, and our total income for next year may be reduced by as much as 50%. I give you this information both to indicate the difficulty in fund raising, and as a detailed explanation of why we cannot consider a grant from SRC.

I sincerely regret this because your program indicates a remarkably amount of badly needed productivity for a very small sum, and I wish we could provide support to build on your very solid program.

Unless there is a Texas foundation that would be interested, I really think I would be doing you a disservice to suggest any of the national foundations with whom we deal. (This is not to say that will be the case sometime in the future.)

It occurs to me that with an operation of your nature, there should be federal funds to support part of it. I would think, for instance, the family service program and the Youth activities program would qualify for federal grants, and from looking over your structure, I see no reason why accepting federal funds would be prohibited.

Again, my most sincere apologies. Please keep me informed.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

CITYWIDE COMMITTEE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS, INC.
ESTABLISHED JANUARY, 1966

1106-B CONCHO ST. • P. O. BOX 4404 • PHONE 477-0620
AUSTIN, TEXAS 78751

December 7, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

After reading over my letter and glancing at the enclosed material, I decided it would be useful to add two additional statements. One is that I am currently serving as the Chairman of the Association of American Law Schools Committee on Community Services. As a result of my work on this committee, the President of the AALS is now considering an effort by law schools throughout the nation that would involve the release of a law professor with a full time assistant and staff support by each school to do work similar to what I have been doing in Austin.

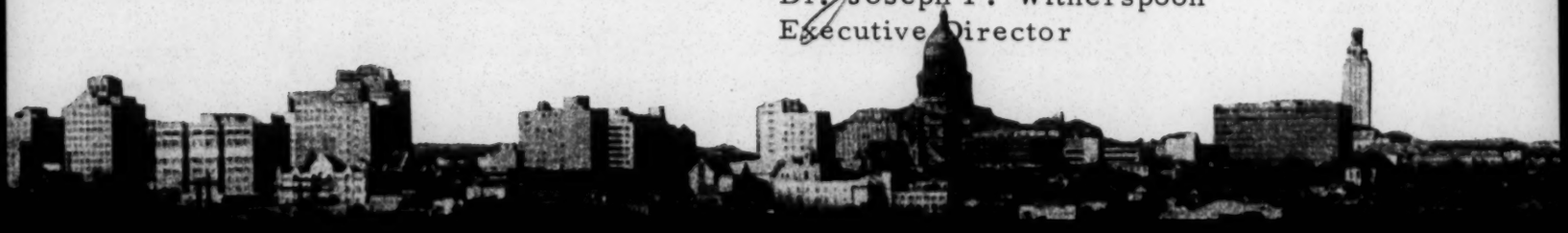
Another statement concerns my research currently being conducted for an article and a book on private human relations organizations similar to my article and book on official human relations commissions. This research indicates that CCHR is unique not only in its own city and state but also in the nation as a whole. For example, the General Counsel for the New York State Commission on Human Rights recently wrote that "unfortunately there is no comparable organization in New York." This is the typical response I have received from knowledgeable persons involved in the work of official human relations commissions throughout the country.

It may also be useful to outline CCHR's current bare-bones monthly expenses: (1) $300.00 for rent and utilities other than telephones for our Main Center containing 5000 square feet and for a large playground and parking lot containing 40,000 square feet; (2) $350.00 for the salary of our Educational Program Coordinator; (3) $60.00 for telephones; (4) $77.77 on our note to a bank for funds advanced to install air-conditioning units donated to us by a firm; (5) $65.00 for cleaning, maintenance, and repairs to our Main Center; (6) $100.00 for program expenditures to support our four principal programs; and (7) $50.00 for office supplies and postage.

Sincerely,

Joe

Dr. Joseph P. Witherspoon
Executive Director



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DEC 10 1970

December 7, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

As the Executive Director of the Southern Regional Council, I believe you will have great interest both personally and for your organization in an important development in the field of human relations institutions dealing at the local level with problems of human relations, equal opportunities, poverty, civil rights, and community. I have reference to the remarkable achievements of the Citywide Committee for Human Rights, Inc. of Austin during the past five years, and especially during the past two years..

This private sector institution represents a new concept--one now thoroughly proven in operation--for organizing the human and material resources of a locality so as to bring them to bear with large-scale success in developing long-term solutions to the kinds of problems mentioned above.. It has also demonstrated considerable facility in interesting in-state and out-of-state organizations in becoming part of this effort. This concept was broadly formulated at the inception of the organization and has been gradually elaborated in considerable detail only through experience resulting in both adjustment and enlargement of the concept.. CCHR is now not only firmly established in Austin as a new kind of civic organization. It is also proving attractive to many knowledgeable people in the governmental and private sectors in that while various governmental and private efforts of a similar type continue to founder, or fall short of becoming effective, or simply fail to adapt to remain viable, CCHR continues to grow both rapidly and in overall effectiveness..

The leadership of CCHR has now organized a more broadly conceived institution, presently called the Statewide Committee for Human Rights of Texas. In 1971 it will launch a major effort, one long in the planning stage and carefully organized, to promote establishment of CCHR's in other Texas cities. Eventually, this same leadership will be addressing the Southwest Region and the National Community for the same purpose.

Because we believe the institutional concept described below and in the attached materials can work anywhere, it obviously has relevance to the area served by the Southern Regional Council.. There

is no other organization in that region better qualified to understand the concept or to promote its adoption, if believed to be a useful one. One purpose of my letter is to invite your careful study of the CCHR concept. Another is to invite you to consider, as you proposed in an SRC letter of May 1967 to do, funding a part of our operation both at the Austin and the Texas state levels. When your earlier offer was made, CCHR was barely a year old and hardly a well-articulated or proven institutional concept. Five years of hard work by a large number of talented persons drawn from various professions and occupations have now produced a result and institution far more worthy of your attention and support.

Before turning to the main points of my letter, I feel one reference to SIRC will be helpful. It became increasingly evident to me as the work of the Ad Hoc Committee to Organize an SIRC proceeded forward in late 1968 and 1969 that the emerging leadership of that group and of the new organization had quite different ideas about the institutional concept essential for dealing adequately with problems of human relations, equal opportunities, poverty, civil rights, and community in the Southwest from those entertained by the leadership in CCHR. Moreover, the SIRC leadership seemed quite unwilling to permit the two concepts to operate within the same organization, which would have been quite possible. For these reasons, and for others, I elected to spend the bulk of my time after October 1968 continuing to work with the leadership in CCHR with a view to perfecting the institutional concept involved in it and preparing to take that concept through a new institution to the state, the region, and, eventually, the nation. I shall always be grateful that Ed Stanfield and his leadership group including Jorge Lara-Braud, Vine Deloria, Mildred Dickeman, and others for making their position so completely clear before and at the time of the organization of SIRC. It helped Bill Powers, another outstanding member of SIRC, and myself quickly decide to turn our energies and talents with those of other similar persons into an organization committed to solving the problems involved in building a truly viable institutional concept for dealing successfully with the above problems at the urban and rural local levels. It is interesting to me that SIRC has finally touched base with reality with Stanfield's confession of failure in his "The State of the Southwest Intergroup Relations Council." Stanfield's new prescriptions for the ills of SIRC, however, have not changed the basic assumptions underlying his whole approach to human relations problems. He and his leadership group still seek some specialized "constitutency" instead of aiming at the whole potential community. They are still thinking in terms of criteria of "power" rather than "authority". In my opinion, there is very little future for SIRC under its present leadership. That leadership has shown itself incapable of developing internal strength and balance. It has also failed to generate region-wide the very kind of cross-section support "in due time" which CCHR has so regularly and successfully been generating in Austin and which its larger counterpart will undoubtedly, after further experimentation, begin to generate in the larger area of the state and region. I can only regret that Stanfield and his leadership group have wasted the enormous opportunity which we recognized he had been given in 1968.

Let me briefly turn to a description of CCHR of Austin and what it is doing. CCHR is a Texas nonprofit corporation created, managed, and operated by residents of Austin. Its goals are to promote better human relations, greater equality of opportunity for all citizens and residents, and a stronger degree of community in Austin and the surrounding area. To accomplish these goals CCHR has designed a series of programs to assist the minority groups and the indigent and near-indigent of Austin and the surrounding area to help themselves for the long haul into all phases of Austin's community life through better education, better jobs, and better solutions to the many problems facing minority groups and the poor of the area. The programs are also designed to enable people of good will and genuine commitment from all groups to work together to organize and put to work the vast human and material resources of Austin to promote its three goals relating to human relations, equality of opportunities, and community.

The free services rendered by CCHR to minority groups and the poor in all of its programs are made possible only by the work of talented volunteers from all ethnic groups and the contributions of money and property primarily by Austin citizens and organizations. Opening its Main Center in July 1966 with but a handful of persons and no organizational support either from the public or private sector, CCHR had by this fall grown into an organization consisting of over 400 talented volunteers drawn from over 100 civic, business, religious, education, and other organizations. They were managing and conducting extensive Educational, Job Counseling and Placement, Family Service, and Youth Activities Programs attended by over 750 persons per month, mainly on a weekly basis.

In our Educational Program we work with over 500 persons, adults and children, each week. Our tutors and teachers consist of a very large percentage of tutors drawn from the Mexican-American and Negro ethnic groups. They are assisting their students, who are drawn from the Anglo as well as from the two principal minority groups, to obtain the High School Diploma Equivalency, pass Civil Service Examinations, learn Basic English (starting from Spanish, where appropriate), acquire Secretarial Skills, learn Bookkeeping, master Mechanical Drawing, pass the Driver's Handbook Examination, prepare for Citizenship, and many other things. Children learn how to pass their course examinations in the public schools who would otherwise become certain drop-outs. We have placed five people in the University of Texas including Mr. Moffatt Waters who came to us with only a fifth grade education and Mrs. Viola Gomez who came with only an eighth grade education. All of them are making A's and B's at the University. Over 150 persons have obtained the High School Diploma Equivalency, mainly in the last three years. Another 300 adults and children have successfully attained concrete educational goals that they manifested to us. This program has grown as more and more people have turned to us with their educational problems and we have helped them to be successful in resolving them.

Our Educational Program is aimed, so far as adults are concerned, for ensuring that the students can get prepared for the better jobs in the Austin area. About 5 out of 10 Negroes and 8 out of 10 Mexican-Americans do not have the High School Diploma. This shuts them out of the better jobs for which most employers require this diploma as the minimum requirement. Having brought our students to this point, it was necessary to break open the various barriers still

existing with respect to their getting the better jobs. We also faced this problem with respect to others who had obtained their education through other more conventional means. Prior to September 1968 it had been very difficult, if not impossible, to recruit talented volunteers from the business sector to perform volunteer services, particularly in the management of our programs. We recruited our first two businessmen in that month, however. One was a ranking executive of the IBM Corporation plant in Austin, Mr. Bill W. Powers, who served as its Manager of Employment. Both of these young businessmen were skilled in personnel department matters. I gave them a free hand under general guidelines. They arranged for visits by employers to our Main Center to get them acquainted with our Educational Program. The employers who visited liked two aspects about our programs: (1) that they were organized, managed, and operated by volunteers with local resources; and (2) that the Job Counseling and Placement Program--like other CCHR programs--was in charge of a person experienced in dealing with personnel problems and the employment process. These young men constructed various Job Forms essential for operating this program and began processing applicants for jobs and routing them to employers who had agreed to take referrals of applicants. The applicants were given special counseling on filling out application forms and on interviewing so as to enable them to put their best foot forward. The first jobs began to be given to the people in our program by December 1968 and they were the better jobs.

We next developed what we have come to call the "Employer Interview Night" as a device for involving more employers more readily and of solving the problem of getting our applicants more rapidly and regularly in contact with employers. This interview night idea involved bringing employers who then needed to employ persons to the CCHR Center to interview persons in our Educational and other programs and others who desired employment. We aimed at the major employer, either governmental or private. We have now held eleven of these interview nights and now hold them about every three months. Starting with only two or three employers we now have permanent, continuing arrangements with twenty-one major employers. At our last event on November 18 we had fifteen of these employers present to interview nearly 400 job applicants. Our record of placement has been about 25% of those attending these sessions, a record which is very remarkable. Our job applicants, as are our people generally in the programs, are drawn primarily from the Negro and Mexican-American ethnic groups of our area, although about ten per cent in attendance are Anglos. Through this part of our Job Counseling and Placement Program they are assisted to obtain much better jobs than have previously been practicably available to them. Since January 1969 we estimate that we have placed over 450 persons in these better jobs through this program.

The success of the above two programs has had two kinds of effects. One of these is that CCHR has come to be recognized by minority groups and the poor of the Austin area as their organization, one that gets the job done and one that has lots of friendly, good people in it. They take intense pride in participating in the program and many move over to the volunteer side to provide the kinds of services they once received. A new kind of leadership is emerging in the minority group areas and among the poor as a result of this. By and large these people credit CCHR with making Austin

a better place to live and helping the city move through some difficult times in human relations. Another kind of effect of the above two programs is that CCHR has been able to move many Anglos into the ghetto areas, to familiarize them with the problems of these areas, to give them meaningful functions to perform alongside persons belonging to minority groups that are effectively directed to solve some of these basic problems. The result has been that CCHR has come into a "market" where there are no organizations effectively at work with the basic problems and has been able to demonstrate that it can work effectively to solve them. More and more, various organizations in all ethnic group areas have begun to associate themselves with CCHR or to investigate ways in which they can cooperate with it.

The success of the above two programs is also evidenced in the amount of material and personal support given to CCHR. In July 1966 about a dozen persons were associated with CCHR. It had no organizational support. This fall, as previously indicated, CCHR had well over 400 volunteers. They were very gifted persons drawn from all ranks of life and all age groups. About 100 organizations were the source of these people and about 30 of these organizations were associated with CCHR as organizations officially committed to our programs. You can add to these the twenty-one corporate employers who participate in our programs. We ran our operation on $713. in the first year, about $850. the second and third years, $2600. the fourth year, and about $6000. in the fifth year. At the present time our monthly expenses are slightly in excess of $1000. per month. Our current fund drive is clearly succeeding in its goal to raise $12,000. for our next year of operation.

Beyond the enormous increase in financial support just mentioned and the still more remarkable support by individual volunteers and organizations has been the support of individuals and organizations by way of special forms of contributions. The IBM Corporation has renewed its contract of loan for a second year by which it loaned CCHR twelve IBM Selectric typewriters for use in its Secretarial Studies Program in which it is training 100 persons per week in secretarial skills. The IBM Corporation in October of this year released Mr. Bill W. Powers, mentioned above, to CCHR on special assignment at full pay to assist CCHR in developing its Job Program in several directions, one of which involved putting it on a daily basis and another recruiting still more employers into it. This Corporation has been asked to extend Mr. Powers' special assignment and it is expected that this will occur. The Holy Cross Fathers in Louisiana--your own area--has just released a highly skilled, dynamic young priest, who is a volunteer in our program, to serve with full pay and support as the Centers Coordinator in CCHR. We are now processing some proposals for other persons to associate themselves with CCHR on a full-time basis on various arrangements with their employers. Many book companies have contributed books to CCHR and so have bookstores. One recent sale of donated books that could not be used in the program netted $700. We will hold a similar sale in January. Women's clubs are now holding various kinds of functions for the benefit of CCHR. The Junior Chamber of Commerce, after five years of our effort to get the whole Chamber involved, appears on the verge of an official commitment to involve its members in our programs. We regularly are the recipient of office equipment, office supplies, books, educational sup-

plies, recreational equipment for our Boys Sports Program, clothing, food, services as a contribution to our program. These gifts will amount this fiscal year to perhaps $10,000. in addition to the cash contributions we expect of $12,000.

We honestly see no end in the growth of CCHR in Austin. We feel we have just begun. Averaging about one talk per week before major organizations in Austin about the work of CCHR we expect to double both our volunteers and those receiving our services by the end of 1971. Indeed, we are now preparing to open our second large center in Austin on its south side where there is a similar ethnic population to the one we currently serve on the east side. This center will open in January.

Let me turn still more briefly to the Family Service Program and the Youth Activities Program. The first largely consists of legal assistance, legal referral, social case work, medical assistance, and counseling of various types. The legal work is done principally by six volunteer lawyers. The social case work is done by one volunteer social case worker and a number of nonprofessionals drawn from the University of Texas area. The medical assistance will be formalized in January with the opening of a free medical clinic operated by a panel of eight volunteer physicians, an equal number of nurses, one pharmacist, and one social case worker. This clinic will be a large step forward for us in the medical area. One of the techniques for doing counseling is to hold sessions of what we call the Fellowship Guild. In January next we will begin three sessions on the filling out of income tax forms. This service was requested by young Negroes and Mexican-Americans who turned to CCHR for this kind of assistance. They now have jobs that make this a new kind of pressing problem for them. They have suggested later sessions on buying insurance and homes.

We do some very significant work relative to the total community in the Family Service Program. CCHR was instrumental last summer in effectuating the integration of facilities of three major apartment buildings in the University of Texas area serving University students. A Negro graduate student came to CCHR with his complaint that he had been discriminated against (his coming to CCHR rather than to the Austin Human Relations Commission or to an ethnic group is an important fact in itself) and in its quiet, careful way CCHR arranged for effective legal representation, through a cooperating CCHR volunteer lawyer, not only for the student who received substantial damages for the discrimination practiced against him but also for the countless other University students in the future who will benefit by the integration of three apartment buildings agreed to in a binding legal settlement by the corporate owner of these buildings. Earlier there was the successful CCHR effort to get an official city human relations commission in 1966-1967 although its requests for an extensive civil rights ordinance were not heeded. Another effort, which was successful, produced changes in 1968 in police procedures involving the use of deadly force so as to make them conform to state and federal law. Still another effort, also successful, was the representation of the Tenant's Association of the Booker T. Washington Housing Project in its effort to get substantial modifications of procedures and facilities so as to make them healthier and safer. A $300,000. grant was eventually made by the federal government for this purpose.

In our Youth Activities Program we currently have about 100 youngsters enrolled. They are members of a Boy Scout Troop, a Creative Drama Class, an Arts and Crafts Class, and a Boys' Sports Program. We aim to provide all kinds of activites to provide the widest kind of experiences for these children, largely drawn from the two principal minority groups of the area. On the drawing boards are plans for a Girl Scout Troop, a Brownie Troop, and Explorer Troop, and similar children's organizations. We have recruited only the very highest quality of leadership for these programs and the youngsters and their parents have really responded to this leadership. Often, these youngsters are also enrolled in our Educational Program.

So far I have described the easily describable features of our program. But there are other more intangible features which may be more important. Certainly, the formula for managing such a large volunteer enterprise is a key feature. It would not be easy to describe and I will not attempt to do so here. I simply point out the accomplishment and the fact that it really does work and that it is not a simple thing. We have gradually carved it out under the necessity for doing just that. Ours is not an organization which is largely managed and operated by a staff of professionals and others employed to do this. We operated for four years without an employee and we now have only one, an Educational Program Coordinator. This is not to say that we do not need employees. It is to say that volunteers can perform organizing, managing, and operating functions in a human relations organization successfully. We are more nearly like a civic organization in a city than we are like a formalized human relations organization like SRC, SIRC, official human relations commissions, private community relations groups, and similar organizations.

I have enclosed certain materials which will be useful for you in probing still further into the CCHR concept: our 1970 Annual Report, a recent feature article which appeared in local newspapers without our solicitation of it, some of the forms used in our various programs, a typical press release concerning our programs, and some other matters. I have also enclosed our 1970-1971 "budget" which represents what we think we can do in this period effectively if we are able to raise the money to do it with.

We are presently making a series of proposals to various private and official organizations. One is to a corporation of major national rank seeking funding for the position of a staff assistant to our volunteer Director of Job Counseling and Placement. Another is to a national religious group seeking funding to make possible the setting up of a Production Unit. In this unit we would train persons in one or more of the skills required by major manufacturers in the area for pay. The training would be done in the performance of steps in the assembly line of these manufacturers who would contract with CCHR for the production of certain steps of this sort. We would use the money received to pay the persons in training. We are exploring the possibility of Model Cities funding although we are very concerned to preserve the integrity of our operation and its flexibility.

The proposals I would like to make to you and your organization in behalf of CCHR relate both to CCHR and to the newly formed Statewide Committee for Human Rights of Texas. We would be grateful if you could consider either or both favorably or some portion of these. While CCHR has grown rather phenomenally, it still has growing pains. One crucial aspect of these is its need for an administrative secretary. Our Educational Program Coordinator, an excellent office manager, is doing some of this, but she really is needed to devote full time to the assignment of about 900 persons weekly in our Educational Program, a figure which will be at about 2000 weekly by the end of 1971. The administrative secretary would answer phones, would direct volunteers in our secretarial staff and coordinate their work, would keep our files on all programs up to date, would prepare highly specialized correspondence--e.g., that involved in conduct of the annual fund drive, in contacting local organizations and their executives, and in facilitating the progress of students, job applicants, individuals and families in the Family Service Program, and similar persons, and perform many similar functions such as purchasing office materials, books, and other items needed in the conduct of our programs. Naturally, also she would be selected so as to be an excellent person in meeting people coming to our Center for the first time or with special matters of interest to us. We need such a person right now. Interestly enough, it was this sort of person that your letter in May 1967 suggested that we needed. At that time you suggested through Stanfield that you might be able to fund such a position for one year at the rate of $2400. Our budget has set the salary for this position at $3600. for 3/4 time. This budget was made out last summer and it is clear that we need a full-time person presently and in the future. I would greatly appreciate your considering funding this position for one year either at the full rate of $4800. or some portion of that amount.. We will be delighted to be included in the Southern Regional Council aegis as a funded agency similar to the agencies you have funded in the SRC geographical area in the past. As I recall, Texas is still in that area.

Finally, Mr. Powers, Mr. R. D. White, Mrs. Elaine Lebowitz, Rev. Robert J. Adix, and myself--all directors of CCHR with from two to five years of service--have formed a Statewide Committee for Human Rights of Texas to carry on the work of CCHR at the state level. Our purpose is to interest groups in Dallas, Houston, San Antonio, and eventually some twenty-one major Texas cities in forming a CCHR for their own areas. Already, visitors from other Texas cities are beginning to visit our Center and to inquire about our work. Recently, the NAACP State Convention awarded me the honor of recognition as the outstanding Texan in civil rights in 1970. This honor really came in recognition of the achievements of CCHR during the past five years, something produced by the work of many persons. We feel that the time is ripe to arrange for visits of carefully selected delegations from other Texas cities to our Center during 1971 with a view to showing them our programs in actual operation and to conducting short seminars in the techniques of organizing, managing, and operating a CCHR in other city areas. In turn, we would want to make visits to these other cities to carry on the process of persuading groups in these cities to undertake to organize a CCHR of their own and of assisting them to make a success of their efforts. For this purpose, we are hopeful of raising $5,000.

for use by our Statewide Committee for Human Rights to carry out an exploratory, pilot grogram in 1971 of the kind just described. We would be grateful if your organization would consider a contribution to the Statewide Committee for this purpose. I would expect to have considerable time during the summer of 1971 to devote to this purpose and will seek to find elsewhere the funds to support myself during this period.. Mr. Powers also hopes to persuade IBM to permit him some time off this summer to coincide with my time.

This has been a long letter. I hope that it carries through to you something of the extraordinary character of CCHR and the people involved in it. It is something new, fresh, and important for all of us to consider as we continue to think about how to tackle our problems of human relations, unequal opportunities, poverty, lack of community, and impairments of civil rights. Whatever your organization may be able to do, I am anxious that you take a long, hard look at what we are doing and see if we are right in our judgment that it has relevance to all other areas in our country.

It has been a privilege to work with you in the past. I am most happy to have this occasion for renewing our relationship. We all hope in CCHR that there may be some basis for SRC cooperating with both our local organization and with the new statewide group.

With warmest personal regards,

Sincerely,

Dr. Joseph P. Witherspoon
Executive Director
(Professor of Law, UT)

MAR 25 1971

March 18, 1971

Dear Appalachia Volunteers,

In the March 1971 edition of Reader's Digest, I noticed the picture of the malnutritioned child, and read the small article under the picture. Who would not be interested in helping a hungry person - especially a child? Before I make a contribution, I want more facts than are stated in your article.

In our national budget, a certain amount of money is set aside for welfare. I have seen people, white as well as black, who receive welfare that on the surface look well fed and capable of holding a job. In my opinion, they do not need to be receiving welfare, but do. How can a person receive welfare who possibly does not need it, and still another group (ten million Americans) be starving to death? What exactly is the problem or situation that exempts the starving Americans from receiving welfare?

Another question I would like an answer to is the exact location (city or town) in some of these states are these people located? I want to see for myself the people you are speaking of in this particular article. Where does the child in this picture live?

Sincerely,

Nancy Cosper

Nancy Cosper
612 Rorary
Richardson, Texas

cc: Stephen I. Granger, M.D., Southern Regional Council, and Barrio Youth Project, Inc.

file

March 18, 1971

Mr. John E. Shields
Director
Community Leadership Services
Box 7746
Wake Forest University
Winston-Salem, N. C. 27109

Dear Mr. Shields:

In the absence of Mr. Anthony, who is on vacation, this will acknowledge receipt of your letter. Mr. Anthony is expecting you on April 2nd, and I suggest you call the office upon your arrival to Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Jay Brothers
Secretary to the Director

jb

COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP SERVICES

BOX 7746, WAKE FOREST UNIVERSITY
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA 27109

JOHN E. SHIELDS
DIRECTOR

TELEPHONE (919) 725-2883
725-9711 — EXT. 479

MAR 16 1971

March 12, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I enjoyed talking with you in our telephone conversation of March 11. As I mentioned at that time Community Leadership Services is an organization which is funded by the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation and operates out of Winston-Salem, N. C. Basically, CLS has the responsibility of designing learning experiences about racism for community leaders across the state of North Carolina.

CLS has been involved in this work since August of 1970. At that time, we received a small grant from the Diocese of North Carolina which enabled us to do seminars in four North Carolina cities for Episcopal laymen. The Z. Smith Reynolds grant will enable us to carry on this work for two years.

I am very interested in meeting persons on the Southern Regional Council staff who could be helpful in expanding the resources of Community Leadership Services. For that reason, I particularly appreciate your invitation to visit the Council's office.

I have included a brochure and some other information which might help explain better what Community Leadership Services is supposed to be doing.

I plan to be in Atlanta on Friday, April 2nd. I will certainly appreciate any time which your staff could spend with me on that date. I shall look forward to hearing from you regarding the time which would be most convenient for my coming to the Council's office.

Sincerely yours,

John E. Shields

JES/ct
Enclosure

WINSTON-SALEM JOURNAL
SEPTEMBER 1, 1970

WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

Plan to Aid Future Leaders In Understanding of Racism

By Larry Dendy
Staff Reporter

Young adult North Carolinians who appear destined for positions of leadership in the state will soon have a chance to prepare themselves to deal with what will likely be one of their biggest headaches—racial problems.

Two young Winston-Salem men—John E. Shields and the Rev. Richard Ottaway—have started Community Leadership Services, a project designed to help emerging leaders understand racism by confronting them with Negroes who know racism first-hand.

The arena will be a series of dialogue sessions between Negroes and young leaders. The Negroes—businessmen, government workers, social activists, militants—will describe various forms of racial discrimination and relate personal experiences.

JOHN E. SHIELDS
. . . real estate man . . .

RICHARD N. OTTAWAY
. . . Episcopal minister . . .

Postions of Influence

The leaders—men and women probably under 35 years old whose qualities, traits and accomplishments indicate they will achieve positions of influence—can challenge, dispute, argue with or accept the Negroes' viewpoints.

Out of it, Shields and Ottaway hope, will come an awareness on the leaders' part of the many forms of racism in American society, its ramifications and the ways they can cope with it.

Using a grant from the Department of Urban and Racial Affairs of the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina, Shields and Ottaway have scheduled projects in Raleigh, Durham, Charlotte and Greensboro. The Raleigh project begins Wednesday.

The men are preparing proposals to local foundations for long-term financing of the service, which will be offered in cities across the state.

Appraiser, Clergyman

Shields is president of Winston-Salem Citizens for Fair Housing. a past president of the local Jaycees and this year's Winston-Salem Young Man of the Year. A real estate appraiser by profession. he recently left the firm of Moore-Shields Appraisal Co.. Inc., to work on the leadership project and do free-lance appraising.

Ottaway, an Episcopal clergyman, is director of the Church and Industry Institute at Wake Forest University. He is also director of a new non-profit corporation called Human Enterprises, Inc., that was started to plan and operate projects to develop human potential and enhance the quality of life. Community Leadership Services is one of these projects.

Shields and Ottaway modeled the service on a seminar they organized here in 1968. A number of young men like themselves had candid, discussions on racism with local Negroes, and the impact was profound, they said.

Their basic assumption is that America is rapidly shifting from a racially segregated to an integrated society, that problems will inevitably arise and that they can best be handled by leaders who understand them.

Through their church and civic work, both men have built up contacts around the state. They will use these contacts to draw up a slate of 20 or so promising leaders in various cities.

Ottaway said the leaders will be neither racial liberals nor bigots but people with open minds who can assimilate information and react reasonably to diverse opinions.

Dialogue, Confrontation

Their leadership potential may lie in politics, business, religion, civic affairs or other fields, he said. They will all have to deal with racial problems, and the better prepared and equipped they are now, the more ably they can act in the future, he said.

Once a week for six or seven weeks, these leaders will meet privately for what Ottaway describes as a "mix between dialogue and confrontation." In a segregated society, he said, "There is no way for people of one race to know how people of another race feel. So we are creating a hypothetical arena."

Negroes will describe racism as it exists in education, business, religion and social life. Representatives of state agencies and other experts will discuss the problem generally in the first few weeks. Later, knowledgeable Negroes from the leaders' own city will discuss specific problems of discrimination and mistreatment in that city.

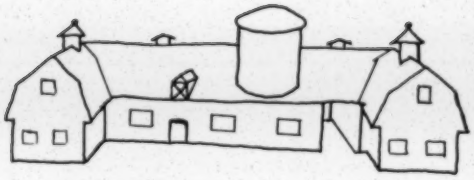
The idea is not to sway or sell the leaders on anything, Ottaway said. Rather, it is to help them discover the extent and scope of the racial problem and its implications for society, he said.

These leaders are committed to working within "the system," he added. "They will come out of this saying, 'Now we see the urgency; now we understand; now we have a feeling for what is going on. Here's what will make the system work better.' "

Shields and Ottaway hope the leaders will develop and maintain relationships with the Negroes so that when they rise into high-level positions, they will have established networks of communication and information.

The project, which has received enthusiastic endorsement from Gov. Robert Scott, will be free as long as it is financed by grant money. Shields, who will be project director, said that later — after techniques and procedures are refined — the service may be offered commercially if there appears to be a demand.

COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP SERVICES



Barn Number Two
Reynolda Village

All inquiries are appreciated and
should be directed to:

John E. Shields
Executive Director
Community Leadership Services
P. O. Box 7746
Wake Forest University
Winston-Salem, N. C. 27109

(919) 725-2883 or 725-9711 Ext. 479

WAKE FOREST UNIVERSITY
Winston-Salem, North Carolina

COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP SERVICES

I. PURPOSE

The purpose of Community Leadership Services is to design and conduct learning experiences for emerging community leaders to understand the racial implications of their work and civic activities. These experiences vary according to the community in which we are working from several evenings to concentrated weekends. Each design is especially aimed at the needs of the leadership of the community being serviced.

II. HISTORY

John E. Shields came to Human Enterprises Institute on August 1, 1970 to further develop an idea which he had used as President of the Winston-Salem Jaycees to achieve the same purpose. Prior to that he was a partner in Moore-Shields Real Estate Appraisal Company. As one of the Charter members and President of the Winston-Salem Citizens for Fair Housing, Mr. Shields has imminent qualifications to understand the social dynamics of a modern community.

During the last half of 1970 Community Leadership Services conducted seminars in Winston-Salem, Raleigh, Durham, Greensboro, and Charlotte involving over 100 young leaders.

III. FUNDING

Initially funded by the Episcopal Diocese of North Carolina Department of Urban and Racial Affairs, and the Winston-Salem Urban Coalition, Community Leadership Services is now principally funded by the Z. Smith Reynolds Foundation. Fees are also charged by the Human Enterprises Institute.

IV. HUMAN ENTERPRISES INSTITUTE

Community Leadership Services is a program of Human Enterprises Institute. The purpose of Human Enterprises Institute is to design and operate educational enterprises which through improved communications enhance the human potential in our religious, social, and economic systems.

Other projects are the Church and Industry Institutes in Winston-Salem and several other principal cities and Justice Communications.

V. PROGRAM

Community Leadership Services will consult with interested civic, social, religious or governmental groups in order to design meaningful learning experiences about racism.

After an initial analysis of community problems and group needs, a design will be implemented which will attempt to help those persons participating become effectively involved in creative change in their own community.

March 31, 1971

Mr. Jed Johnson, Jr.
Educational Programs Division
Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Washington, D. C. 20506

Dear Jed:

It is more than good to hear from you, and under almost any circumstances I would accept any invitation you extended. Regrettably, I do have a commitment in Richmond on May 15, which would severely limit my participation at the meeting.

As an alternate, may I suggest another member of our staff, Dr. Emory Via who is director of the SRC Resources Development Center. Emory is a labor and manpower specialist and, incidentally, was a professor at the University of Wisconsin School for Workers for about eight years until we persuaded him to return home. Aside from his professional competence, he is very good in this kind of setting and in dealing with people like Jaycees.

If you are interested in him you might write him direct; he is available on these dates.

Again, it was good to hear from you. Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

March 22, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear ~~Mr. Anthony:~~ Paul -

The Educational Programs Division of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, in cooperation with the Johnson Foundation, is holding a two day workshop on affirmative action for National Jaycees from 50 metropolitan centers.

We would like to invite you to serve as one of the resource persons at the workshop which will be held at the Johnson Foundation Conference Center, "Wingspread," Racine, Wisconsin. The workshop will begin with an evening meal on Thursday, May 13, and conclude with a luncheon on Saturday, May 15.

We are hopeful that it will be possible for you to be with us during the entire program. We believe this conference will be the beginning of a major new thrust of the U. S. Jaycee Operation Opportunity program into the field of employment discrimination. These young men could potentially mobilize the resources of their 50 cities in active support of equal employment opportunity, as well as have a major impact on the program emphasis of the U. S. Jaycees in years to come.

We hope you will be able to accept our invitation. We know that your participation in the seminar would greatly enhance its effectiveness and help ensure its success.

Yours sincerely,

Jed

Jed Johnson, Jr.
Educational Programs Division

P.S. Paul. We hope to have several southern cities represented - so I think it would be very valuable if you could be present.
Regards

March 31, 1971

Miss Elaine Rainey
The Institute of Politics in Mississippi
Box 15420, Millsaps College
Jackson, Miss. 39210

Dear Elaine:

Thank you so much for sharing with me your new work. It sounds not only interesting, but extremely important.

Enclosed is our check for $2 to receive the next four issues.

Good luck.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Enclosure

The University of Wisconsin

MADISON, WISCONSIN 53706

STATEWIDE COMMUNICATIONS
1652 VAN HISE HALL

APR 5 1971

April 1, 1971

Dear Paul:

Now really! How can you go along without a new picture as long as you obviously have? Four years, you say. It has to be longer than that. I must get Harold to recommend his photographer.

I am happy to have this one ONLY as long as it takes you to get a current pic. How can I impress my friends with your accomplishments, when they look at the face of a callow youth? However, in the meantime, I do thank you.

I have put off writing, wondering how hard to spank. I hope the chastisement is sufficient to get a reticent executive director together with a good candid photographer.

The lousy publicity that attended my first six weeks on the job has now quieted. And the University is giving me some added chores, one of which is to help cover the Washington scene. I expect to spend some time with the education associations, which are located, fortuitously, near Potomac. It will be good to be able to check up on them all -- I understand things went to pot there this winter, what with broken right arms, etc.

Now, re-read paragraph 1 and do it!

Most sincerely,

Jack Joyce

PS - Do you ever see John Griffin? What's he up to now?

April 2, 1971

Mr. William W. Allison
Executive Administrator
Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc.
101 Marietta Street Bldg.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Bill:

Thank you for the copy of the EOA report. You should be pleased for the work it reflects, and the objectives you selected. You and your staff are to be commended for doing a good job under very difficult circumstances.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Economic Opportunity Atlanta, Inc.

101 Marietta Street Bldg. • Atlanta, Georgia 30303 •

William W. Allison
Executive Administrator

March 29, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
6 Forsyth St, N. W.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am enclosing a copy of Economic Opportunity Atlanta's recently printed 1970 Year End Report/Goals and Objectives 1971.

Our staff and residents are rather pleased with this little booklet. Even more important than the brief statistical summary and action highlights of 1970 are the goals which we hope to meet during the current year.

We feel that we are giving to the public a tool by which to measure our performance. Despite a cut-back in funds we hope to accomplish a number of important objectives in 1971.

Sincerely,

Bill

William W. Allison
Executive Administrator

April 2, 1971

Mrs. Laura J. Feldbaum
Program Officer
Eisenhower Exchange Fellowship, Inc.
256 South Sixteenth Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19102

Dear Mrs. Feldbaum:

We will be more than pleased to see Mr. Hancock while he is in Atlanta.

Best wishes.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

file

EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY COMMISSION
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

2 APR 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is a copy of my letter to Dr. Emory Via inviting him to the "Wingspread" conference. We are sorry your schedule does not permit you to be present.

I hope the next time you are going to be in Washington, you'll give me a ring so we can get together. I'd like to get caught up on what you are doing and also see if we could explore developing some programs of a cooperative nature between EEOC and the Southern Regional Council.

I look forward to seeing you again.

Yours sincerely,

Jed

Jed Johnson, Jr., Acting Chief
Educational Programs Division

Enclosure

Dr. Emory Via, Director
Southern Regional Council
Resources Development Center
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Via:

The Educational Programs Division of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, in cooperation with the Johnson Foundation, is holding a two day workshop on affirmative action for National Jaycees from 50 metropolitan centers.

We would like to invite you to serve as one of the resource persons at the workshop which will be held at the Johnson Foundation Conference Center, "Wingspread," Racine, Wisconsin. The workshop will begin with an evening meal on Thursday, May 13, and conclude with a luncheon on Saturday, May 15,

We are hopeful that it will be possible for you to be with us during the entire program. We believe this conference will be the beginning of a major new thrust of the U. S. Jaycee Operation Opportunity program into the field of employment discrimination. These young men could potentially mobilize the resources of their 50 cities in active support of equal employment opportunity, as well as have a major impact on the program emphasis of the U. S. Jaycees in years to come.

We hope you will be able to accept our invitation. We know that your participation in the seminar would greatly enhance its effectiveness and help ensure its success.

Yours sincerely,

Jed Johnson, Jr., Acting Chief
Educational Programs Division

cc: Paul Anthony

OTA:JOHNSON:hga 4/2/71

April 5, 1971

Mr. John R. Larkins
Associate Director
State of North Carolina
Probation Commission
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Mr. Larkins:

Enclosed is a list of the State Councils on Human Relations in the south which are currently active. To the best of our knowledge the North Carolina Council is no longer operative.

Do look in when next you are in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

State of North Carolina

APR 5 1971

PROBATION COMMISSION

Raleigh, North Carolina

ROBERT W. SCOTT, Governor

W. H. GIBSON,
DIRECTOR

C. W. THOMPSON,
ASSISTANT DIRECTOR

W. H. S. BURGWYN, JR., CHAIRMAN
ROBERT B. WILLSON
GEORGE M. FOUNTAIN
JACOB A. BURGIN
CLARENCE W. CARTER

April 2, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Region Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I have received a request for information concerning the number of state-wide human relations councils or agencies, in the South, from an influential North Carolina citizen. If it is available, please send me the names and addresses of the Executives of these organizations.

During the 1940's, I served as a member of your Board of Directors. In 1955, I was one of the incorporators of the North Carolina Council on Human Relations. According to the latest available information, this organization is no longer functioning.

Enclosed you will find newspaper concerning my activities. On my next visit to Atlanta, I will attempt to contact you.

Thanking you in advance for your kindness,

Sincerely,

John R. Larkins

John R. Larkins
Associate Director

JRL:bj

Enclosure

April 5, 1971

Mr. Alan Williams
Manpower Development Program
Cenla Community Action Committee, Inc.
4020 Aaron Street
Alexandria, Louisiana 71301

Dear Mr. Williams:

You should contact Mrs. Patricia Miller, Director of the Louisiana Council on Human Relations concerning your inquiry. Mrs. Miller's address is First Federal Building, 7986 Scenic Highway, Baton Rouge, La. 70807.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

MANPOWER DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM
CENLA COMMUNITY ACTION COMMITTEE, INC.
4020 AARON STREET
ALEXANDRIA, LOUISIANA 71301
MARCH 23, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

Will you please send me any information concerning activities and if they could possible operate or give assistance in Central La.

Will you please include my name on your mailing list.

Thank you for your information and consideration.

Yours truly:

Alan D. Williams

Alan Williams
Manpower Development Program

AW/vj

April 5, 1971

Mrs. Analoyce Clapp
The University of Wisconsin
Statewide Communications
1652 Van Hise Hall
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Analoyce:

The first paragraph of your letter is duly noted, and I hereby alert my secretary to bug me to get to a photographer at an early date.

I do see John Griffin occasionally. He still runs the Southern Education Foundation and is very happily remarried.

More soon.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

April 5, 1971

Mr. Rex E. Robards
Box 427
University, Mississippi 38677

Dear Mr. Robards:

Regrettably, we do not know of any programs that would provide funds for your work this summer, although, your plans certainly are very commendable.

While it is a long shot, I am forwarding a copy of your letter to Mr. Charles Rooks of the Voter Education Project here in Atlanta, in hopes that he may know of something.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

April 8, 1971

Mr. Richard W. Boone
Director
Robert F. Kennedy Memorial
1054 31st Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20007

Dear Dick:

Thank you very much for the invitation to the Journalism Awards luncheon. Raymond Wheeler and I will be there.

I was delighted to learn on Tuesday when I was in his office that Martin Carr's work will be honored. I assume you know about Carr's NBC Special on Children in Jail, which is to be shown on May 2.

I would be delighted to see you and chat about your new priorities when you are in Atlanta.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

ROBERT F. KENNEDY MEMORIAL

ROBERT S. MCNAMARA
Chairman

RICHARD W. BOONE
Director

April 5, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I stopped by to see you after the meeting but you had gone. Wanted to thank you for the use of the meeting room.

We have been having a number of meetings around the nation addressing the future of the Robert F. Kennedy Memorial. When I'm next in Atlanta (probably May) I'd like to talk to you privately about the matter. We have decided to concentrate the greater part of our work on issues of children's rights. Now the question is one of focus on priorities within that relatively broad area. Suggestions?

Attached is an invitation to the Journalism Awards Program on April 28th. If you can make it, please come. If not, perhaps Pat Watters could represent the Council. Please let us know as soon as you can.

Hope to see you soon.

As ever,

Dick

Richard W. Boone

RWB/jnr

Enclosure

cc: John Lewis

1054 - 31st Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20007 • 202/338-7444

April 9, 1971

Dr. Don Clasen
MPA Coordinator
Department of Political Science
University of Georgia
Athens, Georgia 30601

Dear Dr. Clasen:

At the request of Mr. Horace Barker, this is a letter in behalf of the admission of him to the University of Georgia's program in public administration.

Mr. Barker first worked with us in 1969, on an intern research capacity for six months. In the summer of 1969 we had approximately thirty undergraduate and graduate students with us. Mr. Barker was ranked among the best of them, and on the basis of that, we asked him to remain for the year. He continues to do superior research work for us, largely in the fields of housing and education, and I have had him make several field investigating trips for me. His work in this capacity has also been superior.

I am confident Mr. Barker is the type of student you can accept with the assurance his performance will be excellent.

If you wish more detailed information, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

HAROLD BAUMAN, Treasurer
Workman's Circle
40 Marietta St., N.W. Suite 1422

ORGANIZED LABOR and WORKMEN'S CIRCLE

Awards Banquet

APR 15 1971

E. T. KEHRER, Treasurer
AFL-CIO
Atlanta, Ga. 30303 525-8549

CO-CHAIRMEN

T. D. ARCHER
Building Trades Council

NICK BONANNO
Ladies Garment Workers

OMA BARTON
Amalgamated Clothing Workers

ROY BOND, JR.
Machinists' Union

SAMSON GARRETT
Laborers Union

GEORGE CAUDELLE
Building Trades Council

ED COUCH
Plasterers Union

BUD CROSS
Carpenters Union

TRUITT CRUNKLETON
Bookbinders Union

IRVING GORDON
Workmen's Circle

HERBERT C. GREEN
United Auto. Workers

JAMES HAMPTON
Chemical Workers

DAVE HERMAN
Hotel & Restaurant Workers

JAMES HOWARD
State, County & Municipal Employees

JOSEPH JACOBS
Jewish Labor Committee

W. N. JENKINS
Retail Clerks

MARION LEE
Plumbers Union

HERBERT MABRY
State AFL-CIO

GID PARHAM
Teamsters

OLIVER SINGLETON
A.F.L.-C.I.O.

ROY WILLIAMS
Meat Cutters

JOHN WRIGHT
Central Labor Council

MARTHA TRUE
Communication Workers

Partial List

E. L. ABERCROMBIE, Chairman
Laundry Workers Union

April 12, 1971

Dear Friend:

You are cordially invited to the annual Labor Awards Banquet, Wednesday, May 12, 1971, to be held at the Regency Hyatt House.

The dinner will be in honor of President George Meany, Secretary-Treasurer Lane Kirkland and the members of the AFL-CIO Executive Council, who will be meeting in Atlanta during this period.

"Labor Man of the Year" awards will be presented to R. E. Shadix, Regional Director of the Building and Construction Trades Department, AFL-CIO, and to Weldon Mathis, President of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, Local 728.

A reception for the honorees, and for members of the Executive Council will be at 7 p. m., with dinner at 8 p. m.

Proceeds from the dinner will go toward expansion of the Southern Labor Archives at Georgia State University.

Since Tickets will undoubtedly be quickly sold out, you are urged to mail the enclosed reservation form together with your check at the earliest possible moment.

Sincerely and fraternally,

E. L. Abercrombie

E. L. Abercrombie,
Chairman

P. S. Table reservations may be requested in blocks of ten.

1 ticket ordered
4-15-71
JB

April 15, 1971

Dr. Raymond Gavins
Department of History
Duke University
Durham, North Carolina

Dear Dr. Gavins:

Thank you for your letter, and for your impressions.

It was good to meet you, and I do hope we can maintain a continuing relationship. At some point we might well work out a research project on our mutual interest.

Do keep in touch.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Duke University
DURHAM
NORTH CAROLINA

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

POSTAL CODE 27706
TELEPHONE 919—684-3014

April 12, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

When I visited Southern Regional Council on Friday, March 12, 1971, you asked me to write to you later concerning my impressions--specifically whether or not I am inclined to become a member of your staff. You wanted word two weeks afterward, presumably upon your return from a vacation. I took a month, partly because I wanted to think very carefully about my own professional goals and partly because I had to reassess my situation here at Duke University.

Undoubtedly, at this point, you have conferred with your official board and staff concerning the research directorship. Moreover, you have probably screened other prospects for the job. This is all the better, for what I have to say now will be weighed against decisions already made and impressions previously formed both of me and, possibly, others.

I am deeply interested in research, particularly the kind which helps to determine programs of social action and change. I am interested in greater professional opportunity and advancement. Southern Regional Council definitely stresses the former(research), while it seems to provide the latter(professional opportunity). I can say little else, except that I found you and your staff surprisingly frank, but congenial. I am favorably impressed; and I can envision the possibility of working someday for an organization such as SRC.

Thank you again for the invitation to visit. Whatever happens, I think we have at least initiated a lasting professional acquaintance.

Sincerely,
Ray Gavins
Dr. Raymond Gavins

Check with BA

24

April 15, 1971

Citizens Board of Inquiry
1812 N Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Gentlemen:

We are in receipt of your report, "Heal Yourself", and would like an additional copy as soon as possible. Enclosed is our check for $3,00 to cover costs.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Jay Brothers
Secretary to the Director

April 15, 1971

Fisher Publishing Company
Box 1356
Englewood, Colorado 80110

Gentlemen:

Under separate cover we are returning one copy of the educator's world for 1971. We are very sorry but it does not furnish the kinds of information we would need, we were under the impression it would give a complete listing of Foundations, etc.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Mrs. Jay Brothers
Secretary to the Director

S. Johnston
700 Timber Lane
Libertyville, Illinois
60048

April 15, 1971

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sirs:

I have just finished reading Robert Cole's Book Hungry in America, and was very moved by it. I am interested in the work that is being done to help the underprivileged both in the rural areas and also the larger cities of the U.S. I live in a suburb of Chicago and was wondering if there was some way I could help. I work as a secretary, but I have attended 3 semesters at Saint Olaf College, Northfield, Minnesota and plan to return to college to major in home economics. I would appreciate any information you could send me regarding possible people I could contact or programs I could work with.

Sincerely,

Sherry Johnston

Sherry Johnston

4 documents

April 19, 1971

Miss Bethel Fite
Director
Library and Program Services
The University of Alabama
P. O. Box 2987
University, Alabama 35486

Dear Miss Fite:

Thank you again for having me at your meeting. It was a real pleasure being with you and meeting you. Do visit us whenever you are in Atlanta.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

ALABAMA LIBRARY ASSOCIATION

FOUNDED 1904

March 17, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am very pleased indeed that you will be participating on the program at the annual convention of the Alabama Library Association next month in Tuscaloosa. From the good reports on you and your work that I hear from many librarians throughout the State, I can assure you that our attendance will receive a boost because of your presence. I know that your schedule is a busy one and I personally appreciate the interest you have in us. If there is anything I can do to make your stay more pleasant, I hope that you will not hesitate to call on me.

With best wishes and looking forward to seeing you, I am

Yours very truly,

Joseph A. Jackson

Joseph A. Jackson
President

JAJ:st

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA / DIVISION OF CONTINUING EDUCATION
P. O. DRAWER 2987 / UNIVERSITY, ALABAMA 35486

LIBRARY AND PROGRAM SERVICES
104 MANLY HALL

Telephone (205) 348-6300

March 12, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

If you have a manuscript, outline, or abstract of your presentation to the Alabama Library Association on April 16, the members of the panel would like very much to see it ahead of time. I will undertake to distribute anything you can send me.

You will be met at the airport Thursday night, April 15, probably by Charles Beard.

Sincerely,

Bethel Fite

BETHEL FITE
Director

February 12, 1971

Miss Bethel Fite
Library Extension Services
University of Alabama
P. O. Box 2987
University, Alabama 35486

Dear Miss Fite:

On April 15th I shall take the late Southern Airways flight, and will plan to leave on their mid-afternoon flight on the 16th. Thank you for your thoughtfulness in making hotel reservations.

The title of my presentation is "The Future South - A Slight Chance for Excellence." Please feel free to alter this if you wish. The presentation will only be about thirty minutes long, as I would much prefer to have a longer time with the panel.

I look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
EXTENSION DIVISION
UNIVERSITY, ALABAMA 35486

FEB 8 1971

LIBRARY EXTENSION SERVICES
P. O. BOX 2987

TELEPHONE
AREA CODE 205
348-6300

February 4, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We plan to print soon our program for the Alabama Library Association meeting in Tuscaloosa April 15-16. Will you suggest a title for your presentation Friday morning? Our overall theme is "The Changing South: What Role for Librarians." We expect you to talk about the changing South, new goals, and the kinds of institutions and people we need to work effectively toward those goals.

After your presentation, which can be as much as an hour we have an hour and a half for this program

There will be a panel of librarians who will discuss with you and each other the ways in which librarians from schools, colleges, and public libraries are and should be working to move toward a better quality of life.

We should like to make hotel reservations for you. If your time is limited, you may wish to come over on the Southern Airways flight which gets here about 9:00 p.m. There is a flight back the next afternoon a little before 3:30. If you will let us know your plans, we will make any arrangements you wish.

Sincerely,

Bethel Fite

BETHEL FITE
Director

"The Future South - A Slight Change for Excellence"

April 16, 1971

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
EXTENSION DIVISION
UNIVERSITY, ALABAMA 35486

SEP 2 1970

LIBRARY EXTENSION SERVICES
P. O. BOX 2987

TELEPHONE
AREA CODE 205
348-6300

August 31, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We are pleased to have your letter of August 26, accepting our invitation to speak to the Alabama Library Association, meeting here in April.

Our tentative schedule now calls for a general session at 10:00 Friday morning, April 16, at which we should like to hear from you. As the final outline becomes clearer, you will receive a copy of the program in detail.

We expect to have three hour-long sessions to show films of interest to librarians, some of which will be on social problems, particularly in the South. If you have any suggestions about specific titles which would illustrate or amplify your presentation, please let us have them.

Sincerely,

Bethel Fite

BETHEL FITE
Director

April, 1971

August 26, 1970

Miss Bethel Fite
Director
Library Extension Services
P. O. Box 2987
University, Alabama 35486

Dear Miss Fite:

I would be most pleased to be with you on such schedule as you arrange next April 16th.

In addition to learning of your schedule, I suspect it would be wish for you to remind me of my commitments about a month ahead of time.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

UNIVERSITY OF ALABAMA
EXTENSION DIVISION
UNIVERSITY, ALABAMA 35486

LIBRARY EXTENSION SERVICES
P. O. BOX 2987

TELEPHONE
AREA CODE 205
348-6300

August 20, 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

On April 15-16, 1971, the Alabama Library Association will hold its annual meeting here in Tuscaloosa. The theme for the meeting will be social change and the library's part in effecting orderly change. If your schedule will permit you to spend at least part of one of those days in Tuscaloosa, April 16 if possible, we should like very much for you to discuss some of the big changes which have been and are proceeding in our region.

We are prepared to pay your expenses and a modest honorarium if you can come. If you can spare the time, there are divisions and departments of the University which would also like to have an opportunity to take advantage of your presence in Tuscaloosa. Please let me hear from you as soon as convenient.

Sincerely yours,

(Miss) Bethel Fite

BETHEL FITE
Director

cc: Mrs. Pauline Foster
Mrs. Ruth Waldrop
Mr. Joseph Jackson

BW
JB

April 20, 1971

Miss Gwen Bole
VISTA
Box 1632
Auburn, Alabama 36830

Dear Miss Bole:

Thank you very much for the information on the effort to form a domestic workers union. I am uncertain of the way we would tend to find financial assistance, but we would like to help if we can.

Do keep us informed.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

APR 15 1971

VISTA
Box 1632
Auburn, Alabama
36830
April 13, 1971

Southern Regional Concil
5 Forsyth Street N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony,

This is an introduction to a funding request for a domestic workers' co-op. It is only an introduction since community organization is still in the beginning stages.

VISTAs in Auburn, Alabama have become aware of the poor working conditions of domestic workers here. Many of these workers have complained of low pay, long hours, lack of good employer-employee relationships, and absence of other benefits such as Social Security. The VISTAs are in the process of surveying employers and employees. As a result of the survey, we have confirmed most of the complaints. The average Auburn worker makes $.82/ hour, and does not receive other benefits.

All of the VISTAs involved, excluding myself, are permanent residents of this community, and most of them were former domestic workers. It was not difficult for them to interest other community people. There is a meeting scheduled for April 22, at which time we hope to have as a speaker a representative from the National Committee on Household Employment. If this is not possible, NCHE will send enough workbooks for all those present. It was the NCHE that suggested I write to you for funds.

Although I can not state definite plans,(these will be decided by the workers themselves), I can outline the plan suggested by NCHE for beginning a co-op. I should add that if we have overestimated the interest of the community, there may be no further action taken after the meeting.

Hopefully, a committee will write guidelines expected of employers and employees. Then a final proposal will be written requesting funds for training and for the salary of the Job Co-ordinator for the first year. The reasoning behind training is that if the employee has more to offer, the employer will be more likely to pay a higher salary. The Auburn University Home Economics department is an excellent possible resource for training in child care, table setting, food serving, and similar subjects.

The work of the Job-Coordinator would include finding an initial 30 or so women for training, and helping to place them in

new jobs or to negotiate with their present employer for higher wages. He or she would also help inform employers and employees about Social Security, paid sick leave, and other benefits.

Looking ahead to future years: With increased membership, the Co-op could become self-sufficient. If each of 60 to 100 women contributed a portion of their initial wages in exchange for being well placed in a job, and if prospective employers paid a fee for procurement of a worker, the salary of the Job Co-ordinator could be financed.

I hesitate to name a needed sum. Having seen promising programs fail, I want to be sure that there is a bonafied community committment before asking for funds. What I am requesting is that you be aware of this project, and be ready to offer further suggestions. We will be writing again in the near future.

Sincerely,

Gwen Bole

Gwen Bole

April 27, 1971

Mr. Whitworth Stokes
Attorney
1225 Nineteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Whit:

It was good to hear from you after learning of your present where abouts.

The article has been passed on to the editors of South Today and New South. If either of them is interested in it, you will hear directly from him.

Do make it a point to let me know when you are going to be in Atlanta. I look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

BOASBERG, GRANAT & KASS
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
1225 NINETEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

TERSH BOASBERG
RICHARD S. GRANAT
BENNY L. KASS
WHITWORTH STOKES
JAMES L. FELDESMAN

TELEPHONE
(202) 659-3436

April 16, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

It's been a couple of years since we talked so let me bring you up-to-date on my situation since then. 1969--EEOC in Memphis, Tennessee, Regional office. 1970--EEOC Headquarters in Washington. Since February 1, 1971--with this law firm in D.C.

I'm enclosing an article I wrote (not for any specific publication--just to see if I could write) on the Supreme Court's two EEOC decisions. If any of the publications you print can use it, please do so. If it needs heavy editing, that's all right with me, since I don't pretend to be an accomplished writer.

I hope to be in Atlanta in May or June and will try to get in touch with you. Our firm is attempting to get involved in low-income housing and we may be able to help each other.

Sincerely,

Whitworth Stokes

WS:cms
Enclosure

April 27, 1971

Miss Charlotte Mayerson
Editor
Random House, Inc.
201 East 50th St.
New York, N. Y. 10022

Dear Miss Mayerson:

Please forgive me this long delay in responding to the receipt of Joseph Goulden's The Money-Givers.

I have now read it and find it an excellent piece of work. It is undoubtedly the most thorough and skillful reporting that has been done on the subject. I have been pleased to see several good reviews.

Thank you for your thoughtfulness.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

RANDOM HOUSE, INC.
201 EAST 50TH STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022
TELEPHONE (212) 751-2600

CHARLOTTE LEON MAYERSON
EDITOR

March 3, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street NW
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Random House will publish Joseph Goulden's THE MONEY-GIVERS, An Examination of the Myths and Realities of Foundation Philanthropy in America.

I've taken the liberty of sending you an advance copy of the book which I thought might be of interest to you. We would be very grateful if you would care to comment on the work.

Sincerely

Charlotte Mayerson

CLM/cc
encl.

NORMAN H. PERLSTEIN

30 CHESTER STREET
STAMFORD, CONNECTICUT
AREA CODE 203 - 348-6939
N.Y.C. - LW 4-0350

INTERGROUP RELATIONS

MAY 3 1971

April 29, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Thanks for your note. I haven't yet settled down, but the announcement you got about the meeting of the migration group is one of the things I am continuing.

I shall keep you informed.

Cordially,

NHP/mkm

Norman H. Perlstein

P.S. call if you are in N.Y. I can be reached at BIA or 628-1010

Volume One

REPORTER

April, 1971

Georgia Service Center for Elected Officials

BLACK LEGISLATIVE MEMBERS ORGANIZE

For the first time since Georgia's black legislative membership has numbered more than one, the term "black caucus" is being used to designate black members of the Georgia Assembly. Whether the term is being used to designate an identifiable group of legislators or whether the term is being used to designate a group of legislators who together are wielding and dealing in the Assembly in such a manner as to effectuate the interests of members of the Assembly and their constituents remains to be determined. In any event, certain factors do exist which lend support to the legitimate use of the term "black caucus."

One such factor is the meetings which are being held by the black legislators. Black members of the House of Representatives are holding regular meetings where interests of black people are candidly discussed and certain problems are identified and analyzed. During the legislative sessions, the meetings were held at the State Capitol in a conference room reserved by and for the black legislators. Most of the meetings are open to news reporters and other legislators who might have some special interest in matters before the caucus. It has also held meetings with the governor, legislative leaders, and key people in state government.

Another factor is the presence of black legislative assistants. The black members of the Assembly for the first time have staff members. The staff, composed of a secretary and five legislative interns whose only duties are those assigned by black legislators, are providing typing, filing, research, and other assistance which are necessities for any caucus. The black legislative staff was provided by the Georgia Service Center and the Voter Education Project, Inc.

Probably the most important reason for the application of the term "black caucus" can be found in a "budding interdependency" among the black legislators. There appears to be more consultation and more sharing of responsibility where such responsibility can be shared. In other words, more and more, there is an apparent realization

Continued p. 4

CONTROVERSIAL MEASURES MET LITTLE OPPOSITION

Several measures which have aroused great concern in the black communities moved through the Georgia Legislature with little or no opposition. **House Bill 220** amended the Metropolitan Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority Act of 1964 so as to authorize certain local governments to levy a retail sales and use tax the proceeds of which are to be used for the Metro Atlanta Rapid Transit Authority. **House Bill 84** provided for the creation of the Metropolitan Area Planning Development Commission which is to coordinate planning development of areas with a population of 1,000,000 or more.

House Bill 846 provided for the aldermanic candidate for post 1 shall be elected by voters of the candidate's ward and the candidate for post 2 shall be elected by a majority vote of the voters from entire city of Atlanta.

It is the opinion of some black people that **House Bill 84** is an attempt to create a mechanism that will allow people who do not reside within a city (specifically Atlanta) to maintain control of that city's government through a planning commission. It is also the opinion of many black people who have examined the bill that the bill would lessen the possibility for black people to gain political control of the city because most of such power would eventually lie in the planning commission, a commission which blacks would never control.

The black legislators hold a different position. It is the opinion of most of them that many of the functions in the planning commission are already being carried out. These functions are being carried out by several organizations without black involvement. Although the composition of the commission will allow whites and suburbanites to control the commission it also will allow for black involvement—something the present system does not have. Moreover, **House Bill 84** was the most acceptable of the planning organization bills (all of the black legislators voted for the bill).

The opposition of the black community to **House Bill 220** which allows for a 1% sales tax, the

Continued p. 4

MAJOR COMMITTEES LACK BLACK REPRESENTATION

Black people of the State of Georgia are without black representation on about 53 per cent of the Standing Committees of the 1971 Georgia General Assembly. According to a survey conducted by the Georgia Service Center for Elected Officials, the Georgia Senate lacks black representation on 18 of its 24 Standing Committees. The Georgia House is without black representation on 8 of its 25 Standing Committees. Included in the Senate Committees which are without black representation are the Elementary and Secondary Education Committee, the Health and Welfare Committee and the Industry, and Labor Committee. House Committees which lack black representation are the Rules Committee and the Ways and Means Committee. These are probably the most important committees of the Assembly.

The importance of committee assignment is seen in the fact that most measures coming before the Assembly are referred to a committee for its consideration before that measure is acted upon by the Assembly. The committee has the power to dispose of the measure in a number of ways. It may report the measures back to the Assembly favorably, i.e., with the committee's approval, with or without amendments; it may report the measure back unfavorably, i.e., with the committee's disapproval; or it may not report the bill at all. The action of the Committee will more often than not determine the outcome of the measure before the general body.

Several reasons can be given for the lack of black representation on a majority of the Standing Committees. One obvious reason is the size of the Assembly. Georgia has the fourth largest legislative body in the country (251 members, including 13 black members which is the second largest black delegation). Because of its size, the Assembly has a large number of Standing Committees (27 in the House and 22 in the Senate). Although a minimum of two House appointments and six Senate appointments would allow for black representation on all Standing Committees, it is questionable whether such a minimum would allow for effective black representation.

Of course the size of the black delegation does not explain the total absence of black representation on the important committees and the lack of black chairmanships. An explanation of this lies in the way in which membership is obtained on committees.

Membership is by appointment. In the House of Representatives the speaker also appoints the chairman, vice-chairman, and secretary for all standing committees and for all sub-committees created by him. The Speaker of the House has not appointed a black to a chairmanship. He has appointed one black vice chairman and one black secretary of Standing Committees.

In the Senate, the President of the Senate appoints the Standing Committees. He also appoints the chairman, vice-chairman and secretary. The President of the Senate has appointed no black chairmen, in fact, he removed one black chairman. He has appointed one vice chairman and two secretaries.

The appointments are entirely discretionary acts of the Speaker and the President. Consequently, there is little that an individual legislator can do about an appointment. This is not to say, however, that nothing can be done. Possibly one of the most effective means of influencing legislative committee appointments is to oppose the Speaker's and President's re-election and support the election of someone who will be more equitable in the appointments. (Appointments are basically political rewards and punishments). The Speaker is elected by the house members from the house delegation. The president is the Lieutenant Governor of the State and is elected in the general election.

Black legislators can mount the drive for a smaller Assembly. It is believed that should the

Continued next page

Volume One **REPORTER** April, 1971
Number One

Georgia Service Center for Elected Officials
Clark College—Atlanta, Ga.

The Georgia Service Center for Elected Officials is a research and technical assistance Center for black elected officials of Georgia. It is a cooperative project of Clark College's Southern Center for Studies in Public Policy and the Voter Education Project, Inc., Atlanta, Georgia.

Viviam W. Henderson
President
Clark College

John Lewis, Director
Voter Education
Project, Inc.

Georgia Service Center for Elected Officials
Advisory Board

William Allison
James Hefner
Bobby Hill
Mack Jones, Chairman
Asa Yancey
John McCown
Mercedes Wright
Horace Ward

Antonio L. Thomas, Director
Georgia Service Center for Elected Officials

MAJOR COMMITTEES —

size of the legislature be reduced, the reduction would affect the rural rather than the urban representatives. All of the black legislators are from urban areas. Therefore, the proportion of blacks to whites would also be reduced, thereby enhancing the possibility of blacks obtaining appointments and chairmanships.

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS OF THE HOUSE

William H. Alexander — 108th District — Atlanta
- Judiciary Committee
  - General Law & Procedure
- State Institution & Property Committee
  - Eleemosynary Institution (Chrmn.)
- University System of Georgia Committee

Jesse Blackshear — 91st District — Savannah
- Health & Ecology Committee
  - Nursing Homes & Home for Aged
- State Planning & Community Affairs
- Temperance Committee

Julian Bond — 111th District — Atlanta
- Education Committee
- Insurance Committee
  - Fire Casualty & Allied Lines
- State Institutions & Property Committee

Ben Brown — 110th District — Atlanta
- Education Committee
- Industrial Relations Committee (Sec.)
  - General Labor Affairs (V. Chrmn.)
- State Planning & Community Affairs Committee
  - State & Federal Relations (Sec.)

J. C. Daugherty — 109th District — Atlanta
- Appropriation Committee
  - Labor, Defense & Public Safety (Chrmn.)
  - Law, Legislative & Regulatory Agencies
- Banks & Banking Committee
  - Industrial Loans (V. Chrmn.)
  - Judiciary Committee
  - Pardon & Paroles (Sec.)

James E. Dean — 76th District — Atlanta
- Welfare Committee (Sec.)
  - Juvenile Matters (V. Chrmn.)
- Education Committee
  - Vocational Committee (Sec.)

R. A. Dent — 79th District — Augusta
- Game & Fish Committee — Post 1
- Highways Committee
  - Highway Maintenance Shops & Facilities (V. Chrmn.)

Clarence G. Ezzard — 102nd District — Atlanta
- Education Committee
  - Community Schools
- Industrial Relations Committee
  - Employment Service (Sec.)
- Welfare Committee
  - Benefit & Aid (V. Chrmn.)

Grace Hamilton — 112th District — Atlanta
- Appropriation Committee
  - Family & Children Services
- Education Committee
  - Community Schools (Chrmn.)
- Legislature & Congressional Reapportionment Committee

Bobby Hill — 94th District — Savannah
- Education Committee
  - Transportation (V. Chrmn.)
- Judiciary Committee
  - General Law & Procedure (V. Chrmn.)
- Welfare Committee
  - Benefits & Aid

John Hood — 99th District — Atlanta
- Motor Vehicles Committee
  - Traffic & Safety Control
- Temperance Committee
- Welfare Committee
  - Benefits & Aid (Chrmn.)

E. J. Shepherd — 107th District — Atlanta
- Education Committee
- Health & Ecology Committee
- Industry Committee
  - Industrial Information & Co-ordination (V. Chrmn.)

Albert W. Thompson — 85th District — Columbus
- Special Judiciary Committee
  - Inquiry & Investigation (Chrmn.)
- State Institutions
  - Eleemosynary Institutions

COMMITTEE ASSIGNMENTS OF THE SENATE

Leroy Johnson — 38th District — Atlanta
- Business, Trade & Commerce (V. Chrmn.)
- Vocational & Technical Education (Sec.)
- Appropriations
- Judiciary

Horace Ward — 39th District — Atlanta
- County and Urban Affairs (Sec.)
- Penal and Correctional Affairs
- Rules
- Judiciary

CONTROVERSIAL MEASURES —

proceeds of which are to be used for MARTA, was not recognized by the General Assembly. The community argued that the rapid transit system as it is presently designed operates in such a manner that those people who will derive the greatest benefits from the system are people who will not have to bear the burden of the retail sales and use tax. The most equitable source of revenue would be a source that will equalize the burden and the benefit, i.e., income and payroll tax.

All of the black legislators voted for **House Bill 220**. However, before voting for the bill, they were assured that a low fare plan (15 cents) would be instituted by MARTA. (Several black citizens had testified that they would be willing to accept the retail sales and use tax if a low fare plan were instituted). Black legislators were also assured that the route would be planned in order to make the system equally beneficial to the users in the black communities and white communities.

The opposition to **House Bill 846** came primarily from the aldermen of the city of Atlanta. The black aldermen contend that ward elections would make it difficult for them to be re-elected because of the voting behavior of their constituents and large number of candidates. The black legislators contend that most, if not all, of the present black aldermen would be reelected and other blacks could be elected, thereby increasing the number of blacks on the board. However, should an alderman believe that he will be unable to win in his ward, he may exercise the choice of running city-wide. More important, the black legislators believe that ward election would allow for more effective representation because the aldermen would only have to respond to citizens of their ward.

Publication of the first edition of the Reporter was made possible through a supportive grant from the Atlanta Alumnae Chapter of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority. All contributions are deductible for federal income tax purposes.

MEMBERS ORGANIZE —

that the problems of the black legislators are too critical and too demanding for each black legislator to try to master them unassisted. Only through the utilization of the total black legislative experience does the possibility of success exist.

If there are reasons why the term "black caucus" is not being appropriately applied to black members of the Georgia Assembly, they can be found in the fact that (1) the caucus is not totally representative of black legislators and (2) it does not have the political power which most caucuses have.

Not all of the legislators have seen the necessity to attend the meetings; take advantage of the secretary and legislative interns; or consult with other black members who might be more knowledgeable about a certain issue. Although black senate members have utilized the legislative interns, the weekly meetings have been for the most part meetings of black house members. Moreover, communication between the house members and senate members is practically non-existent. This lack of support is the most critical problem of the black caucus. It has led to duplication of legislative efforts and certainly a weakening of black legislative power which is extremely important because of the fact that there is so little legislative power among the black legislator.

LEGISLATIVE INTERNSHIP PROGRAM INITIATED

Clark College's Georgia Service Center for Elected Officials and the Voter Education Project have jointly initiated an internship program at the capitol for the exclusive use of Black legislators and six interns presently involved in this pilot program.

The interns assist the Black representatives with research, summarization and analysis of bills and resolutions submitted to the Georgia General Assembly. Committee hearings are also monitored. Concurrent with these assignments, the interns are compiling data on bills and resolutions sub-committed by Black representatives since 1964; analyzing voting trends of non-Black representatives; and fulfilling many other necessary functions.

During the session, the interns researched in the areas of abortion, welfare, nursing homes, law enforcement, job discrimination in state offices and insurance. These research assignments have provided the interns with invaluable experience and expertise in the legislative processes. The interns are fulfilling a void in the legislative staffing of the Black legislators.

The six interns are: Dorothy Young, a recent Clark College graduate; Alvin Brown, a senior at Emory University; Phillip Duke, a senior at Hamilton College, N.Y.; Harry Long, a junior at Hamilton College, N.Y.; Humphrey Polanen, a senior at Hamilton College, N.Y.; and Leroy Slade, a recent graduate of Clark College.

Dorothy Young

BILLS SENT TO GOVERNOR

Approximately 65 per cent of the bills introduced by black members of the Georgia House of Representatives passed the House and the Senate and were forwarded to the Governor for his signature. Black senators, however, were able to get approximately 33 per cent of the bills which they introduced to the governor.

Black members of the House sponsored, individually and jointly with their black and white colleagues, 116 of the 1002 bills introduced in the House. Of that 116, 41 remained in the House, 18 were sent to the Senate and 75 were sent to the Governor at the end of the session. The majority of the House bills were of a local nature (legislation which applies to a particular place as distinguished from legislation relating to places in general). A few of the House bills were sponsored by a member or members of the black caucus and were designed in such a manner so as to alleviate some special problems confronting black people of the state. Only a very small percentage of those bills were enacted.

Georgia's two black senators sponsored 33 of the 338 bills introduced in the Senate. They were able to maneuver 12 of the 33 through the Senate and one of those 12 through the Senate and the House. Unlike their counterparts in the House, the black senate members co-sponsored only a small percentage of their bills.

Listed below are bills introduced by the black members of the Georgia General Assembly and the status of those bills at the end of the session. In some instances, a bill may have been co-sponsored by a legislator who is not a member of the black caucus. All bills which were introduced in 1971 may be reconsidered during the 1972 session without being introduced. Status Key: Passed House and Senate, P/B; Senate Committee S/C; House Committee, H/C.

William H. Alexander 108th District Atlanta

H.B. No. 23 A Bill relating to actions for the homicide of a wife or mother, so as to delete the requirement that any illegitimate child or children in order to recover for the homicide of the mother. P/B

H.B. No. 24 A Bill to provide for investigation of persons convicted of crimes, the sentence for which may include imprisonment for five or more years or which are classified as "sex crimes." H/C

H.B. No. 25 A Bill to provide that when a person posts bail bond prior to a preliminary or commitment hearing and is later bound over to another court for trial, the original bail bond shall be valid to provide for the person's appearance at the trial of the case. P/B

H.B. No. 26 A Bill to remove the requirements that certain drivers' license suspensions become effective immediately of the affected persons request that certain hearings be continued to a day beyond a certain period. H/C

H.B. No. 28 A Bill to be entitled an Act to provide a uniform crime reporting system. S/C

H.B. No. 31 A Bill that in all cases where the Supreme Court of Georgia has affirmed the imposition of the death penalty in a case, the remittitur shall not issue from the court for at least 90 days from the date of decision. S/C

H.B. No. 39 A Bill relating to elector's qualifications, so as to change the provisions relating to the residency requirements of electors. H/C

H.B. No. 40 A Bill to provide that it shall be unlawful for any law enforcement officer to physically abuse or injure any person when it is unnecessary and to provide a penalty. H/C

H.B. No. 74 A Bill revising, superseding and modernizing pretrial, trial and certain post trial procedure in civil cases, so as to provide that after commencement of any action any party may take the testimony of any person, by deposition upon certain questions. H/C

James Dean 76th District Atlanta

H.B. No. 323 A Bill to provide that members and chairmen of boards of commissioners of certain counties shall be elected at nonpartisian elections. H/C

H.B. No. 758 A Bill creating a County Commission of Efficiency and Economy in Government in each county of this State; to provide for the membership appointments, powers and duties of such Commission. S/C

H.B. No. 759 A Bill requiring boards of education of certain counties of this State to publish a summary of all receipts and expenditures of said boards, so as to require copies of audits of said boards of education to be available for public inspection. S/C

H.B. No. 967 A Bill to provide that the governing authority of any municipality located wholly within certain counties may not rezone or otherwise change the zoning status of land which has been annexed for a period of 2 years unless the

governing authority shall approve the rezoning or change in zoning status. P/B

H.B. No. 1045 A Bill to provide that in counties having a population of not less than 400,000 and not more than 600,000, such county may levy an annual license fee on each life insurance company doing business within the unincorporated area of the county. H/C

R. A. Dent 79th District Augusta

H.B. No. 73 A Bill relating to dissolution, claims and judgement in garnishment proceedings, so as to repeal Code Section 46-409, relating to bills of costs in garnishment proceedings, in its entirety. H/C

H.B. No. 118 A Bill relating to proceedings against ten holding over, so as to change the provisions relative to delivering summons and affidavits. H/C

H.B. No. 278 A Bill to provide that counties shall be compensated for the keep and confinement of prisoners who are participating in work release programs. P/B

H.B. No. 827 A Bill to authorize any county to adopt ordinances relative to the removal and disposal of certain discarded, dismantled, wrecked, scrapped, ruined or junked motor vehicles. P/B

H.B. No. 911 A Bill to be entitled an Act to amend the Urban Redevelopment Law, so as to change certain of the population figures and census contained therein.

H.B. No. 906 A Bill relating to the terms of office of the members of the board of tax assessors in certain counties, so as to change certain of the population figures and census contained therein.

H.B. No. 996 A Bill providing for the continued existence of the Richmond County Department of Health, so as to provide that a member of the County Board of Education may serve as a member of the Richmond County Department of Education.

Albert W. Thompson 85th District Columbus

H.B. No. 214 A Bill to authorize the administration to permit convicts to do contract work for private industry. H/C

H.B. No. 237 A Bill abolishing justice courts and the office of justice of the peace and notary public ex-officio justice of the peace and establishing, in lieu thereof a municipal court in and for the city of Columbus. P/B

H.B. No. 479 A Bill to require the foreman of each outgoing grand jury to spend two days with the incoming jurors in order to provide continuity among the various grand juries of the Superior Courts. H/C

H.B. No. 652 A Bill relating to the assent of the government in certain garnishment proceedings. H/C

Ben Brown 110th District Atlanta

H.B. No. 61 A Bill relating to the Joint Secretary of the State Examining Boards so as to provide that all examining boards shall be under the administrative authority. H/C

Grace Hamilton 112th District Atlanta

H.B. No. 84 A Bill to create an area-wide planning and development commission for all Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas of this State having a population of more than 1,000,000. P/B

H.B. No. 122 A Bill to change the length of the terms of Housing Authorities Commissioners in certain cities.

H.B. No. 207 A Bill to authorize and regulate nonprofit corporations providing prepaid comprehensive health care. H/C

H.B. No. 554 A Bill relating to bond for public contractors, so as to increase the total amount of the contract price where such bonds shall be required. S/C

H.B. No. 555 A Bill relating to the distributing of obscene materials, so as to provide that any person, who with intent to do so shall be party to distributing obscene materials of any description; shall be doing an act of public nusiance. S/C

H.B. No. 647 A Bill relating to abortions so as to define the word "physician." H/C

H.B. No. 999 A Bill to amend an Act known as the "Georgia Military Forces Reorganization Act of 1955", so as to change the description of the State Flag of Georgia. H/C

Bobby Hill 94th District Savannah

H.B. No. 1048 A Bill to add one additional judge to the State Court of each county having a population of not less than 195,000; to provide for the appointment of such additional judge by the governor. H/C

H.B. No. 1049 A Bill to abolish the Municipal Court of Savannah; to provide for transferring of all documents. H/C

H.B. No. 944 A Bill to provide that College

students and members of the armed forces may renew their licenses within a period of 180 days prior to their expiration date. H/C

Jesse Blackshear 91st District Savannah

H.B. No. 567 A Bill creating a charter for the City of Port Wentworth so as to change the salary provisions relating to the mayor and councilmen. P/B

John Hood 99th District Atlanta

H.B. No. 530 A Bill to change the pay and allowances of the Adjutant General. H/C

Clarence A. Ezzard 102nd District Atlanta

H.B. No. 923 A Bill to be entitled an Act to amend an Act establishing a new charter for the City of East Point, so as to change the corporate limits. H/C

SENATE

Leroy Johnson 35th District Atlanta

S.B. No. 32 A Bill to create a statewide tenure law for all administrative and teaching personnel of the public school system, except those who work directly under a state or local merit system. H/C

S.B. No. 33 A Bill to amend an Act providing for pensions for members of police department in cities having a population of 150,000 or more, so as to provide for retirement as a matter of right after 25 years of active service without regard to age. S/C

S.B. No. 48 A Bill to amend an Act establishing a minimum wage for certain employees of the state of Georgia, known as the "Georgia Minimum Wage," so as to delete the exemption for employees whose compensation consists wholly or partially gratuitous. S/C

S.B. No. 49 A Bill to establish a minimum wage for domestic employees who are employed by any person who resides in any city with a population of 500,000, or more, according to the 1970 federal census or any future census. S/C

S.R. No. 37 A resolution authorizing the Board of Education of the City of Atlanta to execute leases for land, buildings or facilities used for schools or education purposes for a term of up to 20 years, without a referendum or election. H/C

S.B. No. 107 A Bill to remove all inequities from state employment application forms, particularly questions which relate to whether or not an applicant for a job has ever been convicted of a misdemeanor. H/C

S.B. No. 120 A Bill to add two additional judges of the superior courts of the Atlanta Judicial Circuit of Georgia by election. S/C

S.B. No. 180 A Bill to provide for one additional judge of the criminal court of Fulton County. S/C

S.B. No. 229 A Bill to amend an act providing for compulsory school attendance, so as to provide that in counting said inadequate school systems in this state where public kindergartens are provided by local school systems, the age of attendance shall begin at 5. S/C

S.B. No. 230 A Bill to amend code section 84-303, relating to qualifications, age, citizenship and character or applicants for regulations or architects, so as to delete the requirements that an applicant for examination be a citizen of the United States. H/C

S.B. No. 259 A Bill to provide that certain counties shall be authorized to impose, in addition to all ad valoren and other sales or use taxes, a special tax upon hotels and motels. S/C

Horace Ward 39th District Atlanta

S.B. No. 143 A Bill to provide that the governing authority in any county having a population of more than 500,000 shall appoint a director of regulations and elections who shall have the duties and functions of chief registrar. H/C

S.B. No. 145 A Bill to amend an Act providing for a Board of Elections in each county of 500,000. H/C

S.B. No. 166 A Bill to change the compensation of the Solicitor General of the Criminal Court of Fulton County. H/C

S.B. No. 167 A Bill to change the compensation of the Assistant Solicitor of the Criminal Court. H/C

S.B. No. 218 A Bill to fix the salaries of the judges of certain of the Courts of Fulton County. S/C

The following is a list of bills and resolutions which were sponsored by two or more black legislators. In some instances, a bill may have been cosponsored by a legislator who is not a member of the black caucus.

H.B. No. 14 (Dean and Brown) A bill to create the office of Ombudsman; to provide for the appointment of the Ombudsman and for his qualifications. H/C

H.B. No. 35 (Hill and Brown) A bill to provide for the suspension of the duty to pay rent for dwellings certified to be unfit for human habitation by the county health department in all counties of this State. H/C

H.B. No. 82 (Hill, Alexander, Blackshear, Bond, Brown, and Hood) A bill to require the State Personnel Board to remove all inequities from State employment application forms. H/C

H.B. No. 219 (Bond, Hamilton and Alexander) A bill to provide for the levy of a local option sales and use tax for rapid transit purposes in certain counties and cities. P/B

H.B. No. 220 (Bond and Alexander) A bill to authorize certain local governments to levy a retail sales and use tax under certain circumstances. P/B

H.B. No. 411 (Hill, Brown and Bond) A bill providing for equal pay for both males and females for comparable requirements relating to skill, effort and responsibility, so as to redefine the term "employee" so as to include domestic employees. H/C

H.B. No. 412 (Hill, Bond and Brown) A bill establishing a minimum wage for certain employees within the State of Georgia, so as to provide that domestic employees shall be covered. H/C

H.B. No. 528 (Dean, Brown and Bond) A bill to be entitled an Act to amend an Act known as the "Uniform Act Regulating Traffic on Highways", so as to further define school buses which motorists shall not pass when said buses are stopped to receive or discharge school children. A/C

H.B. No. 552 (Alexander and Thompson) A bill to remove certain provisions relating to lunacy warrants to the requirement that the District Attorney shall cause a hearing to be held of persons convicted of sex crimes in counties of residence. S/C

H.B. No. 553 (Alexander and Thompson) A bill relating to the grounds that are sufficient to authorize the granting of a total divorce, so as to amend Subsection 11, relating to incurable insanity as a ground for total divorce. S/C

H.B. No. 581 (Dean and Ezzard) A bill to create the Blue Ribbon Consumer Affairs Commission; to provide for the composition, duties, authorities and functions of said commission. H/C

H.B. No. 594 (Hill, Thompson, Blackshear and Hood) A bill to authorize and direct the Department of Family and Children Services to pay a net minimum amount each month to persons eligible for Aid to Families with Dependant Children. H/C

H.B. No. 329 (Alexander, Daugherty and Hamilton) A bill to provide that a defendant shall serve and file his answer within 30 days after the service of the summons. P/B

H.B. No. 330 (Alexander, Hamilton, Daugherty, Hill and Ezzard) A bill to create the City of Atlanta Charter Commission and to provide for the membership of said commission. P/B

H.B. No. 344 (Brown, Alexander and Hill) A bill relating to the time for opening and closing polls, so as to provide that the polls shall remain open until 9:00 p.m. at which time they shall be closed. H/C

H.B. No. 345 (Alexander and Hill) A bill to add four additional judges to the Superior Court for the Atlanta Judicial Circuit. S/C

H.B. No. 630 (Alexander and Hamilton) A bill to change the compulsory school attendance age in certain school systems of this State. H/C

H.B. No. 714 (Daugherty and Alexander) A bill providing for tenure for teachers and other professional personnel of public school systems of each city of this State, so as to change the time of notifying probationary teachers that they will not be recommended for re-election to the second or third year of probation, or to tenure status. S/C

H.B. No. 749 (Hill and Blackshear) A bill relating to the revision of jury lists and the selection of grand and traverse jurors, so as to provide that the jury lists in each county shall be revised on the second Monday in January, or within 60 days thereafter. H/C

H.B. No. 752 (Hill and Blackshear) A bill to make the tax collectors or tax commissioners of certain counties ex-officio sheriffs, insofar as to enable them to collect the taxes due the State and County, by levy and under tax executions. P/B

H.B. No. 846 (Brown, Bond, Alexander and Hood) A bill relating to the election of candidates from representatives Post 1 and Post 2. S/C

H.B. No. 859 (Hill and Blackshear) A bill to extend the corporate limits of the Town of Pooler. P/B

H.B. No. 888 (Hill and Blackshear) A bill to change the salary of the Board of Aldermen of the City of Savannah. P/B

THOMAS RUSSELL JONES

JUSTICE OF THE SUPREME COURT

SUPREME COURT CHAMBERS
CIVIC CENTER
BROOKLYN, N. Y. 11201

May 6, 1971

The Honorable Thomas R. Jones
Justice of the Supreme Court
Supreme Court Chambers
Civic Center
Brooklyn, N. Y. 11201

Dear Tom:

It was a pleasant surprise, and very good to see you at the Kennedy Luncheon.

Under separate cover, I am taking the liberty of sending you some of our recent materials that will reflect what we are trying to do.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

PA
JB - File

May 6, 1971

Mr. Harry H. Harkins, Jr.
Box 5495
Duke Station
Durham, N. C. 27706

Dear Mr. Harkins:

Thank you for the copy of your project report.

I think your idea on the school desegregation research is sound. Under separate cover we are sending you the latest report we have done. I am also asking Dr. Paul Gaston, our research director, to respond to your thought. Dr. Gaston is on leave with us from the University of Virginia, Department of History, and also has a special interest in school desegregation.

Certainly you are most welcome to use any of the materials we have here.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

HARRY H. HARKINS, JR.
BOX 5495 — DUKE STATION
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27706

April 27, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

You may recall that I had an interview with you on January 22 about a research project I was conducting about Ralph McGill's role in Georgia politics. I am sending you a copy of my finished paper under separate cover for two reasons. First, I would value your critical comments on the paper, both as to content and interpretations. Second, you might want to put the copy in the files of your research department. It contains some original data from my interviews, and researchers using the SRC files might find it useful.

I greatly enjoyed talking with you in January about politics in general and McGill in particular. Although I will probably not work on McGill specifically in the future, I think I will do further research in the field of recent Southern political history. I am already contemplating a topic for my senior thesis in history. One idea I have would be an investigation of the desegregation process in about five Southern cities. It would have some similarity to the studies that the SRC has done in the past to highlight the process of desegregation. However, I would concentrate solely on counties which have had successful or innovative plans that met court specifications. Such successes would possibly serve as models for similar communities. Also, my approach would be historical, serving to explore the development of litigation and the gradual phase-out of the dual system in the communities to be studied.

I am mentioning this because, if the project becomes a reality, I believe that files and field reports contained in your office would prove of great value. I would do most of my research in the communities in question, but I do think that your organization would prove of great value to me. In return, perhaps the raw data or other information that I collect would be useful in some way to the SRC.

All of this is highly tentative, but is a great possibility. I would be interested in hearing your thoughts on the feasibility of the project, and perhaps you might have some other ideas about how I could make use of your data and files. From what I have read and seen of the SRC, the general emphasis is one of much interest to me, and I would like to work with the organization as much as possible. I do have some communities in mind, but for brevity's sake I am merely outlining my ideas to see your reaction.

HARRY H. HARKINS, JR.
BOX 5495 — DUKE STATION
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27706

April 27, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Page 2

I hope that I will not be imposing on our brief acquaintanceship to ask you to take time to consider both my McGill paper and the tentative topic for my thesis. I would greatly appreciate hearing your comments on both subjects. I thank you for granting me the interview, and I trust I will have the opportunity to meet and talk with you again.

Thank you very much for your cooperation and attention.

Sincerely yours,

Harry Harkins

Harry H. Harkins, Jr.

January 12, 1971

Mr. Harry H. Harkins, Jr.
Box 5495
Duke Station
Durham, North Carolina 27706

Dear Mr. Harkins:

January 22nd is a good day for me, and I am sure we will have no trouble working out a time for us to get together. You will find on arrival, that we are quite informal here, so please feel free to call me, or look in on your earliest visit.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

JAN 8 1971

HARRY H. HARKINS, JR.
BOX 5495 — DUKE STATION
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27706

7 January 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

Thank you for your letter of December 21. You stated that you would be free on January 22 or 29. It would be much more convenient for me on January 22. Therefore, I will plan to be working at the Southern Regional Council research department on that day, and will talk to you any time during the day that is most convenient for you.

Thank you for the advice on Harold Martin, McGill's biographer. I plan to see him, and I am certain he will be a most valuable source.

If your plans should change, please let me know. I will probably stop in at the SRC before the 22nd, if you want to leave me a message there. Unless I hear otherwise, then, I will look forward to meeting you on the 22nd.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Sincerely yours,

Harry H. Harkins, Jr.

Harry H. Harkins, Jr.

December 21, 1970

Mr. Harry H. Harkins, Jr.
Box 5495
Duke Station
Durham, North Carolina 27706

Dear Mr. Harkins:

At this point, I believe I will be free on either January 22, or the 29th, and would be happy to see you on either of those dates.

You should know that Harold Martin of the Atlanta Constitution, is currently at work on a biography of McGill. On one of the dates you mentioned, you certainly ought to also try to talk with him. His home address is: 2895 Normandy Drive, N. W., Atlanta 30305.

I look forward to seeing you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

HARRY H. HARKINS, JR.
BOX 5495 — DUKE STATION
DURHAM, NORTH CAROLINA 27706

10 December 1970

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I am a Duke University student currently engaged in a biographical study of Ralph McGill. I am researching his entire career with the idea of continuing the study of McGill and the modern South throughout my course of study, culminating in a senior thesis in history on McGill. The current paper, however, concerns "Ralph McGill's Contribution to Change in Georgia Politics."

I will be spending time in Atlanta soon for research purposes, both in McGill's papers at the Emory University Library, and also in interviewing. Dr. Thomas Naylor of Duke's Economics Department and the L. Q. C. Lamar Society, suggested that I talk with you concerning my topic. Since I already had written the Southern Regional Council, and plan to use your library, I would doubly appreciate the opportunity to talk with you about McGill.

I will be in Atlanta for two time periods: Saturday, Jan. 16-Friday, Jan. 22, and Friday, Jan. 29-Saturday, Feb. 6. If you could spare time from your schedule during this time to talk with me, I would be quite appreciative. Since I will be at the SRC office at any rate, you may not want to have a formal schedule, but I would be happy to have a specific appointment with you if you so desire. I also hope to talk with Mr. Reese Cleghorn.

Thank you for your courtesy. I will look forward to hearing from you and meeting you in Atlanta.

Sincerely yours,

Harry H. Harkins, Jr.

Harry H. Harkins, Jr.

May 7, 1971

Miss Ruth Kent
WSB-TV
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Miss Kent:

At the suggestion of Nancy Erickson, whom I asked to call you, this is to briefly describe the Open Air Festival, sponsored by the Random Walk Merchants Association.

Last year fourteen shops, antiques, gifts, paintings, and decorators, formed a merchant's association to promote an approximate three block area, the center of which is East Paces Ferry at Maple. Up-grading and beautification of the area is also one of our major purposes. For instance, dogwood trees were planted earlier this year along East Paces.

Last year we held a Sunday afternoon open air festival that had some seventy out door booths along the street. Handicraft items made by children, some antiques, flowers, some junk, etc., were sold. Although it rained, the festival was very successful and attracted over 3,000 people. More importantly, it was a genuine happy event for the community. When one resident complained to city authorities, our permit was withdrawn and it took us the remainder of the summer to straighten this out.

Now on Sunday, May 30th, we will have our first open air festival of the year. We hope to have them monthly throughout the summer.

We would be very grateful if you would consider interviewing one of our members on your program. Should this be possible, I would like to suggest Miss Carol Waltz, owner of Carol Waltz, Inc., Interiors and Antiques. Miss Waltz is attractive and very articulate as well as being a very successful business woman. I think she would measure up to the high quality of your show.

Thank you for any consideration you are able to give this request.

Sincerely,

ANTHONY & STICKNEY

Paul Anthony

PA:jb

MAY 11 1971

May 9, 1970

Sgt. William G. Allen, Jr.
17th PTF, CMR# 3439
Eglin AFB, Florida 32542

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Sir:

Within the past eight months, I have become acquainted with the work of the Southern Regional Council through its two major publications, New South and South Today. In some issues, I have read about different organizations, such as the American Friends Service Committee, the L. Q. C. Lamar Society and the Human Relations Councils which several Southern states have created. I would like to know more about these organizations and would be very grateful if you could provide me with their mailing addresses.

At present, I am serving a four year enlistment with the U. S. Air Force and should be discharged in approximately twenty months. Upon my separation from the Service, it is my desire to work with one of the above mentioned groups, or one similar to them. I feel that they all have in common basic ideals and goals. One of, if not the, most important of which, I feel, is to improve the quality of life for all disadvantaged citizens, but especially the black people of the South.

Also, I would like to ask you for the address of Mr. Leslie W. Dunbar whose article "Middle Age Thoughts" appeared in the Spring, 1970 issue of New South.

Thanking you very much for your cooperation and assistance,

Sincerely yours,
William G. Allen, Jr.
William G. Allen, Jr.
Sergeant, USAF

May 10, 1971

Mr. Frank Nicholson
Associate Regional Commissioner
Aging Services
Department of HEW - Region IV
50 7th Street, N. E. - Room 438
Atlanta, Georgia 30323

Dear Mr. Nicholson:

Please forgive this delay in responding to your letter, which was misplaced.

Enclosed is our last annual program report which will give you some idea of our interest and activities.

Whenever you are in the neighborhood, I do hope you will stop in for a visit.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
REGION IV
50 7TH STREET N.E. - Room 438
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30323

APR 20 1971

April 16, 1971

SOCIAL AND REHABILITATION SERVICE
Aging Services

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

I received a copy of the letter to you from Ray Schwartz pertaining to your interest in the White House Conference on Aging.

It would be of interest to me to know something about your Southern Regional Council. If you have information you could send me this would be appreciated. As things come along on a regional level, then I will have a better idea of how to tie you into them.

At the State level, the responsibilities for the White House Conference on Aging activities rest with the State Agencies on Aging, as reflected on the attached list. If you have State organizations which you wish to relate to this effort, you may wish to write them and the State Agencies on Aging encouraging this mutual cooperation. Quite honestly, our State people are involved right now in conducting a number of community conferences and in preparation for State conferences in May, and there are so many organizations to which they have to relate, that I would suggest your people take the initiative.

State White House Conferences scheduled are as follows:

Alabama	May 21, 22	Montgomery
Florida	May 11	Orlando
Georgia	May 3, 4	Atlanta
Kentucky	May 25, 26	Lexington
Mississippi	May 20	Jackson
North Carolina	May 21, 22	Raleigh
South Carolina	May 19	Columbia
Tennessee	May 12	Nashville

If you have questions or suggestions as to how to relate to our aging efforts, please let me know. We welcome your interest and assistance.

Sincerely,

Frank Nicholson

Frank Nicholson
Associate Regional Commissioner
Aging Services

Attach. 1

STATE AGENCIES ON AGING
DHEW - SRS - REGION IV

Mr. Emmett W. Eaton, Executive Director
Alabama Commission on Aging
740 Madison Avenue
Montgomery, Alabama 36104
Phone: 205 269 6387

Mr. Douglas Endsley
Director, Division of Family Services
Department of Health & Rehabilitative Services
P. O. Box 2050 (5920 Arlington Expressway)
Jacksonville, Florida 32203
Phone: 904 725 3080 Attn.: Mr. Walter Conwell

Mr. Harold B. Parker, Executive Director
Georgia Commission on Aging
1372 Peachtree St., NE. - Suite 301
Atlanta, Georgia 30309
Phone: 404 892-1243

Mr. Don Valentine, Executive Director
Kentucky Commission on Aging
207 Holmes Street
Frankfort, Kentucky 40601
Phone: 502 564-4238

Mr. Douglas Kenna, Sr., Executive Director
Mississippi Council on Aging
P. O. Box 4232 - Fondren Station
Jackson, Mississippi 39216
Phone: 601 354 6590

Mr. J. Eddie Brown, Executive Director
Governor's Coordinating Council on Aging
213 Hillsborough Street
Raleigh, North Carolina 27603
Phone: 912 829 3983

Mr. Harry Bryan, Executive Director
South Carolina Interagency Council on Aging
2414 Bull Street
Columbia, South Carolina 29201
Phone: 803 758 2576

Miss Patty Ree Buchanan, Executive Director
Tennessee Commission on Aging
510 Gay Street - Capitol Towers
Nashville, Tennessee 37219
Phone: 615 741 2056

May 10, 1971

Mr. Morris Milgram
Greenbelt Knoll
5 Longford Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19136

Dear Morris:

We are sending a small check in response to your letter of April 24. I regret that it cannot be more, but our own financial situation is not the best it could be.

I did know Jack Tatum slightly, and worked with him occasionally while he was in Atlanta. Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

MORRIS MILGRAM

Greenbelt Knoll • 5 Longford Street • Philadelphia, Pa. 19136
Phone: (215) 332-7669 or 338-2905

April 24, 1971

Paul Anthony
Southern Reg Council
5 Forsythe St NW
Atlanta Ga 30303

MAY 3 1971

Dear Paul,

You have been so wonderful in your backing of my integrated housing work that I don't hesitate to write to you about Sponsors of Open Housing Investment (SOHI). We have an opportunity which must be taken now, or be lost.

For too long SOHI has lacked a field secretary -- to travel and work with local groups to spark their interest in developing local multiracial housing. Jack Tatum, a young (32) black housing consultant with an impressive background is that opportunity.

We need $26,000 for two years salary and expenses. While we're raising it, he's working part time. He has a deep sense of the urgency of the work SOHI and National Neighbors are doing to end the terrible injustice of closed housing.

This is so important.... Please, if you can, send a contribution (tax deductible) to Congressman Don Fraser, Chairman SOHI, 1914 Connecticut Ave NW, Washington DC 20009, for his salary and expenses -- and a pledge for '72. You will do much to advance our campaign for truly open housing.

Sincerely,

Morris

P.S. Please look over the enclosed summary of Jack Tatum's background. You will see why I am so enthusiastic about the possibility of a major step forward. Then, please send and pledge what you can.

Warmest regards! I checked with all his previous employers carefully before he was engaged, & got good reports -

Mourn not the dead . . . .
But rather mourn the apathetic throng—
The cowed and the meek—
Who see the world's great anguish and its wrong,
And dare not speak!

—RALPH CHAPLIN

$100 check
Mailed 5/10/71
JB

SPONSORS of OPEN HOUSING INVESTMENT, Inc.
1914 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20009 (202) 265-9448

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Administrative Director
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Executive Director
NATIONAL NEIGHBORS
A service agency for integrated neighborhood associations sponsored by SOHI
(215) 338-2905

BACKGROUND OF JACK TATUM

Age 32 — Born: Johnstown, Penna. July 9, 1938

M/S: Married — Wife: Marie E. Tatum
Children: Rhonda, age 10
Noreen, age 9
Karl, age 6

Education: Northeastern University
Boston, Mass
1960: BA

Employment:

1962-63 — Martin Grossman
Real Estate Sales
1300 Cheltenham Ave.
Philadelphia, Penna.
Real Estate Salesman

1963-67 — Suburban Fair Housing, Inc.
53 Cricket Ave.
Ardmore, Penna.
Sales Manager and Consultant to local open housing groups

1967-68 — Philadelphia Commission on Human Relations
City Hall Annex
Philadelphia, Penna.
Real Estate Consultant and Program adviser to Operation Equality

1968-70 — American Friends Service Committee
41 Exchange Place, SE
Atlanta, Ga.
Director of the Atlanta Community Relations Div. Open Housing Program

1969-70 — The Research Group, Inc.
2342 Bank of Georgia Bldg.
Atlanta, Ga.
Member of the Technical Assistance Panel helping Community Action Agencies throughout the southeastern area of the U.S.

10/70

May 10, 1971

Mrs. Ruth Bennett
4926 Oakview Rodd
Knoxville, Tennessee 37918

Dear Mrs. Bennett:

Please forgive this delay in responding to your request for information.

We are not intimately familiar with the groups who work in Knoxville, There is, however, a Knoxville Council on Human Relations. If you cannot find the address of that gropp locally, you might write the Tennessee Council on Human Relations, 818-B 17th Avenue, South, Nashville 37203.

Also, a vice-president of SRC who resides in Knoxville whom you might call for suggestions, is Mr. Frank Smith, Director of TVA. His phone number is 522-7181.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

April 9, 1971
Knoxville, Tenn.
37918

To Whom it May Concern:

I am a 39 year old housewife with quite a bit of time on my hands. I would like to volunteer my time and services to your cause. Will you please send me the address and phone number of your offices in or near Knoxville, Tennessee

Sincerely,
Mrs. Ruth Bennett
4936 Oakview Rd.
Knoxville, Tenn.
37918

May 10, 1971

Mr. J. Ralph Spalding
184 Brimfield Road
Wethersfield, Conn. 06109

Dear Mr. Spalding:

While I would like very much to be of assistance in your very real dilemma, I really do not believe that from this distance I am in a position to know enough of the smaller details, which can be so important in this kind of situation.

Perhaps it would be feasible for you and other alumni, and the protesting students to get together face to face to see if this problem can be resolved to everyones satisfaction.

Do let me know how it develops.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

APR 30 1971

J. RALPH SPALDING
184 BRIMFIELD ROAD
WETHERSFIELD, CONN.
06109

April 26, 1971

Director, Southern Gegional Council,
5 Forsythe Street,
Atlanda, Georgia

Dear Sir:

This letter is of such a nature that it requires some explanation. I had written to the Governor of Arkansas, Dale Bumpers about it and he referred me to you, as one who might be able to answer my questions.

I am an alumnus of the University of Vermont and have been associated with its activities in one capacity or another through the years, (not too important). My questions involve a long tradition which began in the 1890s. It was called the"Kake Walk".

According to tradition, it began at a man's party where agroup of exuberant students started to cake-walk for the fun of it. Nobody seems to recall just how it began to spread, but withina few years it became the central even of a sort of winter carnival around Washington s birthday. It gradually developed into a combination of contest between a pair of "kake-walkers" from each fraternity, each dressed in bright colored clothes, and "blackface", like old minstrel shows. There were also stunts or skits, one from each fraternity, usually more or less satiracal, but practically never having anything to do with race or color. Prizes in the form of cakes and silver cups were awarded to the winners. A special music was composed by a local band leader, called "Cotton Babe", stirring music, with no words.

No one ever questioned it, so far as I know, until about two years ago, or rather three, when the few black students at the University condemned it as racist, objecting to the "black-face" part of it. Therefore the fraternities changed, eliminating it, but keeping the rest of it as traditionally.

Two years ago, at the time there were eruptions of students, blacks and their sympathizers, condemning racism, the dozen or so at Vermont, plus some white students and faculty members, demanded that the whole kake walk winter carnival must be abolished. Against the protests of many students and I would judge most of the alumni, Itwas abolished.

There were two results: One was a lot of animosty against the black students; the other was loss of a lot of alumni support from the alumni of the university who resented having a handful of students destroy a tradition of some 75 years standing.

I should point out that only a fraction of one per cent of the people of Vermont are Negroes, mostly, I wjoud judge, because of the hard winters. (Vermont was the first state to abolish slaver

J. RALPH SPALDING
184 BRIMFIELD ROAD
WETHERSFIELD, CONN.
06109

in its constitutiion. The number of Negro students at the university is also a fraction of one per cent. Tuition to out-of-staters is very high $2400, ($2600 next year, I believe) The Dean of Students has tried to recruit blacks from other states, but money is not available for very many.

Kake Walk probably will not return to Vermont in its old form, attempts the past two years to find a substitute have been a dismal flop. I would like your opinion about a substitute.

1. Restore the "walking for the cake" with the old colorful costumes and music, but no "black-face". Devote less time to it, but still keep is importance.

2. Make it a recognition or tribute to the other two cultural gifts of Negroes, spirituals and Jazz, with either competition in these fields among the students, or possible importation of some outside group of black singers or musicians as participants. Perhaps other ideas would develop; there is plenty of oportunity.

I cannot understand why blacks are proud of jazz and spirituals but regard cake-walking as a humiliating relic of slavery. Spirituals were certainly born there.

Some time ago I saw a short item in a newspaper about a Negro woman in Arkansas who had started a school for poor blacks and one feature of their activities was old fashioned cake-walking. I wrote to the Governor of Arkansas for information or contact with this woman but he knew nothing of her. His Executive Secretary of the Arkansas Council on Human Relations assured him that he could see no racial overtones in the cake-walk or that it was racist.

Last fall I saw a TV game of football in which a marching band of girls, the "Apache Bells" announced one of their maneuvers would be the old fashioned cake-walk/ They got their feet about foot off the ground, flopped their arms around up over their heads, a pretty incipid imitation of the real thing. It occurred to me that quite possible that nobody, anywhere, had ever perfected the cakewalk into such a fine and vigorous art as the "Kake-Walkers" at the University of Vermont, and that it ought not to be allowed to disappear because a few people called it racist.

I apologize for taking so much of your time, but would much like both your opinion (and those of your associates) and any suggestions of ways to build up such a tribute to Negro contributions as I suggest.

Very truly yours,

I have contributed for many years to the Negro College Fund (what has happened to it?); also to NAACP, Martin Luther King fund, etc.)

MAY 6 1971

J. RALPH SPALDING
184 BRIMFIELD ROAD
WETHERSFIELD, CONN.
06109

May 3, 1971

Director, Southern Regional Council,
5 Forsythe Street,
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Sir:

Last week I wrote you a lengthy letter concerning the possible revival of the University of Vermont Kake Walk, which has been suspended for the last two years because of the charge of racism on the part of the few black students and their sympathisers. My letter tried to give you a background for understanding the problem.

Since writing to you, I have further refined my thinking and have come up with something constructive, in my opinion. My suggestions will be as follows:

If the program for the revival of the Kake Walk in its amended form can return this mid-winter carnival to its former popularity, it would make a profit of several thousand dollars. My suggestion would be that this money be devoted to scholarships for black students, both men and women, on the basis of need, character, scholarship, and talent. I would not make thee them exclusively "athletic scholarships", but there would be no discrimination against them.

I would emphasize that the new program would be somewhat experimental, subject to improvements from year to year. I think the plan has merit. I do not see how it can be accused of ravism, since the profits go to black student scholarships. I would hope it might appeal to the thousands of alumni who disapproved of abolition of the old Kake Walk. It should appeal to fraternities, which it is generally agreed, were badly hurt by the loss of the winter carnival.

I would appreciate it if you would give my plan approval, to the extent at least that it would be freed of any charge of racism. I am not clear just what your own organization is, as to racial composition.

Very truly yours,

J. Ralph Spalding

May 10, 1971

Mr. Gracy Sugarman
Rediscovery Productions, Inc.
2 Halfmile Common
Westport, Conn. 06880

Dear Mr. Sugarman:

Finally we have viewed your film, "Edge of the Arena". The SRC and VEP staff saw this together and we had hoped that Andy Young could join us. Regrettably he could not, and therefore, we still have to arrange to view "Oh, Freedom".

I believe I speak for all of us in saying that we were very impressed with the film, and felt that you have done quite a good job of documenting this important political process.

As I indicated to you on the phone, we had written you earlier at this same address and it was returned. I hope this one fairs better.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

2 HALFMILE COMMON, WESTPORT, CONN. 06880 226-4489

REDISCOVERY
PRODUCTIONS, INC.

Feb.14, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe St. N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony,

After our phone conversation last week, I contacted Andy Young. Andy has a print of our film, "Oh, Freedom!" (in which he is our narrator) and I asked if he would kindly bring it to your office so that you could see the kind of films that Rediscovery has been producing. Knowing the meandering ways of the post office, I thought that might be the fastest way of getting a print to you. He assured me he would get it to you promptly so I hope that by now you have heard from him.

As you will see from the enclosed material, our series of films on the black experience has grown naturally from our long involvement with the Movement. We think that by the nature of our creative group,(cameramen, soundmen, writers and editors -blacks and whites) we have been able to make films that speak effectively and compassionately to all segments of our society. The need for disseminating materials of this kind as broadly as possible is increasingly apparent. It is in hopes that you share our concern that I called you last week. Whereas the New York Times has been selling the films to the secondary school market, we have now gotten permission to seek out groups like the Council in our desire to find the widest possible audience. A common appreciation of black heritage and contribution seems essential if genuine understanding of black aspirations is to be achieved.

As I indicated to you on the telephone, our last film, "Edge of the Arena " (portrait of a black candidate) is now about to be released. As soon as we can secure a print, I will forward it to you for your viewing. I hope that you and all the good people at Voter Education Project who assisted us so generously will like what we have assembled. We hope that we have drawn a fair picture of the emerging black politician in the South.

I will look forward to hearing from you after you have seen"Oh, Freedom!" and will be most appreciative of any assistance you may be able to give us in getting these films to the places they should be.

Sincerely,

Tracy Sugarman

Tracy Sugarman

May 10, 1971

Mrs. Ruth C. Balden
The Weaver Branch Library
2937 18th Street
Tuscaloosa, Alabama

Dear Mrs. Balden:

I have your note which you gave me when I was in Tuscaloosa. I am very grateful that you would want a copy of my speech, but regrettably, spoke only from various sparse notes. Therefore, a copy is not available. With best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Mr Anthony.

Please send us a copy of your speech today

The Weaver Branch Library

2937 – 18th Street

Tuscaloosa Ala.

(Mrs) Ruth Cummings Balden

May 11, 1971

Sgt. William G. Allen, Jr.
17th PTF, CMR #3439
Eglin AFB, Florida 32542

Dear Mr. Allen:

The addresses you request are as follows:

The L. Q. C. Lamar Society
2727 Spencer Street
Durham, N. C. 27705

American Friends Service Committee
160 North Fifteenth St.
Philadelphia, Pa.

There is not currently a Florida Council on Human Relations, but if you are interested in a particular state, I will be more than happy to send you the addresses of any organizations active in that location.

Leslie Dunbar's address is: 100 E. 85th St., New York 10028. Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Urban Enterprise

Vol. II, No. 13 May 14, 1971

A twice-monthly newsletter on minority economic development

New Business Complex in Milwaukee

After four years in planning, Central City Development Corporation is ready to break ground July 1 on a complex of businesses in central Milwaukee. In addition to raising $50,000 for operating expenses through the sale of stock, CCDC is seeking a $250,000 grant to undertake other ventures, business and non-business, for the residents of the area. Within the area of a city block bounded by N. 6th and N. 7th Streets, and W. Walnut and W. Vine Streets, the proposed enterprises are a motel, a liquor store, a bowling alley, a restaurant and cocktail lounge, a supermarket, drugstore, cleaners, barber shop, beauty college, certified public accountants office, and a law office.

Proceeds from the stock sale (500 shares at $100 each) will complement a $1.5-million, 90 percent guaranteed loan from Northwestern Mutual Life Insurance Company, plus a $100,000 loan from Commerce Capital Corporation (an SBIC) and a $25,000 loan from Sears, Roebuck and Company. The latter two loans plus $44,000 from a prior sale of stock will satisfy the 10 percent equity contribution required by the Small Business Administration. Projections for the first year of operation, show revenues of $270,000 and income, after all debt service charges, of $16,000. The stock offering applies only to Wisconsin residents.

Central City Development Corporation was chartered on March 2, 1967 to assist, encourage and promote a proposed black industrial project in the inner city of Milwaukee and particularly to assist small businesses. Principals in the corporation are: president, Felmers O. Chaney, organizer and president of North Milwaukee State Bank and sergeant of Milwaukee Police Department; executive vice president, LaSalle Malone, equal opportunity officer for United States General, Inc. and owner of realty firm and food store; and executive secretary, Eleanor A. Lofton, consultant and administrative assistant to Sengstacke Enterprises, Inc., (Chicago) and publisher of New Pittsburgh Courier Chain. **Contact:** Eleanor A. Lofton, CCDC, P.O. Box 121, Milwaukee, Wisconsin 53201 (Tel: 414/272-3560).

Chicanos Form Strawberry Co-op

On April 19, twenty-five Mexican-American families gathered in an open field of the Pajaro Valley in California for a milestone economic event — the financial start of a pioneering strawberry growing co-operative. Phillip V. Sanchez, newly appointed director for operations of the Office of Economic Opportunity, delivered a $40,000 check as the down payment on a $100,000 government grant for the new business venture, "Co-op Campesina." According to Alfred Navarro, executive director of the Central Coast Counties Development Corp., a non-profit organization which supplied managerial and technical help to get the co-op going, the $100,000 would be used to set up a revolving fund for growing, processing and selling the co-op's crops. The venture has also obtained a $150,000 bank loan, secured by future crops, giving the co-op solid financial footing.

The 25 families with membership in the co-operative, formed a year ago, have incomes below or just above the poverty index — $3,600 for a family of four. They plan to plant

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strawberries on 80 fertile acres in the Pajaro Valley, with the expectation that income per family will reach from $7,000 to $10,000 per year. The families now in the project will work jointly on such chores as preparing the land for planting and fertilizing. But each family will have a plot of its own, about three acres, for harvesting, which continues for many months in the case of strawberries. Each family's income will be derived from the yeld of its own plot. One acre can produce an average of 3,000 trays of strawberries per year, selling at slightly less than $3 a tray, so the returns on low acreage can be quite high. The co-op already has 60 acres planted to squash for a fast "cash crop" before starting strawberry planting in the late summer. Long-term plans call for having 115 acres in strawberries under cultivation in the next two years, enabling a larger number of Chicano families in Santa Cruz, Monterey, and San Benito counties to participate in the co-op.

Navajos On The Move

Eastern Navajo Industries, Inc. is building a 115,000 square-foot manufacturing plant at the Navajo Tribal Shushbitoh Industrial Park near Wingate Station, New Mexico, with a planned completion date of July. The plant is being financed with a $125,000 grant from the Indian Business Development Fund, approved by the central office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Washington. The company, which will manufacture mobile homes and component housing, will commence operations with 80 Navajo employees, and, with completion of the new factory buildings, will employ another 125 to 150 persons. The present facilities at the Tribal Church Rock Industrial Park will be utilized to fulfill a contract for 200 housing units for the Navajo Housing Authority.

Eastern Navajo Industries, Inc. was formed under the State of New Mexico corporate laws and has received financial commitments from various lending institutions to supplement the capital stock purchase. A total of 53 Navajos have stock in the corporation. To give every opportunity to provide the much needed employment in the area, the company, which holds a general contractor's license in New Mexico and Arizona, will engage as a prime developer of FHA and HUD housing contracts.

Within the next two months, Navajo Development Enterprises, Inc. will open a Western clothing store at a Fedmart Shopping Center in New Mexico. Start-up funds are being obtained through the Indian Development Fund of the BIA and through a business loan to be obtained from the Great Western Bank at Window Rock. The store, stocked to serve the working people, will carry men's and women's Western clothes, boots and shoes. The corporation which will operate the western store and other enterprises is owned by five Navajo stockholders and is incorporated for $1-million, according to Mike Nelson, manager of the new western store and president of NDEI. He said the corporation has recently been voted a management consultant contract for the Fort Defiance Housing project which will build 135 housing units at Ford Defiance.

On April 19, the Dine-Bi-Naa-Yei Cooperative on the Navajo Reservation at Pinon, Arizona formally opened. The co-op, which is expected to soon gross nearly $1,000 a day, is a dues paying member of the Arizona Grocers Association. It will be open six days a week – operated solely by, and primarily for, the Navajo people of Pinon. Prices at the co-op will be considerably cheaper than those of traders in the area, according to co-op officials. While the Pinon Co-op is a non-profit organization by Arizona law, its founders hope that a law allowing co-op profits will be passed in the future.

Presently, co-op members pay a dollar fee which entitles them to certain benefits if the co-op does well financially. Among those participating in the co-op development are ONEO, BIA, The Consumer Cooperative Society of Palo Alto, California, Navajo VISTA and numerous independent volunteers living in the Pinon area. The Community Improvement Project of ONEO donated $3,000 worth of labor, and provided draftsmen for designs and layouts of the co-op building. The Concentrated Employment Program of ONEO is paying the salaries of the cashiers at the store. And, the Indian Development Fund of BIA played a major part in granting over $9,000 for the co-op project.

Filipino Center Wins FHA Subsidy

Construction of the tallest and costliest structure to date in the Sacramento, California West End Redevelopment Project, a 10-story, $2,775,000 Filipino Center, has been approved by the Federal Housing Authority. Redevelopment Agency directors were told recently that the FHA has agreed to a $136,508 annual subsidy for the life of the 40-year mortgage, and will guarantee the mortgage. The subsidy will keep rentals at a reduced rate in the complex, which will occupy the block bounded by Main, Market, Commerce and Center street. The project had been stalled for several months while the FHA and the developers worked on ways of keeping rentals down. The FHA subsidy and mortgage guarantee should provide ready availability of private mortgage money for the project, said S. Edward Griffith, agency director. Construction is expected to begin in mid-July and be finished in July of 1972.

The project is being undertaken by the Associated Filipino Organizations of San Joaquin County, headed by Ted Lapuz. Plans call for 128 living units to be built in the 10-story tower. These will include 68 efficiency apartments, 20 one-bedroom, 20 two-bedroom and 20 three-bedroom apartments. A two-story commercial section with 21,500 square feet of space and a 5,000-square-foot day care center also will be included in the project. Architects for the project are Higgins and Davison of Sacramento, and the contractor is Nimbus Construction Co., also of Sacramento.

New Financial Institutions

Indianapolis' first biracially-owned bank, capitalized at $2-million, hopes to open August 1 following a subscription sale of 80,000 shares of stock at $25 per share. Of Midwest National Bank's nine directors, six are black and three are white. The bank's president, James Sedwick, with 40 years of Indiana banking experience, is white. Other organizers are: (chairman) Dr. Frank P. Lloyd, director of medical research at Methodist Hospital; Rev. Richard T. Andrews, pastor of Mt. Zion Baptist Church; Achilles T. Angicchio, a plumbing contractor; S. Henry Bundles, Jr., president of Summit Laboratories, a cosmetics manufacturer; Andrew D. Foster, president of Foster Hotels; and William Ray, a realtor The bank will occupy temporary headquarters in a converted residence at 2850 North Meridian Street. A new building will be erected later at a site some 3½ miles from downtown Indianapolis. Plans for Midwest National Bank were conceived about three years ago, but the organizing group experienced a number of delays particularly in finding a suitable location.

A Spanish-American-owned savings and loan association has been given tentative approval for a charter and permission to organize in Santa Fe, New Mexico. Permission for the DeVargas Savings and Loan Association had been opposed by two Santa Fe and an Espanola savings and loan associations. The new S&L, of which former District Attorney Alfonso

Sanchez of Santa Fe is chairman, proposes to open an office in the southern part of the city with a capitalization of $300,000. Its organizers claim to have almost 200 stockholders and more than $400,000 in savings subscriptions.

Major Bank Searches For Quality Standard To Measure Social Gains

The president of the $25.6-billion-deposit Bank of America in San Francisco recently called for the development of a national "arithmetic of quality" so that the progress and failure in coping with social and economic problems can be quantitatively measured. A. W. Clausen told the Conference Board's sixth annual financial conference in February that the establishment of such a measure of quality is necessary before government and industry can make significant gains in improving the quality of life. At his own bank he turned the project over to two senior officers. Walter E. Hoadley, the bank's chief economist, an executive vice president and member of the managing committee, and D. S. Langsdorf, comptroller, have been assigned the front-line responsibility for a task which in effect is supposed to rewrite and revise a history of 300 years of economics thought and practice.

According to Clausen, the major reason for our inadequate response "is that we find the quality of life issue confusing and that the prime cause of that confusion is a lack of even the crudest forms of measurement of quality." He explained, "at present our economic arithmetic focuses on cyclical changes in total activity. It focuses on the flow of inputs and outputs, not on the total stock of assets in the nation. Somehow, changes in stocks in a much wider range of assets must be taken into account if we are ever to talk meaningfully and with precision about the quality of life." Among the assets Clausen said should be included are capital, knowledge, skills, physical environment and socio-political environment. Net output would be increased or decreased by the amount such assets were augmented or reduced by corporate or government activities, he said.

Even in rather crude form, he said, "a social report of some sort would enable us to do at least five things better than we can now:

1. It would help rationalize public support behind the solutions needed in our social problem areas.
2. It would expedite formulation of national private and public, corporate and legislative goals by furnishing a regular and systematic assesment of our social problems, and the costs as well as benefits of various proposed solutions.
3. It would help us develop logical priorities by pointing out which problems are most critical and the cost in economic assets and *human terms.*
4. It would allow us to develop policy alternatives and select from them the most promising solutions to specific problems by pinpointing the precise nature, components and scope of such problems.
5. It would allow us to determine whether the programs we select to deal with such problems are actually working. It would provide a benchmark — even though possibly at first a crude one — of the effect of our efforts over time."

Briefs

The Interracial Council for Business Opportunity of New Jersey recently announced that it is compiling another **"Business for Sale" list,** which will be mailed to over 5,000 minority businessmen throughout the state. The list outlines pertinent facts and information of ICBO-registered businesses which are currently for sale. **Contact:** Bernard H. Saperstein, deputy director, ICBO, 24 Commerce Street, Newark, New Jersey (201-622-4771).

With an assist from the Birmingham (Alabama) Urban League, Charles C. Johnson, 29, a former Tuskegee policeman and ex-gas station owner, secured an $85,000 SBA loan and bought the Pritchard Pontiac-Cadillac agency, a white owned firm that had been in business in the city for 26 years. **Johnson Pontiac-Cadillac, Inc.** is now the one and only black Cadillac agency in the country.

Recommended Reading

The MIDC Story: Birth of West Philadelphia Industrial Giant, a sixteen-part series by Ralph H. Jones, *The Philadelphia Tribune,* March 2 through April 24, 1971.

A potential industrial giant is about to come alive in West Philadelphia on the corner of 56th and Lancaster Avenue. The Mantua Industrial Development Corporation is a business venture whose component and participating units are owned by seven black, one Mexican-American and two white firms. Together they have blazed a trail from the planning stage to the point of reality that has resulted in purchase of a $1-million building backed by a Small Business Administration loan of $600,000 for financing. Acquisition of the 190,000 square-foot building can largely be traced to the tenacity of Frederick S. Jackson, Jr., black,and Wilbur W. Pierce, white, who envision 350 jobs and a $3-million gorss in business this year in the first primarily black-owned coperative industrial complex in the U.S.

MIDC is really the outgrowth of a social action organization, The Young Great Society (YGS), which owns 25 percent of the MIDC building. There, Pierce met Herman Wrice, organizer and dynamo for YGS. Wrice, although aided in part by governmental grants and a hard-core of volunteer youths, was experiencing tough going because of the lack of job and money-producing projects. He knew how to organize for social action but the field of economics had him at its mercy. He proposed to Pierce that they start some businesses that could put jobs in the ghetto and profits into YGS. Their efforts to do this resulted in several projects, all of which failed.

Because Wrice had deep roots and a following in the Mantua area of West Philadelphia, they set up Mantua Enterprises and incorporated to manufacture pallets for fork-lift trucks. With $10,000 borrowed from a bank, a garage was rented and Mantua Enterprises, Inc. was in business. Yet orders were slow, equipment broke down, the staff was oversized — — and a cost analysis disclosed that pallets selling for $4.85 were being manufactured by Mantua at an average cost of $61.43. Within four weeks, the company failed.

Out of this somber formation of MIDC, the minds of Pierce and Frederick S. Jackson, Jr. began to work in consonance. Jackson was seeking a channel for his skills learned in 12 years in electronics at RCA Corporation and Pierce was searching for a black man to take over management of a circuit manufacturer called Techtron Company, which was for sale. Pierce, still reeling from the failures of Mantua Enterprises, helped Jackson get Mantua Techtron funded and in operation. Jackson began to build up his list of customers. RCA became his first important one and still remains high on the scale of preferred clients. General Electric's Re-Entry and Environmental Systems Division helped Jackson get equipment and contracts and advised him in both technical and communications areas. With Mantua Techtron, Inc. in operation, Pierce, Jackson and Wrice set about getting black businessmen to join in establishing an industrial park.

A building owned by the Metal Edge Corporation at 56th and Lancaster was found to be suitable for conversion to an industrial center, housing several companies. After long negotiations, the owners agreed to sell the building and donate an interest to the Young Great Society. The Mantua Industrial Development Corporation was subsequently organized as a special purpose corporation under the Small Business Administration's Local Development Company (Section 502) Legislation to purchase the building. The tough hill to climb then was identifying black

business-builders willing to incorporate into an industrial development group. Finally, four black, one Mexican-American and two white-owned firms agreed to join MIDC. They were acceptable to the SBA who approved a $600,000 loan allocated as follows for the purchase of the $1-million building and financing: Mantua Techtron, Inc., $66,000; Q-Pal Corporation, $108,600; Kenmar Printing Company, $72,600; Creative Computer Systems, Inc., $29,400; Maintenance by Durdim, $26,400; Andino's Sweet Slumber, $49,800; and Brotherston Surgical Supply Company, $247,200.

So pronounced has been MIDC's success that several other businesses are eager to become a part of it. The partners of Photo Scientific Research, Inc. are convinced that MIDC membership will alleviate their problem. The company, struggling for its existance, hopes to utilize the benefits of group marketing and technical cross-pollination. Presently, the firm, which manufacturers chromatography plates used in chemical analysis and research, holds one government contract and has been promised consideration by three large pharmaceutical companies. Darden Vending Services, Leon Brown, a sausage manufacturer, and Nate Ramsey with an idea for a sports promotion company also want to join the MIDC umbrella.

During the past three years, MIDC has brought ten small businesses together, formed a corporation and struggled to purchase a facility to put most of its firms under one roof into a unique industrial complex. After two years of determined effort, the 56th and Lancaster facility with its 190,000 square feet of office and production space, is the property of MIDC. This centralized location will provide one-step industrial shopping and accessability for the MIDC customers — — a sort of industrial supermarket. For MIDC it will add the benefits of centralization to joint marketing and the support of a number of large corporations, independent businesses, banks and lending institutions, as well as expert legal counsel. Most of these benefits come with no price tag attached.

General Electric Re-Entry & Environmental Systems Division might be termed the midwife of the MIDC concept for it gave unstinting support from the very inception. Second on the list of benefactors is Central Penn National Bank for it was in the forefront in financial matters and extended aid and took some calculated risks. Philco-Ford kept the bawling MIDC baby alive by donating equipment and awarding contracts to member firms.

— —

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_____My check is enclosed ($35. or $20 for minority entrepreneurs only)

_____Please bill me

Name_____

Company_____

Street_____

City, State, Zip_____

May 14, 1971

Internal Revenue Service Center
11601 Roosevelt Boulevard
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19155

Gentlemen:

Enclosed are the required Forms 990 and 990-AR. Arrangements have been made to advertise in THE ATLANTA JOURNAL and THE ATLANTA CONSTITUTION.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA/gms
Enclosures

the virginia college lynchburg, virginia 24501

May 17, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30308

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Our meeting was most enjoyable. Many thanks from Brooks and myself.

The meeting with Dr. Griffin was interesting and enjoyable. I also met a Mr. McMullan who added a good deal to the discussion.

It is hard to say whether or not they will help but, as your suggested, I made a hard plea for funds now.

Thank you again for your help and I will certainly keep you informed.

By the way, I had a note from you on Wilton E. Hartzler and I am at a loss to remember its significance. Could you possibly refresh my memory.

Sincerely,

VIRGINIA COLLEGE

W. G. Rolley

William G. Rolley
Trustee-Acting Chairman

WGR:lhw

May 26, 1971

Mr. Richard Northcutt
Administrative Assistant
State of Tennessee
Commission for Human Development
C3-105 Cordell Hull Building
Nashville, Tennessee 37219

Dear Mr. Northcutt:

We would be pleased to have you reprint the SRC materials indicated, and would appreciate a copy of what you prepare.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jh

WINFIELD DUNN
GOVERNOR

MAY 26 1971

CORNELIUS JONES
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

STATE OF TENNESSEE
COMMISSION FOR HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
C3-305 CORDELL HULL BUILDING
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37219
PHONE: 741-2424

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HUGH McDADE
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MRS. ELLEN ROSSER
NEWT A. SOLOMON
WILSON SIMS

WEST TENNESSEE
REV. EZRA M. JOHNSON
DR. THERON NORTHCROSS

May 24, 1971

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

In August, the Tennessee Commission for Human Development will sponsor a workshop and a conference on human relations in education. We are requesting permission to reprint portions of articles appearing in the following publications of the Southern Regional Council: 1) The South and Her Children: School Desegregation, 1970-1971, published in March, 1971; 2) Voices From the South: Black Students Talk About Their Experiences in Desegregated Schools by Betsy Fancher, published in August, 1970; 3) In Their Own Words: A Student Appraisal of What Happened After School Desegregation, an analysis by Mark A. Chesler, published January of 1967; 4) Black Belt Schools: Beyond Desegregation by Donald Ross Green and others, published November, 1965.

The material reprinted will be distributed to delegates attending the conference. We think that it will be very helpful, and we hope you will cooperate in our request.

Sincerely,

Richard Northcutt

Richard Northcutt
Administrative Assistant

RN/mm

Minority Business Digest

A MONTHLY NEWSLETTER IN THE COMMON INTEREST OF MINORITY ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS

PUBLISHED BY CAPITAL FORMATION, INC. 5 BEEKMAN STREET, NEW YORK, N.Y. 10038 (212) 349-3850

SAMUEL S. BEARD
CHAIRMAN

RICHARD C. KENNARD
PRESIDENT

ANGELA CABRERA
VICE-PRESIDENT

May 1971

Dear Chief Executive Officer:

The response which we received from our first April digest was beyond our original expectations. Fifty-eight organizations in eighteen states contacted us and sent us information in regard to their programs concerning local development corporations, equity, and marketing products and services provided by minority businesses.

The responses established the following pattern:

Question One: Under the Small Business Administration's Section 502 Local Development Corporation Program, which L.D.C.'s have been able to raise the 10% injection? How?

Twenty-nine responses in regard to the Local Development Corporation Program indicated that most minority economic development organizations were unaware of the program and that for the most part it was not being utilized. The Savings and Loan Association in Memphis, Tennessee is organizing a shopping center through 502 and they raised the 10% injection, but with extreme difficulty, and they are not optimistic about raising additional community injection monies. The Greater Philadelphia Community Development Corporation reports an industrial development project involving a $1,391,000 financing in 1969. They will raise further community share funds through a Community Development Trust Fund. The Forsyth County Investment Corporation in Winston-Salem, North Carolina reports that they are developing a shopping strip and that they hope to raise $20,000 from community residents to cover the bottom 10%.

The Small Business Administration overall figures for the program demonstrates the potential of the Local Development Corporation Program. 3,120 projects in 10 years, affected 163,000 jobs and involved financing of $639 million. 18% of the projects are minority-owned.

As of early 1970 only 4% of these projects were in larger urban areas - communities of 50,000 and over.

capital formation, inc.

Conclusions:

1. The Local Development Corporation Program is not being used by inner city development organizations.

2. The potential of the LDC for economic development has not been explained to these organizations.

During the next month Capital Formation will explore the total Local Development Corporation Program and will send you a complete Program Analysis -

Detailed case histories of success stories and failures

Detailed description of the overall potential of the program

Step by Step procedures on how this program affects you

Question Two: Have any organizations been able to raise equity for minority businesses?

The major source of "equity" monies in our responses comes from MESBICS which exist, or which are being set up. This is subordinate money, long term, low-interest and attracts conventional debt. MESBICS are extremely important in minority business development because they provide the subordinate money.

But debt service still strains a small business, and none of the responses indicates any success in attracting real equity.

Conclusions:

1. Real equity is not available for minority businesses. This makes financing larger enterprises difficult.

2. MESBICS are significant operating tools in local communities and do provide subordinate financing which attracts conventional debt lending.

Capital Formation will keep this question under consideration, and we hope to develop some alternative programs which will attract real equity. We will need your help and further analysis.

capital formation, inc.

Question Three: Techniques of Marketing Goods and Services Provided By Minority Businesses

Responses to this question were very spotty. We have located compendiums listing minority businesses and their products and services in many cities, including Memphis, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, and New York, but no step by step programs were submitted indicating successful techniques. No organization outlined how they were taking specific steps to act as the broker or middleman to obtain contracts for minority businesses from corporations or city governments. The United Front Foundation, Inc., Roxbury, Mass., Tony Picksman, Director, outlined their emphasis on education of the entrepreneur to increase sales. The Roxbury Institute of Business Management offers a Sales and Marketing course which emphasizes training in professional selling and how to be economically competitive. Techniques include role playing and simulated work situations. BEAM (Business Enterprise for American Minorities) in Minneapolis-St. Paul has published a directory of minority businesses producing quality products and services. They include an interesting approach. Alongside each company they list References of individuals in major corporations who have purchased products from the specific minority business. This adds an important method whereby a prospective buyer is given the assurance that other peer groups have preceded him.

This month the Digest will concentrate again on Marketing. Please flood us with material, techniques and suggestions.

Please answer all these questions:

1. Do you have a Directory (ies) of Minority Businesses in your area? Please send us a copy of each.

2. How do the following organizations cooperate or participate in circulating this (these) Directory (ies)? How do they participate in increasing sales for minority businessmen?

   Other Minority Based Economic Development Organizations

   Chamber of Commerce

   Major Corporations

   Federal Executive Board(FEB) - Minority Business Opportunity Committee (MBOC)

   State Government

   City Government

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3. What dollar volume of contracts has specifically been awarded to minority businesses through your efforts. How many different contracts? What is the largest? Over what period of time? What percentage - both number and dollar volume - are for construction companies?

4. Is the publication of a directory sufficient to stimulate sales?

5. What specific techniques have you used to bring about purchase contracts?
   From: Corporations?
   City?
   State?
   Federal?

6. How are the companies listed in the Directory selected?

   All Known Companies in the Area?

   Only Companies of Proven Quality?

   How do you measure "proven quality"?

7. What courses do you run to teach marketing to minority businessmen? What is included in your curriculum? Please send us a copy.

8. Once a business receives a contract, what follow-up procedures do you use?

9. What types of businesses have you been most successful working with?

   Construction
   Printing Companies
   Maintenance Service
   Moving Companies
   Office Supplies
   Other - Please list with dollar amounts and numbers of contracts

To help us collect information and to get a useful flow of ideas back to you, we are identifying individual contacts in as many areas as possible. Each month they will call for your ideas and contributions, and then get material back to you. Please expect their calls.

** Send us your ideas for areas to concentrate on. Send us successful techniques or approaches which you are using which we can pass on.

Minority Business Digest
Capital Formation, Inc.
5 Beekman Street
New York, N.Y. 10038
212-349-3650

capital formation, inc.

EJ
JB

June 1, 1971

Mr. Whitworth Stokes
Attorney
1225 Nineteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Whit:

I will be in Atlanta on June 10, and look forward to talking with you about the subjects you have raised. Several other persons on the staff will also be available.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Send Va. material
Material mailed
7/13/71

JUN 1 1971

BOASBERG, GRANAT & KASS
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
1225 NINETEENTH STREET, N.W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

TERSH BOASBERG
RICHARD S. GRANAT
BENNY L. KASS
WHITWORTH STOKES
JAMES L. FELDESMAN

TELEPHONE
(202) 659-3436

May 28, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

I will be in Atlanta, Thursday, June 10 and would like an opportunity to visit with you if possible. I have several projects cooking at the moment that I'd like to seek your aid in and I'll outline them briefly in this letter. If you're not going to be available that day I'd appreciate your lining me up with any other appropriate staff people on these items.

Housing - I represent a non-profit corporation in Memphis which is church affiliated that wants to get into the low and moderate income housing area. Because of local politics they do not want to do business with the local integrated law firm, that has already done a lot of this type of development. They have come to me and I have very limited expertise in this area. Any help you or someone down there can be toward steering us in the right direction would be appreciated.

Prison Reform - I represent a guy at Brushy Mountain prison in Petros, Tennessee who is serving 99 years for murder of a policeman. He and several other guys have organized a prison radio show and a weekly newspaper. They have done this with the tacit consent of the Warden and with absolutely no money at all. I am trying to raise some money through the Knoxville and Oak Ridge ACLU and Unitarian Church people and they are having a jazz show at the prison on Memorial Day. Brushy Mountain is the longterm, maximum security prison in the Tennessee system. No one there has less than a fifteen year sentence and it always comes last in priority. There have been virtually no Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) grants to long term prisons and I don't think that is a feasible source of funding at this time. I think these men will have to raise money privately and show that they can do a number of ongoing projects before they can pursuade the State and Federal governments to do anything significant for them.

Newsletter - One of the things that distresses me now that I'm in Washington and see things from this perspective is how many significant news events are reported here that go either unreported or distorted for political reasons in local papers. Additionally there are many "inside" stories that are unreported both places. I wonder about how much accurate news the typical NAACP executive secretary in Drew, Mississippi gets about the programs that are vital to her and her constituency. I'd like to see a newsletter of Washington-government-New York-Wall Street type news go out to a group of professional civil-rights type workers. It would be very simple in format -- two to four pages -- typed and printed every two weeks. I envision it as being similar to the Prentice-Hall tax letters and similar services. Of course, those publications are profitable because their readers are organized and willing to pay. The type of newsletter I propose would go to an unorganized and impecunious group and would, therefore, have to be heavily subsidized.

Study of Effectiveness of Civil Rights Laws - There are a number of Civil Rights Laws, Title VII of the 1964 Act, in particular which require the agency to attempt to resolve the complaint by "informal means of conference, conciliation, and pursuasion" and upon failing to do so the Attorney General "may" go to Court or the individual can file a civil action himself. This same language and a similar procedure is in the Age Discrimination Act and the Housing Discrimination Act. I know from first hand knowledge that EEOC estimates that only 5% of those who file complaints with the agency ever file lawsuits and I fear that the percentage under the other two statutes is even worse. I made a pass at EEOC and the Labor Department about them studying this situation, i.e., how many cases are filed, how many go to Court, and why do people not go to Court, how do those who do go get lawyers, is it profitable for the lawyers, etc. I was told by Labor that they had only brought 5 to 10 such cases under the Age Discrimination law and they really had no interest in studying the matter...there being nothing to study! I was further told privately that Labor had no interest in the law (by the former administrator of the section charged with its enforcement).

I then turned to EEOC and found them very receptive to the idea as long as I talked to lawyers in program areas, but found a complete bottleneck with the Director of Administration who would not go for such a matter (EEOC finance a study which is bound to make it look bad? Heaven forbid!). So it looks as if private sources are the only ones for such a deal. Actually it would be a fairly simple study to pull off. I can bypass the Office of Administration and go straight to the Regional Offices where my contacts are pretty good and get the records from them. It's more a clerical job to compile information and then interpret the results than anything else.

I hope I can get to see you when I'm in Atlanta and go over these things and anything else of mutual interest.

Sincerely,

Whitworth Stokes

WS:kal

June 2, 1971

Mr. James Clotfelter
Assistant Professor
Department of Political Science
Emory University
Atlanta, Georgia 30322

Dear Mr. Clotfelter:

Thank you for the helpful suggestions which have a great deal of merit. You might be interested in the enclosed document of the decisions made on the Council's structure and emphasis for the future, which has just been prepared.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

EMORY UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30322

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Confidential

May 10, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Two more unsolicited suggestions, for your new research director...

First, the most cost-effective way of running a research operation such as yours, I would think, is through a team of consultants (journalists and academics, regular and special assignment), working under the supervision of your director. The incentives for high-quality work are high, and yet the system could be operated economically. (You probably are planning to do something like this already.)

Second, while school integration and "the movement" may have been researched to death, other policy areas have barely been touched. Again, let me put in a plug for more study not only of the impact of various kinds of taxation on blacks and lower-income groups,* but also of attitudes toward alternative taxes and of ways to move toward more progressive taxation systems in the South.

Thank you for your attention.

Sincerely,

James Clotfelter
Assistant Professor

*You may have noticed that Ralph Nader's research group has started a national investigation of the inequities associated with the property tax.

RAYMOND M. WHEELER, PRESIDENT
JOSEPHINE WILKINS, VICE-PRESIDENT
C. G. GOMILLION, VICE-PRESIDENT
LUCIUS H. PITTS, VICE-PRESIDENT
FRANK SMITH, VICE-PRESIDENT
VIVIAN W. HENDERSON, CHAIRMAN, EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
JOSEPH HAAS, COUNSEL
PAUL ANTHONY, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

A Council to bring the hearts and minds of a united community for all peoples of the South

June 2, 1971

Mr. John O. Boone
Superintendent
The Department of Corrections
Correctional Complex
Lorton, Virginia 22079

Dear John:

I think your suggestion for South Carolina Council (and for that matter the Atlanta University School of Social Work), to apply for grants from the new Washington based and substantially funded agency, is an excellent one. The name of that new organization is: The Police Foundation, c/o The Ford Foundation, 1015 18th N. W., Suite 700, Washington, D. C. 20036.

I would also be very pleased to discuss with Mrs. Hill ways in which the Ford Foundation might be approached. I don't know how much interest they have in this area, but certainly it would not hurt to explore it.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb
cc: Paul Matthias
Mrs. Genevieve Hill

GOVERNMENT OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

THE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONS
Correctional Complex
Lorton, Virginia 22079

MAY 27 1971

May 21, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forysth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia, 30303

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter I have sent to Paul Matthies and Ginger Hill. Before I left Atlanta, Moreland Smith and I conferred with Mrs. Hill concerning the possibility of community planning establishing joint venture with the School of Social Work to provide training for planners. I am not sure if this idea was followed up but recently I have encouraged her to explore the possibility of some funding through a recent Ford Foundation Grant for police-community relations and possibly criminal justice generally.

If there is no such grant, I wonder what the possibility of having you to have somebody talk to the School about the availability of Ford Foundation funds for local schools to participate in development of training and other supports for public agencies.

Sincerely,

John O. Boone
Superintendent

Enclosure

May 21, 1971

Mrs. Genevieve Hill
Dean, Atlanta University
School of Social Work
Atlanta, Georgia, 30317

Dear Ginger:

Mr. Paul Matthies, Director of the Council on Human Relations of South Carolina, has asked me to locate a student of criminology or corrections to participate in a two year program with the primary purpose of assessing the State's Criminal Justice Agencies. Unfortunately I am not acquainted with very many people with specilities in the area of criminology and corrections per se. Furthermore I do not believe that one needs special training in criminology or corrections in order to work in the system of criminal justice in any role (people or evaluating agencies).

I am convinced that many of our problems are related to the tendency of leaders in the field to advocate special training for one who would deal with corrections or criminals. Most of the people who are in prison are poor whites and blacks who are social misfits because of the illness of society. They are in trouble because of the same pressures and stress that attribute to behavior and deviance other than criminality. Consequently what we need is intelligent and sensitive individuals who have some appreciation of the social sciences and/or group dynamics and systems to work in the field.

I trust that you will have a student finishing in June who might wish to make an application to participate in the project that Mr. Matthies offers. It is my opinion that it would be a very good beginning experience for a newly graduated social worker.

Mr. Matthies has indicated that he would like for the person to have at least an A.B. Degree. Keeping this in mind, if you have no students available, perhaps one of the Deans of the Undergraduate Schools could recommend a particularly good experience for an undergraduate student who plans eventually to enter the field.

Mr. Matthies has offices at 1420 Lady Street, Columbia, South Carolina. We are advising him that you may be able to help him find an appropriate person for his project.

I alluded to some ideas in my last letter about the possibility of the School's program for enhancing the skills of public agency workers, especially corrections. As you know, the salaries are notoriously low and of course this will attribute to poor standards and the reluctance for students to enter the field. I mentioned that the Ford Foundation had recently provided a large sum of money which was designed to do something in the area of police-community relations and felt that possibly this could be extended to include innovations in connection with a program that was designed to promote community corrections. I promised Katherine Brisbane that I would find out who was the prime mover behind the opportunity in Atlanta, and I had heard that Ex-Mayor Ivan Allen was chairman of some group that had control of these funds. I am sending a note to Paul Anthony of the Southern Regional Council requesting that he let you know if there are any funds available that would enable the School of Social Work to become more viably involved in community training and leadership programs that might have a bearing on criminal justice or any other acute community social problem for that matter.

Sincerely,

John O. Boone
Superintendent

May 21, 1971

Mr. Paul Matthies
1420 Lady Street
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Paul:

Enclosed is a copy of a letter I have sent to Mrs. Genevieve Hill, Dean, Atlanta School of Social Work, asking her to help us to locate someone for your new program.

Frankly speaking, I think you would be better off getting somebody who is not a criminologist or who is not especially skilled in corrections to participate. This opinion is reflected in my letter to Mrs. Hill. What you need in my opinion is an individual with a very strong sense of community and concern with warmth and compassion and a sincere interest in change for the benefit of the people. She will have a graduating class within a few weeks and the colleges of Atlanta will also offer some promise..

May I suggest that you write to Mrs. Hill if your contact with Mr. Roy Kendall was not productive.

Sincerely,

John O. Boone
Superintendent

Enclosure

June 2, 1971

Mr. Nat R. Griswold
Route 1
Sparkman, Arkansas

Dear Mr. Griswold:

Please forgive this inexcusable delay in responding to your inquiry. I do not know of the new press being formed in Mississippi. I do think Hodgson's suggestions that you try the LSU press is an excellent one, since they have done more than better publishing in the field of southern history than any other publishers I know of.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

APR 2

March 30, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul Anthony:

Am writing for information and suggestions. Do you have address of the new press in Mississippi referred to in the letter from North Carolina enclosed? What about the director or editor? What suggestions do you have relevant to the proposal of Matthew Hodgson?

There was an interminable delay in processing the manuscript at N.C. Press. Unfortunately it happened to be there when that Press changed its director and editor. Leslie Phillabaum, former editor-in-chief, in 1969 advised me to revise the manuscript after which he would be glad to give it a second evaluation. On April 16, 1970, he wrote about leaving and the change of directors on July 1 but reassured us with "I am sure he (new director) will be eager to have the opportunity of reviewing the revised version of the manuscript."

Matthew Hodgson, the new director, on August 25 did ask us to send the revised document. This we did on August 31. The enclosed letter (copy), dated March 25, 1971, was our first information as to the fate of the manuscript.

We have been around the mulberry bush a good many times. Maybe we have covered all possibilities for publication. But despite intervening events the materials still seem relevant and important. Recent ferment catalyzed by Nixon et al has brought to the surface most of the basic issues confronted in Arkansas in the fifties. What can you suggest?

Sincerely,

Nat

Nat R. Griswold
Route 1
Sparkman, Arkansas 71763

COPY

The University of North Carolina Press
Box 510, Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514

March 25, 1971

Mr. Nat R. Griswold
Route 1
Sparkman, Arkansas 71763

Dear Mr. Griswold:

First, let me apologize for not having written to you at an earlier date regarding the revision of your manuscript, SECOND RECONSTRUCTION IN LITTLE ROCK.

For the past several months the Press has been in the process of reorganization, with the result that we haven't been able to operate in an atmosphere of certainty.

As for your own work, I have come to the conclusion, albeit reluctantly, that it could not be published successfully by The University of North Carolina Press. By "successfully" I mean that I do not believe that we could sell the requisite number of copies to recover that part of our investment essential to the well-being--even the existence--of a scholarly press. Public interest in the 1956 occurrences in Little Rock was of course intense and wide-spread. Since that time, however, many cities in the South and elsewhere have witnessed the integration of their public school systems, sometimes with problems akin to those in Little Rock. As a result, interest in the various controversies centered about the integration of Black citizens in Southern communities has become diffuse and to some extent regionalized. I realize, of course, that the aftermath of the 1956 (and later) struggles in Arkansas constitutes the main and perhaps the most important part of your work, which by the way, I found to be extremely interesting. In all candor, I must confess to you that because of my wide acquaintanceship in Arkansas--and my knowledge of the politics of that State--your work was more interesting to me than to some of my colleagues.

COPY

My suggestion is that you submit your manuscript either to the Louisiana State University Press or to the new press being formed by the several colleges and universities in Mississippi. Their geographical proximity--and intimate knowledge of local markets--would enable them to promote your book more successfully than we could from this side of the Appalachians and the Mississippi! Good books make their way no matter who publishes them, but there is a distinct advantage in this instance of attempting to place your manuscript with a publisher who figuratively speaking is on the spot.

I wish you every success in this venture. If I can be of assistance to you, please do not hesitate to call upon me.

Sincerely yours,

Matthew Hodgson
Director

MH:jcs

June 2, 1971

Miss Nancy L. Rothe
School of Library and Information Services
Urban Information Specialist Project
University of Maryland
College Park, Md. 20742

Dear Miss Rothe:

Regrettably, SRC does not have funds for a proposal such as you outlined, although clearly the idea has merit.

I shall speak to Dr. Rooks at VEP, although I trust you have heard from him by now, or will shortly.

You should know that a film-making organization called Rediscovery Productions, Inc., directed by Tracy Sugarman, 2 Halfmile Common, Westport, Connecticut, has just released a film on Andy Young's campaign last summer. You might find it interesting to view that film, and you might even explore whether or not they would have funds, or possibly be interested in a joint venture, since the Young film is at least the second one related to the subject which they have done. I hope you are successful in finding the necessary funds for the project.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
COLLEGE PARK 20742

SCHOOL OF LIBRARY AND INFORMATION SERVICES
Urban Information Specialist Project
James C. Welbourne, Director

PHONE: (301) 454-3016

May 18, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Ga.

Dear Mr. Anthony,

Upon the advice of Marvin Wall I am sending the enclosed proposal for a documentary film on Charles Evers' Campaign for Governor of Mississippi to you in hopes that the Southern Regional Council will be interested in using it in their activities, and in funding the filming. He mentioned that several years ago a color documentary was funded by SRC and felt that it was out of date now and should be updated by the Evers campaign documentary. I have already begun working on this film and hope to return early in June for the voter registration drive taking place around the state, so the need for firm financial backing is critical. Unfortunately many of the government agencies who should be involved in this sort of undertaking have found their hands (or budgets) tied by the Nixon administration.

At the Nominating Convention in Jackson on April 18 we made a slide/sound presentation, which depicts Fanny Lou Hamer, Aaron Henry, and other individuals present, and I have been using this presentation as preliminary background in looking for funding, since most of the people up here have little or no acquaintance with Mississippi politics or Charles Evers. It also serves the purposes of showing what kind of work we can do (it was completed one week following the convention) and providing a sample of the audio and visual material to be incorporated in the documentary. This slide presentation can easily be made into a filmstrip for use in educational packages by the Southern Regional Council.

I am most anxious to meet with you and discuss the Evers documentary further, and hope we can arrange a meeting within the near future either here in Washington or Atlanta. I can be reached at 301-454-3016 days, and 270-3992 evenings. Marvin Wall suggested I send a separate copy of the proposal to VEP, which I have done c/o Dr. Rooks. Perhaps you can get together to arrange an appropriate meeting for both of you. I'll be looking forward to hearing from you, and from Dr. Rooks.

Sincerely,

N. Larraine Rothe

Nancy Larraine Rothe

A PROPOSAL FOR A DOCUMENTARY FILM:

THE CHARLES EVERS CAMPAIGN FOR GOVERNOR OF MISSISSIPPI 1971

submitted by:

Nancy Larraine Rothe
The Urban Information Specialist Project
University of Maryland

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OUTLINE OF THE CHARLES EVERS DOCUMENTARY

The opportunity to document the first challange of a black man for the Governorship of a southern state passed last year. Dr. John Cashin, in his campaign in Alabama, was unable to interest the several agencies he approached in sponsoring a film of the National Democratic Party of Alabama's campaign. Cashin lost, but not without swelling the roll of black registered voters and electing 4 black sheriffs and 17 other offices in the state that elected George Wallace its governor. Without a filmed document, the Cashin challange is rapidly fading into obscurity. The lessons which could have been learned from studying the Cashin campaign are now about to be learned over again in Mississippi.

On April 18, 1971, Mayor Charles Evers began his campaign for Governor of Mississippi. Evers, with the international reputation he has earned as Mayor of Fayette, is making the first serious challange to any state's leadership, much a less a southern state. Evers, like Cashin, is running with black leaders from around the state seeking other positions important to black political articulation. In 1971 it would be a grave mistake to let the Evers campaign go undocumented. Charles Evers' campaign for the Governorship of Mississippi is racial and political history which will have lasting impact for Mississippi and for the nation.

WHO WILL SEE THE EVERS DOCUMENTARY?

A host of academic specialists will view the film as educational material pertinent to their disciplines. Political scientists, sociologists, historians, and lawyers, to name a few, will have considerable interest in this documentary which relates to their disciplines. More important than those with occupational or intellectual interests, is the vast cross-section of society that will find in the Evers campaign all the elements necessary for a stimulating filmed presentation. Suspense, drama, music, intrigue and violence are all present in Mississippi politics and surpass in real life the Hollywood box office imagination.

A major value of the Evers documentary would be the plugging of the gap left by northern/urban media in its failure to adequately describe southern black politics. The 6 o'clock news cannot help but leave us with misconceptions of southern rural culture. A black man's campaign for Governorship of a southern state is a milestone in race relations and will be reported for its most sensational elements by New York and Washington-based reporters on 2 day visits to Mississippi. Obviously a more sensative approach is necessary if the general public is to overcome media stereotyping and attain some degree of understanding of the much-maligned South. A feature length film (52 minutes), from the start of the campaign at the nominating convention, climaxing with the election, is the only way the vastness of the state and the struggle can realistically be captured.

A secondary information role to be filled by the Evers'

documentary is the creation of visual material depicting actual black political participation. The need for such material to continue stimulating black political activity is overwhelming. The 1969 Tax Reform Act has curtailed much of the work in this direction conducted by civil rights organizations engaged in voter education and voter registration drives by threatening their tax exempt status. As a result, voter education now has to be carried out largely by the politicians themselves. A documentary of the Evers campaign would necessarily include these facts, as well as the details of registration, sample ballots, the Primary, poll watching, and mock elections. This footage is of tremendous value in the south for voter education, and is more appropriate than printed matter for high illiteracy areas. Yet in the context of a documentary film it does not violate the tax reform act. Prints should be made available to organizations engaged in civil rights and to groups who fund heavily in this area. For the supporters of better race relations in the South the Evers documentary will show what can happen, and inspire their continued support for the long road ahead.

HOW IS IT TO BE MADE?

A large movie crew is undesirable and unnecessary. For the most part 2 or 3 people can capture the campaign activity with a 16 mm sound camera, a 16 mm camera without sound, 35 mm still cameras, and sound equipment. The documentary of a political campaign lends itself well to a variety of media forms, and should not be sound synchronized throughout. The music of gospel choirs

at mass meetings, campaign speeches, strategy sessions, and interviews are so dramatic in themselves that audio portions of the film will in many instances surpass the visual for entertainment, as well as historical and educational value. Videotapes of newscasts will be included in the Evers documentary to provide perspective for a national audience which will in many cases have no earlier acquaintance with Mississippi politics beyond what they "heard on the news". Similarly, slide overlays of newspaper headlines taken periodically during the campaign reflect Mississippi establishment attitudes in contrast to national news, and the campaign momentum, in a media form that is both familiar yet in this case distinctly southern. The South's reverance of womanhood reaches its peak during the summer months when the Jackson daily paper features a color photograph of a Mississippi queen on the front page...a constant reminder that regardless of what news has occurred on that date, southern tradition prevails.

SCRIPT

The duration of the campaign necessitates spreading out the filming over the summer months and up to the elections on October 12 and November 2. The tentative schedule for filming the candidates as they travel around Mississippi, and related campaign activity is as follows:

April 18, Democratic Nominating Convention

June 9-16, Voter Registration drive. The final week of voter registration activity prior to the deadline for registration to be eligible to vote in the October Primary. Focus will be on counties with heavy black population and counties currently re-registering all voters. This drive involves local NAACP and FDP organization, and college student volunteers drawn to Mississippi by Evers' college speaking tours.

Mid-August, 2 weeks (to be scheduled according to campaign activity). Filming of the major white candidates facing off prior to the primary, and Evers' campaign. Background footage of mid summer activity such as rodeos, farm shows, beauty contests, and state fairs.

October 5-12: filming all major candidates in final week before open primary, and follow up on winners. The recent court decision overturning the Mississippi State Legislature's ruling that all candidates, including independants, had to run in the primary now gives Evers the option of either seeking the full Democratic Party slot on the ballot in the primary,

or running as an independant in November. Should he choose the latter course, the one most often cited as his best chance to win, the October primary race will be a heated contest among the white candidates. The 5 declared candidates who oppose Evers to date have widely differing views on race relations and the issue of how to campaign against the only black candidate will be the major emphasis prior to the primary.

October 26-November 2: Filming the major candidates during the week prior to the General Election. This includes mock elections, voter education workshops, and the election itself. We plan to follow first-time voters through registration, voter education and the election. The film will include platforms of the winner and losers, and a feeling of the immediate impact of the election around the state.

PERSONNEL

Don A. Johnson

Mr. Johnson has worked with FilmMakers, Inc. in Chicago, one of the midwest's leading film producers, and done freelance work in Chicago and Washington. He attended the Illinois Institute of Technology where he majored in photography, and served in Viet Nam as a combat photographer from 1967-68. Currently Mr. Johnson is a photographer with the Government Printing Office. His photography appears in the monthly house organ for the Government Printing Office and countless publications issued by the government. Mr. Johnson recently illustrated the promotional brochure for the soon-to-be released government pamphlet "Letters and Documents of Richard M. Nixon."

John Philibert

Mr. Philibert's diversified interests in media art have led him as far away as Andreaki, Alaska, where he spent 2 years filming an Eskimo fishing village. His photography has appeared in REALITES and other leading journals, and he has illustrated publications for Viking Press including "The Kennedy Years," Arnold Nicholson's "Houses in American History," and Steinbeck's "America and Americans." Mr. Philibert is the Assistant Director of Motion Pictures for the Smithsonian National Museum, and since 1969 he has been Instructor of Filmmaking and Photography for the Smithsonian Associates in Washington.

Nancy Larraine Rothe

A graduate of Syracuse University, where she studied Journalism and Political Science, Miss Rothe began working in Mississippi last summer as a Volunteer in Fayette with Mayor Evers. She has participated in voter registration and designed voter education material for use in Mississippi. She worked with the Jimmy Smith Mayoral campaign in Port Gibson Mississippi, and the Melvin Robinson Sheriff's campaign in Shelby County (Memphis) Tennessee in addition to Charles Evers' current race for Governor of Mississippi. She has done free-lance writing and photography for several underground publications and the College Press Service. Miss Rothe is presently a participant in the Urban Information Specialist Project, a pilot program at the University of Maryland designed to equip professionals to work as information specialists with the informationally deprived. Following completion of her thesis, which discusses information problems of southern politics, she expects her MS this August.

Consultants and Audio technicians are to be added to the personnel named above during the course of filming. The importance of the audio portion of the documentary, in particular the use of music and location background sound, requires an audio technician with a musical background and knowledge of electronics and sound mixing. It is also anticipated that the final days of campaigning will require additional cameras and sound to capture the last push of the candidates around the state.

BUDGET

Materials		
16,000 feet Ectachrome ER movie film, 16 mm	$1,280.00	
80 rolls Ectachrome, 35 mm	240.00	
40 rolls magnetic recording tape	120.00	
		1,640.00
Equipment Rental		
Bolex 16 mm Pro movie camera (per week)	300.00	
Nagra sound equipment: including taperecorder, AC power supply, 3 microphones, extension cables (per week)	172.50	
Lights: 3 focusing 650's w/ filters and stands (per week)	54.00	
Generator (per week)	30.00	
Sungun	30.00	
Tripod (per week)	30.00	
Misc. still camera equipment: 2 lenses and Nikon F body with motor drive (per week)	75.00	
	691.00	
Weekly equipmental rate 691. x 5 weeks		3,455.00
Film Processing		
16,000 feet @ 6¢ per foot 16 mm Ectachrome	960.00	
14 rolls 35 mm Ectachrome at Extra Special Processing	56.00	
66 rolls 35 mm Ectachrome at regular processing	162.00	
Work print 16,000 @ 12½¢ per foot	400.00	
Finished Print	1,500.00	
		3,078.00
Editing and Mixing		
Film editing room time	1,000.00	
Sound mixing room time	800.00	
		1,800.00

TRANSPORTATION

Plane fare:		
Washington D.C. to Jackson, Miss.	117.00	
117. x three people	351.00	
351. x five weeks shooting		1,755.00

STATION WAGON RENTAL:

(Avis) One week	60.00	
1400 miles (approx.) @ 12¢ per mile	168.00	
	228.00	
228. x five weeks		1,140.00

SHIPPING

Shipping of equipment from Chicago to Jackson r.t.	225.60	
225.60 x five weeks shooting		1,128.00

ON LOCATION EXPENSES

Per Diem allowance per person (per day)	20.00	
20. x three person crew (per week)	420.00	
420. x five weeks		2,100.00

Salary

Producing, Filming (Sound) Editing, Final Mixing -Rothe	2,800.00	
Filming, (Sound), Editing - Johnson	2,200.00	
Filming, Special Effects, - Philibert	1,500.00	
Sound, Mixing	1,500.00	
Consultants	907.00	
		8,907.00
Total Proposed Budget		25,000.00

June 2, 1971

Mr. Joe Cummings
Newsweek
912 Healey Building
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Joe:

Please forgive this delay in acknowledging your intriguing suggestion of several weeks ago. I think the idea has substantial merit, and will try to look for an opportunity to implement it.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

FROM

JOE CUMMING

Newsweek

May 13, 1971

Dear Paul:

A quick, private, epic idea, inspired by long accumulation plus current series on Atl Constitution on Georgia school deseg:

Why don't you secretly influence Jimmy Carter to <u>really</u> make a name for himself by going on statewide tv and saying:

Everyone's upset about schools - had bad year and rumor and folk lore grow that it'll get worse. Supreme Court bus ruling et al. Yes, I know of the fights, the unreasonable pressures, deteriorating educational process, etc etc.

School administrators, principals and teachers often face absolutely impossible situation.

On the other hand troubles really less than could be when realize how unequal separate was. It hurts, yes, but it is price of neglect.

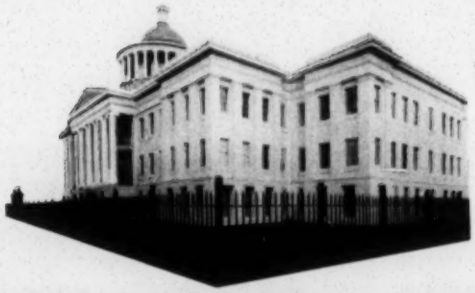
Furthermore, we have marvelous opportunity. Look at the affirmative examples and build to those.

Then imply we will finally have moral superiority over north. Using advantage of past when some communication between races went on, we can lay basis for proper and prospering society in good, old fashioned American non-hippie way.....

Reporters dream. best, Joe

SCHOOL BOARD COMMISSIONERS

Charles E. McNeil, President
Homer L. Sessions, Vice President
Norman J. Berger
William B. Crane
Robert R. Williams



JUN 7 1971

SUPERINTENDENT
Harold R. Collins

DEPUTY SUPERINTENDENT
Braxton A. Nail

BOARD OF SCHOOL COMMISSIONERS OF MOBILE COUNTY
Box 1327 MOBILE, ALABAMA 36601 Telephone 205/438 – 6011

DIVISION OF PUPIL PERSONNEL, ATTENDANCE
EDWARD L. WHITE, Assistant Superintendent

(Mrs.) Hazel Fournier, Supervisor

June 4, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thanks very kindly for your letter of June 2, 1971, informing us that a collection of your monthly newspaper, South Today and the magazine, New South, was being forwarded to us.

Please send us ten copies of your recent publication of the study you released on the southern school system, The South and Her Children.

Again thanks for your generosity.

Sincerely,

Hazel H. Fournier

(Mrs.) Hazel H. Fournier
Attendance Supervisor

HF:vw

June 2, 1971

Mrs. Hazel H. Fournier
Attendance Supervisor
Board of School Commissioners of Mobile County
Box 1327
Mobile, Alabama 36601

Dear Mrs. Fournier:

Under separate cover we are sending you a collection of our monthly newspaper, South Today, and several of our most recent issues of the magazine, New South.

For your workshop we could provide up to several hundred copies of the newspaper, probably about fifty each of several issues. We could provide you with copies of South Today at fifth cents each.

In the packet of material also, there is a copy of a study we released recently on pupils in the southern school system. We could provide ten of these without charge, or supply you with a larger number at sixty centers per copy.

Best wishes on your summer sessions.

Sincerely,

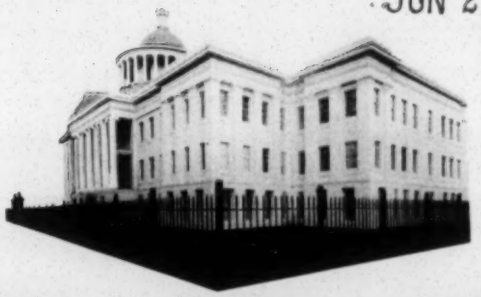
Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

JUN 2 1971

SCHOOL BOARD COMMISSIONERS

Charles E. McNeil, President
Homer L. Sessions, Vice President
Norman J. Berger
William B. Crane
Robert R. Williams



SUPERINTENDENT
Harold R. Collins

DEPUTY SUPERINTENDENT
Braxton A. Nail

BOARD OF SCHOOL COMMISSIONERS OF MOBILE COUNTY
Box 1327 MOBILE, ALABAMA 36601 Telephone 205/438 – 6011

DIVISION OF PUPIL PERSONNEL, ATTENDANCE
EDWARD L. WHITE, Assistant Superintendent

(Mrs.) Hazel Fournier, Supervisor

June 1, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

We are in the process of planning summer sessions with our students, parents and community leaders to improve the human relationships in our city. It is hopeful these sessions will be held before September 1971.

Please send us any free material you have available to aid us in our planning and any listings of inexpensive materials.

Sincerely,

Hazel H. Fournier

(Mrs.) Hazel H. Fournier
Attendance Supervisor

HF:clo

June 4, 1971

Mr. Donald Ross Green
Senior Research Psychologist
McGraw-Hill
Del Monte Research Park
Monterey, California 93940

Dear Ross:

Thank you for sharing with me the very interesting commentary on testing. I am sharing it with our director of research, and with the research department.

Thanks also for thinking of us.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

CTB/McGRAW-HILL

Del Monte Research Park, Monterey, California 93940 · Telephone (408) 373-2932

MAY 28 1971

May 26, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul,

Thought this might interest you.

Sincerely yours,

Ross

Donald Ross Green
Senior Research Psychologist

DRG/lbm

Enclosure

EMORY UNIVERSITY
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30322

DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

JUN 8 1971

June 7, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for sending me a copy of the "new strategy" for the SRC.

In addition to the suggestions made in my two earlier letters, relating to use of outside resources and to meshing research with "action" programs, reading the report prompts two further unsolicited suggestions. They are: (1) the state chapters of the Lamar Society now being formed might prove useful allies in field investigation, depending on the problems chosen for "major focus" at any particular time; and (2) university student interns might make up part of the field investigative teams you require, at minimal cost, if proper arrangements for academic credit (and perhaps guidance) could be worked out with faculty at their schools.

Certainly, the proposals in this report are excellent. In the research area, I particularly like the idea of concentrating your resources into fewer and more systematic studies.

Sincerely,

Jim Clotfelter

James Clotfelter
Assistant Professor
Chairman, Internships and
Public Service Program

JC:ss

Virginia Intermont College
ESTABLISHED 1884 BRISTOL, VIRGINIA 24201 703/669-6101

JUL 15 1971

June 10, 1971

John R. Larkins
Associate Director
North Carolina Probation Commission
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear John:

The North Carolina Council is not dead; it is just resting. The situation is basically similar to the interim between 1948 when Cy Johnson left the North Carolina Interracial Commission and 1954-1955 when you all started the North Carolina Council.

We do a monthly mailing furnished us by SRC. Until my move to Virginia (three weeks ago), I handled this. We are now in the process of switching it to a Board member in Greensboro, North Carolina.

NCCHR is operative but only very weakly. Any ideas?

Sincerest personal regards,

Will

Will C. Allred, Jr.
Coordinator

cmj

Mr. Anthony.
I thought that you would be interested in this letter. Hope to meet you soon.

JUN 16 1971

June 11, 1971

Mrs. Genevieve Hill
Dean, Atlanta University
School of Social Work
Atlanta, Georgia, 30317

Dear Ginger:

I am sure that you have a copy of Paul Anthony's letter to me, a copy of which is enclosed.

It would be good if you could develop a Criminal Justice Continuing Education Program (Primarily for Police) along the lines of the opportunity you have provided for welfare workers in the past.

Certainly I am willing to do what I can to help should you decide to pursue this idea.

Sincerely,

S/JOBoone

John O. Boone
Superintendent

Attachment

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony

June 14, 1971

Mr. Kenneth Dean
Colgate
~~Capitol~~ Rochester Divinity School
1100 S. ~~Goodin~~ Street Goodwin
Rochester, New York

Dear Ken:

Your insurance is in force and your baby is worth $200.00 (two hundred dollars) thereby. Enclosed are insurance forms for that purpose.

I hope to hell you don't have twins!

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:nm
Enclosures

June 14, 1971

Mr. & Mrs. Cecil Alexander
2322 Mount Paran Road, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. & Mrs. Alexander:

To my sincere regret I will be out of the city on June 18. Because of a very heavy travel schedule I have not been as active in the Resurgens as I would like to be. I shall in the near future do what I can to help in the membership drive.

It is very good of you to have this organization and again, I regret that I cannot be present on the 18th.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:nm

HARMON & SMITH
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
BANK OF GEORGIA BUILDING
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303

NOLAN B. HARMON
ARCHER D. SMITH III
H. WILLIAM CONSTANGY (NORTH CAROLINA ONLY)

TELEPHONE
523-1939

June 11, 1971

Dear Members of Resurgens:

This is a reminder of the Resurgens' Atlanta cocktail buffet at the home of "Hermie" and Cecil Alexander on Friday, June 18, 1971. The Alexanders live at 2322 Mount Paran Road, N. W., Atlanta, and the party will run from 6:30 to 8:30 P.M.

This is a wonderful opportunity for we Resurgens members to invite guests and friends and each member is especially encouraged to bring at least one guest in addition to ones spouse or date.

Again, we are most grateful to the Alexanders for affording us the use of their home, which is a unique circular house and has been written up in several national magazines.

Costs are $5.00 per person or $7.00 per couple, including unlimited refreshments of all sorts and a cocktail buffet. It is a perfect opportunity to take someone out on the "town" for a nominal charge of $5.00 per person or $7.00 per couple.

For those of you who have not responded by post card, please do so right away.

Sincerely,

Archer

ARCHER D. SMITH, III
Resurgens Secretary

June 14, 1971

Mrs. Dorothy I. Height
President
The National Council of Negro Women
National Headquarters
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Dorothy:

I have received the invitation of the National Council to attend the Mary McLeod Bethune Commemoration Celebration. To my deepest regret I have a commitment in Mass., which will prevent this. I particularly regret that I cannot attend, because since childhood, Mrs. Bethune has been a great hero of mine.

My warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:nm

Mary McLeod Bethune Memorial

The National Council of Negro Women

cordially invites you, your family and friends to attend the

MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE COMMEMORATION CELEBRATION
"Mary McLeod Bethune and Black Heritage"

Saturday, June 19, 1971
10:00 a.m. - 6:30 p.m.
Washington, D. C.

PROGRAM FOR THE DAY

10:00 a.m. - The NCNW groundbreaking ceremony for the Memorial
Lincoln Park, 12th Street - Massachusetts Avenue, S.E.
The Honorable Rogers C. B. Morton, Secretary,
United States Department of Interior
Representative of the Mayor of Washington, D. C. -
other distinguished guests

Presentation inaugurating Black Women's Institute

The Walton Singers

1:00 p.m. - Exhibition: MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE
National Portrait Gallery - Smithsonian Institution
F Street at Eighth, N. W.

2:00 p.m. - Seminars
The Bethune Legacy - NCNW Priorities in the 70's
National Portrait Gallery Meeting Rooms
Education - Civil and Human Rights - Unity
Family and Community Life - Women and Work

3:15 p.m. - Courtyard Festival
National Portrait Gallery
Ujamaa African Drummers and Dancers - Friendship House
The Black Woman - The Dig-it Players
Steve Taylor Interpretative Dancers - Southeast House

4:45 p.m. - Commemoration Tributes
Carroll Hall - St. Patrick's Academy
924 G Street, N. W.
Seminar Briefs
Musical Tribute - New York Vocalist, Ruth Brisbane
Highlights of the Memorial Drive - Where do we go from here?
Awarding of Prizes
Challenge - The Honorable Walter E. Fauntroy

6:30 p.m. - Finale

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20036
Telephone: 202/223-2363

FOUNDER: MARY McLEOD BETHUNE PRESIDENT: DOROTHY I. HEIGHT

THE SECRETARY OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT
WASHINGTON, D. C.. 20410

June 17, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Pursuant to the President's June 11 statement on Federal policies relative to equal housing opportunity, the Department of Housing and Urban Development has announced its intention to put into effect a number of procedures to meet the President's goals.

In view of the vital interest that you and other civil rights leaders have in equal housing opportunity, and of the special interest you have in HUD's procedures, I am calling a meeting to explain these implementing procedures to you in detail. The meeting will be held in the Departmental Conference Room, U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D. C., at 2 p.m., June 23, 1971.

At that time we will explain in detail and discuss the following:

-- Criteria for evaluating nondiscriminatory location requirements of Section 235, Section 236, rent supplement and public housing;

-- Equal housing opportunity requirements in connection with determining eligibility for community development programs, i.e. urban renewal, water and sewer grants, etc.;

-- Affirmative marketing requirements for FHA-subsidized and unsubsidized housing; and

-- HUD-GSA guidelines for assuring the availability of low and moderate income housing on a nondiscriminatory basis in connection with the building and leasing of Federal facilities.

Because of lack of space, we are requesting that the attendance from each organization be limited to one person.

Please excuse the short notice for this invitation, but I am sure we all share an equal commitment to implementing our program at the earliest possible date. Thank you for your consideration. I hope to see you Wednesday.

Sincerely,

George Romney

JUN 21 1971

JB File

Albany, Ga June 19, 1971

Mr James Wood
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga

Dear Mr Wood,

I am sorry. I realize that I haven't written before. This is my last day in the United Stqtes this time. I am leaving for Ecuador and Peru tomorrow and returning to Norway late late July.
I really regret that I didn' write you before. I don't want to appologize. I had ten really interesting days in the South in March. I have given several speeches about the situqtion already in Appleton and my slides from Auburn gave a deep impression in Appleton.
I came home from Alabama wih a new attitude and I think I could better understand the conservative white m in the South better. I didn't realize before I got home that one of my best friends from Lawrence University is from Auburn. Only one or two weeks after I came home from the South I was asked to represent my homecountry of Norway in the National Model United Nations 71. I aws in ghe Economic and Social Council and I kept in close contact with the Norwegian Mission to United Nations. As you hopefully know, the president of the General Assemble used to be f5om Norway Dr Ed. Hambro.
The last three weeks have been very hard fiishing up several courses at the University in Appleton. Just now I am at a mission caravan from the Presbyterian Church in Wisconsin working in the black community in Albany. This was the target city of the movement in the early sixties, I have been told. We do tutoring, recreationleading etc etc. The Misister of the church is a young black guy, Rev. Oliver Brown. A very nice person. His intensions have been to make his church to a community-center for the black community. It looks like he has been succesful. If you ever make to Norway, let me know. I would be very happy to help you out.

Say your family Hi from me, my deepest thanks to the Southwrn Regional Council.

I reamain sincerely yours

Gisle B. Nadbrell

June 25, 1971

Mr. Whitworth Stokes
Attorney
1225 Nineteenth Street, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Whit:

Thank you for the copy of your letter to Deborah Greenberg.

Good luck.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

BOASBERG, GRANAT & KASS
ATTORNEYS AT LAW
1225 NINETEENTH STREET, N. W.
WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036

TERSH BOASBERG
RICHARD S. GRANAT
BENNY L. KASS
WHITWORTH STOKES
JAMES L. FELDESMAN

TELEPHONE
(202) 659-3436

June 21, 1971

COPY

Mrs. Deborah Greenberg
Norman Fund
575 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Dear Mrs. Greenberg:

This letter is written at the suggestion of Mr. Paul Anthony of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta. I had approached him about a project involving some inmates of the Brushy Mountain State Prison in Petros, Tennessee who have organized an internal newspaper and radio station and are looking to expand their own activities since they have never had a great deal of success in convincing state officials to provide them with those things they felt were needed.

I initially got into this area because of my representation of a black inmate who got ninety-nine years for the murder of a white policeman in Nashville. He was sent to Brushy Mountain which is the maximum security prison in the Tennesse system. It is located in the mountains of East Tennessee and is not within fifty miles of any major city, so even TV reception is poor. The prison was first located there because it was on a rich coal seam and for many years the only industry of the place was the mining of coal for other state prisons and hospitals. The mining operation has now been terminated, but the location is still as remote and escape proof as ever. Consequently, the prison now only houses long term offenders -- men with over ten year sentences convicted of felonies. The greater percentage of inmates with rape, murder and armed robbery convictions are at Brushy Mountain.

My client and two of his co-defendants are first offenders who had completed most of their college education prior to conviction. The details of the conviction are another story and not germane here, but it is sufficient to say that they are not "typical" inmates. Shortly, after their arrival they started looking into matters and taking steps to make the place a little more livable. At that time the Democratic state administration was in a "lame-duck" status since Tennessee had elected its first Republican Governor in one hundred years. Therefore, the Warden, who might have squelched some of the ideas if he was going to keep his job, let the inmates start a newspaper and a radio show. When

When the Republican appointed Warden came in in January of this year, he was in the position of having to continue some of these programs that he might not have approved in the first place.

At any rate, the inmates have done a number of things in the past year which indicate that they have not given up on themselves. A copy of the newspaper is enclosed. Having received each issue, I think I can judge that it has improved greatly with each issue. As a central means of communication that did not exist before it now serves as a vehicle for organizing the prisoners in many ways. The "radio show" is not really that, but is a regular program that goes out over one of the channels that are piped into each cell to individual headsets. There are three such channels and previously the prison authorities would simply tune them into three local radio stations and the person would have his choice. Now for several hours each night there is a locally broadcast music show. Again the possibilities for using this as a means of organizing and publicizing activities is very great.

There was a successful jazz concert at the prison on May 30 which was jointly stimulated by the editor of the paper and the announcer on the radionstation. There are moves under way to promote a Johnny Cash appearance at the prison by these same inmates. Through a strange network of friendships the radio announcer has been able to get several tapes and albums from radio stations in Nashville, Knoxville, and Cincinnati. The Episcopal Church in Oak Ridge is now raising money for new tape and recording equipment which will greatly expand the capacity of the station, so that they can tape programs for future playing.

On the last page of the Communicator you will see the Legal Corner. At the present time this is simply a page for individual prisoners to write in a legal question to an inmate who either answers it from his own "jailhouse lawyer" knowledge or attempts to get an answer from the Legal Aid Clinic at the University of Tennessee at Knoxville. There is a plan to have some students from the clinic work at the prison for course credit starting in the Fall handling legal matters for the inmates. It is hoped that these activities will not be limited to matters of habeas corpus, but all of the other legal problems that beset inmates and their families -- divorce, taxes, welfare, wills, voting, etc.

But, the important thing is that ALL of this activity so far has been the work of a handful of inmates who have had the ideas and carried them out. The future prospects are good, but there comes a time when energy is not all that is needed. Money is necessary to carry out the ideas that energy has created. Later this summer the newspaper is going to suggest that the various cellblocks organize themselves democratically and elect representatives to a jail council which will entertain ideas for projects from inmates and attempt to establish priorities with the administration. Hopefully, they will be able to raise money for certain projects. At this time they wish to remain as independant of the State administration and the Warden's office as they can. Of course, they

realize that these authorities hold absolute power over them and they do not wish to antagonize them needlessly. On the other hand they do not have any desire to see politicians make a lot of mileage out of their activities and them not obtain any leverage in the process. Make no mistake about it -- all these men want out. They are not attempting to make Brushy Mountain a better place because they want to stay there. They are trying to get paroled.

At this point the last thing these men need is a lot of money. Iffthey were to get some large appropriation it would probably be fatal since neither they nor the State would know what to do with it. However, they might over a period of time develop a program which could be the recipient of a major LEAA grant. At this time I serve as an unpaid advisor to the "group" since they are unable to physically carry their ideas outside the wall. It cost approximately $150 each time I go to the prison and another $150 traveling to other places that those visits lead to. Counting in about 3 to 5 days of professional time each month this is about $800 per month. At the moment their immediate need is the radio equipment. When the Legal Aid Clinic starts they are going to need books. Although the library now has several thousand dollars worth of great novels, it does not have a complete set of the Tennessee Code Annotated (I think Volume Seven of the Code gets you out of jail quicker than Moby Dick and so do they).

What I would propose is a grant of $5000-10,000 for six months to a year to handle the short range projects referred to above. To receive it the inmates would elect a representative group to administer the funds. Since they are not "citizens" they would have to grant a power of attorney to an outside group who could form a non-profit corporation to receive and disburse the funds. This would cover the travel and professional expenses of any advisors to the group and any cash outlays for equipment, records, tapes, or books that the governing body wished spend.

Please let me hear from you if your foundation would be interested in anything of this sort. If you have any suggestions as to someone else I might contact I would appreciate your doing so.

Sincerely,

Whitworth Stokes

WS:kal

cc: Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

June 25, 1971

Mr. William C. Henderson
Box 129
University of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina

Dear Mr. Henderson:

I believe you have our agency confused with the Southern Regional Education Board. Their address is 130 6th Street, N. W., Atlanta, Georgia.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Mr. William C. Henderson
Box 129
University of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina

June 23, 1971

Southern Regional Council
South Forsyth Street North East
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

Would it be possible for me to receive an application for employment in one of the area (South Carolina) colleges? I am here in Columbia, South Carolina, completing a thesis for a Ph. D. from Northwestern University. Any assistance you can offer will be appreciated.

Sincerely,

W. C. Henderson

William C. Henderson

WCH/ckw

June 25, 1971

Mr. Warren I. Thomas
Director
Career Service
Kalamazoo College
Kalamazoo, Michigan 49001

Dear Mr. Thomas:

We have been more than pleased with the work and our association with the students we have had from Kalamazoo College. Regrettably, we have a reduced budget and it is not feasible for us to participate in the program during 1972.

I sincerely regret this.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Kalamazoo College
KALAMAZOO, MICHIGAN 49001

June 23, 1971

Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street SW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sirs,

It has come to our attention that during the spring quarters of 1966 and 1967 four of our students worked in your organization as a part of the Kalamazoo College Career Service Program. Since you have participated in our program in the past we hope that you will consider again participating in the program.

In case your personnel has changed I would like to briefly explain our program. During the spring of the student's sophomore year he participates in the Career Service Program. The objectives of this program are: 1) to provide students with experiences in jobs related to their academic work and to further career interest; 2) to develop independence and self-reliance; 3) to develop a sense of responsibility; and 4) to contribute to the objectives of their employers. I have, also, enclosed material that may further explain our program.

During the spring quarter of 1972 the students will be on the job from March 27 through June 9. If you believe our program could supplement yours, all I need is a short description of the job and what the pay will be. Pay can be per hour, per week, or per month, all we ask is that the students make enough to cover board, room and incidentals. I have enclosed an employer intent form for this information.

I'm sure that in the past you found our students capable. I would hope that you would join our program for the spring of 1972.

I trust that we may hear from you in the not too distant future and that you will return the enclosed intent form for 1972.

Sincerely,

Warren I. Thomas

Warren I. Thomas, Director
Career Service

WIT/cw
encl

June 25, 1971

Miss Cordelia Kirk
c/o James Walters
7333 Vernon Road
Columbus, Ohio 43209

Dear Miss Kirk:

We have recently been priviledged to have the Theo Kotzes' of South Africa visit with us. They have spoken warmly of you, and express the hope that you could get to Atlanta. Should you do so, I want you to know that we not only would enjoy having you visit our office, but would like to be of any other possible assistance.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Miss Cordelia Kirk
c/o James Walters
73333 Vernon Road
Columbus, Ohio 43209

Phone: 614-236-0236

Age - 26

South African social worker with the Angelican Church, Cape Town

In U. S. A. for 12 months under the auspices of the Council of International Programs for Youth Leaders. Social Workers, 1817 Superior Building, Cleveland, Ohio 44114. (Tel. 216-861-5478)

Active member of the Christian Institute of South Africa

Very interesting and vital person

June 25, 1971

The Honorable Thomas R. Jones
Supreme Court of the State of New York
Justices' Chambers
Brooklyn, N. Y. 11201

Dear Tom:

It was good to hear from you, and I would very much like, at some point, to observe first hand the program of Restoration.

Later I shall be in touch with you about this. In the meantime, warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK
JUSTICES' CHAMBERS
BROOKLYN, N.Y. 11201

THOMAS RUSSELL JONES
JUSTICE

JUN 21 1971

Personal and Unofficial

June 18, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.,
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I hope you will forgive my long delay in answering your letter of May 5, 1971. As soon as I returned from the Kennedy Luncheon in Washington the pace in my court and elsewhere quickened to prevent me from writing.

Senator Edward Kennedy and Senator Jacob Javits held a sub-committee hearing on O.E.O - Special Impact III Programs here in Brooklyn. Restoration was host to the Committee in the newly renovated Sheffield Farms Building in the midst of Bedford Stuyvesant. I am pleased to report that we are considered to have done very well in the effective expenditure of more than $20 million dollars in public and private funds over these 4 years. We have made an impact on the problem but the funds are hopelessly inadequate to cope with the problems of 1/2 million people, most of whom are just above the poverty level.

Whenever you visit New York again, I urge you to look over the enterprises of Restoration and favor me with your candid judgment whether anything we are doing will serve the people through and to the year 1999.

With every good wish, I am

Sincerely yours,

Tom

THE RURAL HOUSING ALLIANCE'S

Bi-Weekly Reader

June 29, 1971 Vol. 2, No. 8

Profile: Appropriations for Farmers Home for fiscal 1972 clear the House. The HUD money bill is close in line. Emergency Employment Act made headway -- conferees hope they appeased Nixon.

The FmHA money bill: Water and sewer programs are the darling child of this Congress. Rep. Bob Stephens of Georgia was successful in doubling the appropriation for HUD's water-sewer grant program -- raising the House Appropriations Committee's request from $350 million to $700 million. The Agriculture Appropriations Subcommittee, chaired by Mississippi Democrat Jamie Whitten, stayed close to Administration requests for the FmHA housing programs. Next step is the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee for Agriculture. Groups are pressuring that Subcommittee and its Chairman, Wyoming Democrat Gale McGee, for some home repair and farm labor housing grant funds.

	The House bill, FY'72 (in millions)	Nixon request (millions)	Fiscal 1971 (millions)
Insured rural housing loans (502)	$ 1,605	$ 1,605	$ 1,463
FmHA water- sewer grants	56	42	100*
FmHA water-sewer loans	300	300	230
Home repair loans	10	10	19
Home repair grants	0	0	0
Farm labor housing grants	2.5	2.5	2.5

published by the RURAL HOUSING ALLIANCE, Suite 500, Dupont Circle Building, 1346 Connecticut Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036 • phone (202) 659-1680

Self-help technical assistance	$ 2	$ 2	$ .775
self-help land fund	0	0.	.4
FmHA salaries and expenses	97.665	97.665	92.450
HUD water-sewer grants	700	0.	350

* Some $56 million of this fiscal 1971 money was frozen by the White House.

HUD appropriations: The House Appropriations Subcommittee on HUD, with its new chairman, Democrat Ed Boland of Massachusetts, put $10 million less into 235 and 236 than the Administration requested. The programs each got $165 million. The House committee recommended $55 million for rent supplements ($5 million under the Nixon request), and put $3 million each into Section 237 credit counseling and the Section 106 (b) seed loan fund. House action is expected before July 1.

OEO extension: The Senate Subcommittee on Poverty has held markup sessions on S.2007, a bill to extend OEO for two years. The bill authorizes $2.3 billion for poverty programs, compared to $2.08 billion appropriated last year. Another subcommittee markup is set for July 8. Sponsors hope to move the bill through full committee and to the floor by mid-July, and hope for Senate action before the August recess. The subcommittee bill rules out further transfer of OEO programs to other agencies without approval of Congress. The Senate subcommittee has adopted an amendment proposed by Senators Kennedy and Javits, combining Title III rural loans and Title I-D speical impact programs into a single Community Development section. The section provides funds, technical assistance and loan guarantees for locally-owned Community Development Corporations. The corporations could, among other things, receive sponsor funds from HUD (Section 106) and could sponsor 221,235, and 236 projects. The amendment also spares rural cooperative loans from extinction.

The amendment authorizes $60 million the first year, double that the second year.

Markup in the House is scheduled for July 12.

The Labor-HEW appropriations bill, moving toward markup in the House, does not contain funds for OEO. If the OEO extension bill is enacted before the Senate acts on Labor-HEW appropriations, the Senate may add OEO to that massive money bill. Otherwise, a special OEO money bill may be necessary.

Appalachian Regional Commission: A bill extending the life of the Appalachian Regional Commission has cleared conference and is waiting for White House action. The crash public works program attached to the bill makes Presidential approval uncertain. The bill carries an amendment giving HUD a program of grants of up to 10% of total project costs to cover certain site development costs. Those grants are limited to projects under 221, 235, and 236. Some sources expect the bill will be vetoed because of the public works provision. If that happens, the same bill -- but without the public works -- will probably get speedy Congressional attention.

LATE NOTE: The President has vetoed the bill (6/29).

Emergency Employment Act: Senate action was expected as this issue goes to press on the conference report on the Emergency Employment Act of 1971. The compromise measure provides 200,000 jobs in community service type work. Housing, according to committee staffers, is still eligible. House conferees insisted that the jobs be made available only to governmental units -- striking a Senate provision to allow non-profit corporations to hire personnel with Emergency Employment funds. Conferees were hopeful that their compromises made the bill satisfactory to the President, who has threatened a veto. Local public housing authorities, as subsidiary units of government, would be eligible. No funds are available under the bill for construction materials or tools, although 15% of the $2.25 billion measure could be used for training or certain administrative expenses. Applications for funds under the bill, if it becomes law, will be handled by regional manpower administrators of the Department of Labor.

Over the rainbow: President Nixon's revenue sharing and departmental reorganization plans continue to get scrutiny on Capitol Hill, although it's generally conceded that their prospects are dim. The House Ways and Means committee has been holding hearings on general revenue sharing, while Senate Government Operations Committee has been examining proposals to create four superdepartments in the executive branch of the federal government.

Meanwhile, the Senate Banking Committee has been examining proposals to give troubled Lockheed corporation a federal loan guarantee. Among the bills under consideration is S.580, a development bank proposal by Committee Chairman Sparkman. The bill, as originally introduced, included the provision of loans and loan guarantees to non-profits, public agencies, contractors and developers for construction of housing financed by FHA, VA, or FmHA. The funds apparently are seed and interim construction funds, not mortgage funds.

Housing Act of 1972?: Last year the Administration tried for a housing bill which would have consolidated roughly 40 or 50 housing programs into eight. A similar bill was reintroduced in mid-June, S.2049. It would create four basic housing programs with cost maximums set by area prototypes, and would establish new subsidy formulas for housing assistance programs. Introducing the bill, Chairman Sparkman expressed concern over the sheer volume of reform legislation before the Congress this session, said he was not "altogether sanguine" about early action on the bill in the Senate. Hearings there at the earliest would be in late July. The House Banking Committee will likely wait until after the August recess before taking up any housing legislation.

Sugarcane worker housing: Senator Stevenson June 24 announced that he would attempt to amend the Sugar Act, the bill which regulates and subsidizes the sugar industry, to require certain minimum housing standards for sugarcane workers. Stevenson is chairman of the Subcommittee on Migratory Labor. The Stevenson amendment, S.2142, would require sugar growers to provide worker housing which meets the minimum standards of the Wagner-Peyser act. Those provisions include overcrowding, structural and minimum water facilities requirements. The Senate Finance Committee is handling the Sugar Act legislation.

THE BI-WEEKLY READER'S
BOX SCORE

June 29, 1971

	SENATE	HOUSE
Appropriations:		
USDA, fiscal '72	Markup expected within 2 or 3 weeks.	Passed, 6/23.
HUD, fiscal '72	Hearings continue.	Floor action expected 6/30.
Labor-HEW	Hearings nearly complete.	Hearings winding up. Markup after the recess.
Appalachian Regional Commission:	----------awaiting Presidential action ----	
Amendments to FmHA water and sewer program	passed	Committee hearings scheduled in July.
OEO extension	Markup July 8, hope for floor action before August.	No further hearings scheduled. Markup begins 7/12.
Emergency Employment:	---conference report waiting for final approval by both houses----	

It is now 134 days since the legal deadline for submission of the Third Annual Report on Housing Goals.

July 1, 1971

Mr. Dennis R. Reigle
Office of Development
Miles College
Birmingham, Ala. 35208

Dear Dennis:

Enclosed is our check for your expenses. I am sincerely sorry that we could not explore our interest further. But, I do extend every good wish for your work with the Wilson Foundation. After you arrive there, let us know your address.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb
Encl.

JUN 28 1971

MILES COLLEGE
BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA 35208

OFFICE OF DEVELOPMENT

June 25, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30307

Dear Paul:

I have decided to accept the position of Director of the Internship Programs at the Woodrow Wilson National Fellowship Foundation in Princeton, New Jersey. This decision was made somewhat sooner than I had anticipated, but this particular position compared exceptionally well against the criteria I had selected. Therefore it is logical and prudent for me to accept and begin planning ahead.

I appreciate greatly your time and interest and wish you continued success. I hope we can remain in contact.

Sincerely,

Dennis R, Reigle

cbt

Hope your move goes smoothly and that you find a good man to head the operation we discussed.

ARCHDIOCESE OF NEW ORLEANS
7887 WALMSLEY AVENUE
NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA 70125

HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION
TEL. (504) 861-9521

July 2, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

I was glad to be able to see you, and especially pleased to have a visit with various members of your staff and to learn of the programs and activities you are carrying on, which we need to know about. I am always impressed by the dedication and ~~confidence~~ competence of the people at Southern Regional Council.

Your honored alumnus for this month certainly would be Vernon Jordan. We wish him well in his new responsibilities with the National Urban League.

I have sent back materials to various SRC department heads, as appropriate, and especially called their attention to the convention which is described in the enclosed brochure.

Sincerely yours,

Jack

John P. Sisson
Executive Director

cc: Mrs. Helen Mervis

Janet — Will you see if he is on the mailing list? If not he should/must be.

July 12, 1971

Mrs. Analoyce E. Clapp
Director of Statewide Communications
The University of Wisconsin
1652 Van Hise Hall
Madison, Wisconsin 53706

Dear Analoyce:

As I indicated to my secretary that I was writing you, her comment was you haven't sent that picture. I still plan to.

I am not prepared to be one of your sons, since I think of myself as enough of an admirer that such a thought would be incestuous (with all due respect for your husband).

And, with my warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

The University of Wisconsin

MADISON, WISCONSIN 53706

STATEWIDE COMMUNICATIONS
1652 VAN HISE HALL

June 29, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Paul:

Congratulations on a good job at the University of Florida. Saw the story in the "American Teacher" June issue. Would never have recognized your picture, however.

A recent visitor to my office asked, on viewing your picture (on the wall), if that was one of my sons. I said no, but that I was as proud as if you were.

Most sincerely,

Analoyce

Analoyce E. Clapp
Director of Statewide
Communications

N.R.N.

July 12, 1971

Mr. Herbert Lewis
3041 General Marshall Street
Lake Charles, Louisiana 70601

Dear Mr. Lewis:

The Voter Education Project is now a separate Corporation. Your inquiry has been forwarded to Mr. John Lewis, Director of VEP.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Janet 7-13-71
J-file

July 13, 1971

Dr. Robert L. Gill
3415 Calloway Avenue
Baltimore, Md. 21215

Dear Dr. Gill:

Thank you sincerely for the thoughtful letter. We will be pleased to change your mailing address, and we welcome you back to the States.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

UNIVERSITY COLLEGE - FAR EAST DIVISION

June 28, 1971

JUN 30 1971

LECTURER Dr. Robert L. Gill, University of Maryland, Far East Division,
APO San Francisco 96525

Dr. Paul Anthony, Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Dr. Anthony:

This is to inform you that I will be returning to Continental United States between August 1-4, 1971. Therefore, please change my address to Morgan State College or my Baltimore residence on your mailing list.

I take this opportunity to thank you personally and the organization which you represent and direct for the invaluable sources produced by the Southern Regional Council which aided me immeasurably in the courses which I conducted during the past year in Okinawa. Vietnam, Thailand, and Japan in "Race Relations and Public Law" and "Afro-American History.

With kindest personal regards and continued good wishes in your endeavors, I am

Sincerely yours,
Robert L. Gill
Robert L. Gill, Ph.D.
Professor of Government and Politics-
University of Maryland

[redacted]

July 13, 1971

Mr. Jason Berry
200 North Mill St.
Jackson, Miss. 39201

Dear Mr. Berry:

Your letter to Mr. James McBride Dabbs has come to my attention. Most sadly, Mr. Dabbs died earlier in the year. I know he would have enjoyed responding to your thoughts. Thank you for you thoughtfulness in writing.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Mr. James Dabbs
c/o Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Ga.

June 28, 1971

Dear Mr. Dabbs:

I have just come upon your book Civil Rights in Recent Southern Fiction. It is, certainly, a very broad study and a good one. I especially enjoyed your piece on Walker Percy.

Since you do not list her, I would like to call to your attention a Mississippi novelist I think you would do well to read, if you have not already.

Berry Morgan is a native and resident of Port Gibson, Mississippi. Her first and only novel is entitled Pursuit and it received the Houghton Mifflin Prize the year before Robert Stone's Hall of Mirrors, and one or two years before Willie Morris's first book .

I was very surprised to find your collection not including Pursuit. Mrs. Morgan, an old and dear friend of my family (though no relation), is a very fine writer and has been under contract with the New Yorker for the past three and a half years. Her most recent short story, The Passing, appears in this week's edition. It deals with two of the characters in Pursuit. Walker Percy has called this novel one of the best in the modern South, and calls it, I believe, the "best since Flannery O'Connor."

I am very interested in your book, which I must admit I have not finished entirely. I am also quite interested in your opinions on Pursuit. I believe it is a very profound statement on Civil Rights, one which certainly should have been included in your study. If you have not read it, would you mind doing so and telling me what you think? I would be very interested in learning your opinion.

Sincerely,

Jason Berry

Jason Berry

200 North Mill St.
Jackson, Mississippi 39201

July 13, 1971

Miss Faye Williams
Program Development Co-ordinator
Louisiana Education Association
1335 North Boulevard
P. O. Box 1767
Baton Rouge, La. 70821

Dear Miss Williams:

Under separate cover we are sending you a copy of the Program Report of Southern Regional Council for 1970. You will note in that report that the Voter Education Project has now become a separate corporation, and this may be the work in which you are most interested. We are, therefore, forwarding a copy of your letter to VEP with the request that they share with you any materials that they may have.

Thank you for your interest.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Program report
Sent 7-13-71

E. B. WILLIAMS
PRESIDENT

J. K. HAYNES
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

M. J. CLARK
TREASURER

Louisiana Education Association

DISTRICT PRESIDENTS

MRS. ERNESTINE CRAIN, 1ST
ISIAH JONES, 2ND
MRS. MARGARET GUIDRY, 3RD
ROY D. MURRAY, 4TH
MILTON JACKSON, 5TH
L. D. VIRDURE, 6TH
JAMES KELLY, 7TH
JAMES J. WASHINGTON, 8TH

Strong in the strength of the Lord we who fight in the people's cause will never stop until that cause is won.—Selected.

1335 NORTH BOULEVARD
POST OFFICE BOX 1767
BATON ROUGE, LA. 70821

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

MRS. AUDREY S. BOYKIN
A. B. HEDGEMON
CLARENCE MARIE COLLIER
MRS. KATYE PRINGLE
GLORIA J. HARRISON
S. W. JONES (EMERITUS)
CLAUDE MINOR
MRS. CELESTINE C. GRAVES, 1ST VICE PRES.
LEE GRANT JACOBS, 2ND VICE PRES.

JUN 21 1971

June 17, 1971

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

I have heard a lot of positive comments about your political action program. I am working on programs our association might undertake. Please send any materials you have which might be helpful to our organization.

What you send might include such things as your objectivies and some of the activities you have used to meet those objectivies, sample programs from conferences you have held, budgets, legislation you have proposed, educational surveys you have made or anything you feel might be of help to us in developing our political action program.

Thank you in advance.

Yours for a United Teaching Profession,

Faye Williams

(Miss) Faye Williams
Program Development Co-ordinator

FW:PB

July 19, 1971

Mr. J. D. Blair
Atlanta Terminal Manager
Adley Express Company
P. O. Box 6756, Lakewood Station
Atlanta, Georgia 30315

Dear Mr. Blair:

We will be most pleased to assist you in filling positions which may become available.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

July 13, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:

As part of our Affirmative Action Program under Executive Order #11246 as Amended (Equal Employment Opportunity), we have, with the help of our Contract Compliance Examiner, developed a minority group referral list of which your organization is a part.

We now want to determine whether each of the organizations on our list will be able to assist us if and when openings occur in our local organization.

At the present time we do not have any openings, but in the months ahead we may have need for any one of the following types of employees:

Operating Supervisor	Secretary
Dispatcher	Platform worker
Platform Foreman	Checker
Office Manager	Driver
Rate Clerk	Salesman
Billing Clerk	Mechanic
Switchboard Operator	

At the time such an opening occurs, we will contact you with a description of the job and a listing of the requirements needed to fill it.

Please acknowledge receipt of this letter and indicate whether you feel you will be able to assist us in filling our need when and if it exists.

Very truly yours,

J. D. Blair

J. D. Blair
Atlanta Terminal Manager
Adley Express Company

July 19, 1971

Sister Margaret Traxler, SSND
Executive Director
National Catholic Conference
for Interracial Justice
1307 S. Wabash Avenue
Chicago, Illinois 60605

Dear Sister Traxler:

We are pleased to send under separate cover the materials you requested.

Thank you for your generous comments. I do hope in time that we will have an occasion to meet.

Best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

July 19, 1971

Dr. Dewey W. Grantham
Department of History
Vanderbilt University
Nashville, Tennessee 37203

Dear Dr. Grantham:

The material you request is being forwarded under separate cover.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY

NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37203

Department of History

July 16, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Reference is made to your letter of July 12, concerning the availability of SRC publications. I am very happy indeed to have an opportunity to request copies of these documents. I would greatly appreciate your sending me one copy of each of the publications I have marked on your memographed list. I shall be pleased, of course, to pay the shipping charges.

With renewed thanks and all best wishes,

Cordially yours,

Dewey Grantham

Dewey W. Grantham

July 19, 1971

Mr. Fred O. Detweiler
Director of Administration
Austin College
Sherman, Texas 75090

Dear Mr. Detweiler:

Thank you sincerely for your contribution. We are deeply grateful for this personal vote of confidence.

The material you request is being sent separately.

Warmest Regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

July 19, 1971

Mr. Jim Silver
Department of History
University of South Florida
Tampa, Florida 33620

Dear Jim:

The materials you have requested are being sent to you under separate cover.

Paul Gaston shared with me your ideas about using some of the SRC staff in a campus seminar. I was, and am excited about the idea and would like very much to pursue it when you find it feasible.

I did not know of your illness, but am more than pleased to know that you are doing well.

My warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

July 22,1971

Mr. Harry Ashmore
The Center
Box 4068
Santa Barbara, California 93103

Dear Harry:

The materials you request are being sent to Professor Tollett.

You might be interested in the enclosed.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Enclosures

July 22, 1971

Mr. & Mrs. Phil Erickson
1070 Windsor Parkway, N. E.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Phil and Nancy:

In rummaging through my desk today, I came across the enclosed which might interest you for the sake of nostalgia. Also, a couple of other enclosures which might interest you.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Enclosures

July 22, 1971

Rabbi Arthur Gilbert
Jewish Reconstructionist Foundation
15 West 86th Street
New York, N. Y. 10024

Dear Rabbi:

The materials you requested are being sent under separate cover. We also note your change of address.

With best regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

July 27, 1971

Mr. Charles A. Webster, Jr.
2319 Glendale Drive
Decatur, Georgia

Dear Charles:

Thank you for the report.

Enclosed is our check for $250.00.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Enclosure

July 27, 1971

Mr. Morris Mitchell
White Pines
Friends World College Study Center
for Community and Ecology
Box 705
Clarkesville, Georgia 30523

Dear Morris:

Thank you for the generous note. It will be a pleasure to see you and your students at any opportunity, and I would be interested in discussion some arrangements whereby some of them might work for a while at SRC.

Warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

White Pines
Friends World College Study Center
for Community and Ecology

Clarkesville, Georgia
30523 - Box 705
404 - 754 - 4951

JUL 27 1971

7/25/71

Dear Paul,

It was good of you to take the time and show the interest you did. We all appreciated your talk on The Face of the Southern Regional Council. Every name you mentioned, every word you spoke rang bells with me. So glad for all you are doing.

One student is working on the Mountain Eagle, Whitesburg, W. Va. The very fair girl is off to southern Mississippi to work with Ruby Magee. Two leave now to work a month at Soul City. Etc. I'd be please if some day one or two might work a while with S.R.C.

Thanks again

Thine (as we Quakers say)

Irmie

Photo by Kathryn Abbe

July 27, 1971

Mr. James R. Ball, Manager
Administrative Services
American Association of Retired Persons
National Retired Teachers Association
1225 Connecticut Avenue, N. W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

Dear Mr. Ball:

It is a pleasure to recommend to you, without reservations, Mrs. Emily Barfield. She is an outstanding person and we were very sorry to loose her. Certainly, we would rehire her should a position become available.

Her salary with us was $13,000.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

American Association of Retired Persons
National Retired Teachers Association

1225 CONNECTICUT AVENUE, N.W. • WASHINGTON, D. C. 20036 • (202) 659-4670

PRESIDENT, NRTA
Mrs. Katherine Pearce

PRESIDENT, AARP
Fred Faassen

EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR
Bernard E. Nash

JUL 26 1971

July 22, 1971

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth St., N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Gentlemen:

Mrs. Emily Barefield, former Director of the Florida Council on Human Relations, has accepted a position with the National Retired Teachers Association - American Association of Retired Persons, as Regional Representative for the State of Florida.

We would appreciate your frank opinion as to her ability and performance and whether you would rehire her for another position with your organization should the opportunity present itself. We would also request that you furnish us with Mrs. Barefield's salary with your organization.

Your comments as to any information which you feel might be an inhibiting factor in her future performance will also be most helpful.

Any information furnished to us will be held in strict confidence.

A self-addressed envelope is enclosed for your personal use.

Very truly yours,

James R. Ball

James R. Ball, Manager
Administrative Services

Enclosure

July 28, 1971

Mr. Stanley Jones, Sr.
102 John Hancock Bldg.
230 Houston St., N. E.
Atlanta, Ga. 30303

Dear Stan:

For your October 24th celebration, there are several names that come to mind. One would be Miss Winffred Green, American Friends Service Committee (52 Fairlie Street). She is a remarkable young southern woman. The other is rather obvious, but I think highly appropriate, that is Andrew Young.

Good luck on the program.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

DIVISION OF NATIONAL AFFAIRS
SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

August 2, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Paul:

I appreciate your sending us a copy of your letter of resignation of July 20, 1971, and the accompanying memorandum to the members of the Council. This was a difficult step, graciously done, but not made any easier by the poor reporting of our "greatest newspaper."

I'm writing to let you, and through you SRC's Executive Committee, know that the Foundation staff has allocated $330,000 from our next fiscal year's budget for one year of continued general and project support of the Southern Regional Council during this difficult period of transition. This amount is roughly at the same level of support for basic SRC activities that the Foundation has provided during the last few years. Though this letter is not an "official" commitment (the Foundation does not make such official commitments short of the actual approval of a grant), it does constitute a commitment by the staff of this Division to recommend a grant of roughly this size so long as SRC continues to make reasonable progress toward reconstituting its program and staff.

I know we'll be in close touch over the forthcoming months, but I want to take this occasion to express my personal best wishes to you during this trying time.

Sincerely yours,

Basil J. Whiting
Program Officer

Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 FORSYTH STREET, N. W. ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30303
522-8764

PAUL ANTHONY
EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR

A Council to attain the ideals and practices of equal opportunity for all peoples in the South

August 11, 1971

M E M O R A N D U M

TO: Members of the Council

FROM: Paul Anthony

The Nominating Committee will meet during September. If you have suggestions of persons to be considered for membership on the Council, please send them to me, along with any biographical information which would be helpful in the committee's deliberations.

We will see that any recommendations you have get to the committee.

****

August 20, 1971

Miss Marjorie Fine
Executive Director
Joint Foundation Support, Inc.
575 Madison Avenue
New York, N. Y. 10022

Dear Marjorie:

Thank you sincerely for the notification of the grant of $1,500.

The statement of stipulations regarding the grant are agreed to, and a signed copy of that statement is enclosed. The Council is a private foundation, and we will, of course, see that all of these funds will be used for the purpose indicated and for no other.

I hope to see you next month.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PAjjb

JOINT FOUNDATION SUPPORT, INC.

575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022
755-6023

August 24, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

ck
8-26-71
PAE

On behalf of the Bernhard Foundation, we are pleased to forward to you the enclosed check in the amount of $1500 for a school desegregation training session.

You understand of course, that both we and the Bernhard Foundation are relying upon the terms of the agreement dated August 13, 1971 between you and Joint Foundation Support on behalf of the Bernhard Foundation.

Additionally, we are relying upon the terms of the letter agreement dated August 13, 1971 between you and Joint Foundation Support on behalf of the Bernhard Foundation, with respect to this grant.

Will you please make sure that, in any listings prepared of financial support received, you list separately each foundation which made a grant to you on the recommendation of Joint Foundation Support. Joint Foundation Support does not itself make grants.

Sincerely,

Marjorie A. Fine

(Miss) Marjorie A. Fine
Executive Director

MAF:ap
enc

posted to Money book
8-30-71 jh

Copy returned to Foundation Signed 8-20-71

JOINT FOUNDATION SUPPORT, INC.

575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022
755-6023

August 13, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Re: Grant for Specific Program Support

Dear Mr. Anthony:

On behalf of the Bernhard Foundation (the "Foundation") we are pleased to inform you that the Board of Directors of the Foundation has decided to make a grant to your organization in the amount of $1500 for a school desegregation training session.

As I am sure you are aware, the Tax Reform Act of 1969 imposes "expenditure responsibility" on the Foundation with respect to all grants made to organizations other than "publicly supported charities."

Upon receipt by us of (1) the executed ribbon copy of the enclosed agreement, together with any data requested therein, and (2) the execution of the enclosed copy of this letter, indicating that said grant will be used exclusively for the specific purposes herein outlined, a check in payment of said grant will be sent to you.

If you have any questions with respect to the agreement or your responsibility thereunder, please do not hesitate to call us.

Very truly yours,

Joint Foundation Support, Inc.

BY Marjorie A. Irvie
Executive Director

AGREED TO:

Southern Regional Council

BY_____

JOINT FOUNDATION SUPPORT, INC.

575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022
755-6023

August 13, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Re: $1500 Grant to Southern Regional Council, Inc.
(the "Grantee")

Dear Mr. Anthony:

On behalf of the Bernhard Foundation (the "Foundation") Joint Foundation Support, Inc. is pleased to advise you that at a recent meeting of the Foundation's Board of Directors it was decided to make a Grant, in the above-referenced amount, to you as Grantee for the specific purposes enumerated in the attached letter.

This Grant is made on the following terms and conditions:

1. The Grantee will use the funds solely for the purposes for which they are granted;

2. The Grantee is presently, and will continue to be, an organization described in Section 501(c)(3) of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 (the "Code"); or will use the Grant exclusively for one or more purposes described in Section 501(c)(3) of the Code;

3. The Grantee will, concurrently with the execution of this Agreement, provide the Foundation with either (A) a ruling of the Internal Revenue Service or its request for such a ruling, a copy of the latest Form 4653 which it has filed with the Internal Revenue Service and/or other sufficient written evidence that it is not a private foundation under one or more of the tests found in Section 509(a)(1)(2) or (3) of the Code; (B) a statement that the Grantee is a "private foundation" as such term is defined in Section 4942(j)(3) of the Code; or (C) a statement that the Grantee is a non-exempt organization which will use the Grant solely for exempt purposes. The Grantee will, upon any change in its aforementioned status, notify the Foundation to such effect.

4. In order to satisfy the Foundation's "expenditure responsibility" as such term is defined in Section 4945(d)(4) and (h) of the Code, with respect to this Grant, and in order to avert the 15% exise tax imposed under Section 4942 of the Code for failure to distribute income, if

JOINT FOUNDATION SUPPORT, INC.

575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022
755-6023

the Grantee is presently a private foundation, or a non-exempt organization using this Grant solely for exempt purposes, or at any time prior to the completion of the use of the Grant funds becomes a private foundation, or a non-exempt organization, it will

a) use the funds for tax-exempt purposes within the year next following the close of its taxable year in which the contribution was received,

b) repay any portion of the amount which is not used for the purposes of the Grant,

c) submit full and complete annual reports on the manner in which the funds are spent and the progress made in accomplishing the purposes of the Grant,

d) maintain its books and records in a manner consistent with Treasury Regulations promulgated under Section 4945 relating thereto, and make such books and records available to the Foundation at reasonable times, and

e) not use any of the funds --

(i) to carry on propaganda, or otherwise attempt to influence legislation (within the meaning of Section 4945(d)(1) of the Code),

(ii) to influence the outcome of any specific public election, or to carry on, directly or indirectly, any voter registration drive (within the meaning of Section 4945(d)(2) of the Code),

(iii) for any grant which does not comply with the requirements of Section 4945(d)(3) or (4) of the Code, or

(iv) for any purpose other than one specified in Section 170(c)(2)(B) of the Code.

If you consent to the terms and conditions of this Grant, please have the appropriate official sign and return to us the copy of this letter enclosed herewith. All data required by the Foundation pursuant to this Grant may be addressed to the Foundation, care of this office, at the above address.

Upon receipt of your acceptance, a check in payment of the Grant will be sent to you.

JOINT FOUNDATION SUPPORT, INC.

575 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022
755-6023

Sincerely,

Joint Foundation Support, Inc.

BY Wayne A. Fine
Executive Director

AGREED TO:

Southern Regional Council

By_____

Merribank
South Harpswell
Maine 04079

August 25, 1971

Dear Paul,

Summer is a time for putting off things, so I have been slow in writing to you to say how I regret your decision to resign, even though I can understand and respect your reasons.

You have every right to feel that your contribution to the Southern Regional Council has been a tremendous one. To pilot us through such rough seas calls for more than ordinary skills. You have shown them.

Because of our early association and because I was on the committee that recommended your appointment, I have been particularly pleased to work with you. I hope that you will be able to take time now

to look us up here or in Miami.

I shall watch with interest your future work, since I know that you are too young the look to retirement, as I am doing now. So I say, "Well done!" and "Godspeed to whatever you do!"

Cordially yours,

Franklin Williams

August 30, 1971

Mr. Jay B. Levin
President, Student Government
Connecticut College
Box 623
New London, Connecticut 06320

Dear Mr. Levin:

Thank you sincerely for the generous contribution to our hunger fund. Please don't apologize for the amount, it is to u very significant.

You may be interested to know that on the day before we received your letter, two grants of $500 each were made to new Day Care Centers in South Carolina, and for all purposes this exhausted the funds we had on hand. I had dreaded receiving the next request, but your contribution now makes it possible for us to do so.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Hunger Fund

Box 623
Connecticut College
8/20/71

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council,
Advisory Committee for Hungry Americans
3 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

1,291.85
8-26-71
PAE

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Enclosed is a check representing the major portion of our proceeds from the first HUNGER & NATIONAL PRIORITIES DAY. Obviously, this money does not begin to approach the amounts I grandiously mentioned in my letter of April 12, 1971. However, the enclosed check represents part of an effort of 95% of the students at Connecticut College, which was even suprising to me ($500 were also given to a local "hot breakfast" program). Where we fell down was in the lateness of our planning.

The apparatus for the program was not fully shaped until late March, providing, as you can see, inadequate time for a statewide effort to be effectively organized. Hopefully, in this coming year, planning will start in September and maybe we might consider an earlier date (e.g. late April), that would remove H & NPD from the press of national activities that seem destined to occur annually in early May. Any advice that you may have will certainly aid us.

I want you to know that you have our full support, which next year, taking into consideration what we've learned, will be more significant.

Good luck in your efforts.

Sincerely,

Jay B. Levin

Jay B. Levin
President, Student Government
Connecticut College

THIS CHECK PAYS IN FULL THE FOLLOWING ITEMS

DATE	INVOICE	AMOUNT	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	

CONN. COLLEGE STUDENT ORGANIZATIONS FUND
NEW LONDON, CONN.

51-135
111

No. 7177

COMMERCE OFFICE
HARTFORD NATIONAL BANK AND TRUST
NEW LONDON, CONN.

PAY EXACTLY 1,291 AND 85 CTS DOLLARS

PAY TO THE ORDER OF	DATE	GROSS	DISCOUNT	NET AMOUNT
Southern Regional Council	6/30/71	1291 85	—	1291 85

TREASURER

VOID UNLESS COUNTERSIGNED
BY BURSAR OR ASST. BURSAR

⑆0111⑈0135⑆ 012⑈4351⑈

Box 623
Connecticut College
New London, Connecticut
06320

HARTFORD, CONN. 18
PM
26 AUG
1971

Hungry Fund

Rec 8/26/71

Mr. Paul Anthony, Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
Advisory Committee for Hungry Americans
3 Forsythe Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

CHARLES SCRIBNER'S SONS

PUBLISHERS

597 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK, N. Y. 10017

September 1, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Thank you for your letter of August 18 regarding BORN TO REBEL. As you have requested, I am sending a copy of the book to each of the judges for the Lillian Smith Award. I'm also sending each of judges a copy of THE AMERICAN SOUTH by Monroe Billington and one of THE SOUTHERN STRATEGY by Hal Gulliver and Reg Murphy which I also felt might qualify.

Thank you again for your letter and interest in our books.

Sincerely yours,

Mary Anne Pitassy

Mary Anne Pitassy
Editorial Department

cc: Professor Bell Wiley
Presedent George Owens
Hodding Carter III
The Honorable Howard Lee
Mr. James Stokeley

grant file

Route 1, Box 311
Nesmith, S.C.
September 1, 1971

Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Sir:
Thank you very much for the check for $500. supporting our Nesmith Day Care Center. It is truly a great contribution and will be wisely use. The children will be very happy for what you've done for them.
Once again I would like to thank for the entire staff of the Nesmith Community Day Care Center.

Sincerely
Laura Pressley
Director of Day Care Center

SEP 8 1971

MEMORANDUM

To: Lamar Society Members

From: Thomas H. Naylor, Executive Director

Date: September 6, 1971

Plans are well underway for the Southern Regional Growth Board proposed by Terry Sanford at the Lamar Society's annual symposium held in Atlanta this spring. The purpose of the Growth Board is to help promote orderly growth and development in the South. The Advisory Committee of the Southern Regional Growth Board met at Duke University on August 13-14, and substantial progress was made towards the implementation of the Growth Board. H. Brandt Ayers, newly elected President of the Lamar Society, is the Society's representative on this committee. Governors Askew, Carter, Holton, and West sent their top aides to participate in the planning meeting, and Governor Bumpers also has indicated a strong interest in the project. Terry Sanford has invited all of the Southern governors to a meeting at Duke University on October 3-4 to discuss final plans for the Growth Board and its implementation.

The Courier-Journal and Louisville Times Foundation has made a $1,000 contribution to the Lamar Society to be used to defray the cost of planning the Southern Regional Growth Board. The Mary Reynolds Babcock Foundation also has given support to the Growth Board with a $2,000 grant to Duke University's Center for Southern Studies. Proposals have been submitted to various other foundations requesting further financial support.

On September 1, the Board of Directors met in Little Rock, in conjunction with the organization of a Little Rock chapter of the Lamar Society. Governor Bumpers and former Governor Rockefeller invited Arkansans to participate and both attended the meeting.

I am enclosing a pictorial folder from the Atlanta symposium, along with a new listing of the Board of Directors of the Society. Please let us know if you would like to have more copies of these, or if you know of anyone who might be interested in the Society.

Schedule of Events

APRIL 30-MAY 1, 1971

Second Annual Symposium in Atlanta. Theme: "The Urban South: Northern Mistakes in a Southern Setting?" Featured speakers: Governors Reubin Askew (Fla.), Dale Bumpers (Ark.), Jimmy Carter (Ga.), and John West (S.C.); Terry Sanford; Senator Edmund Muskie; H. Ross Perot.

1970-1971

Chapters organized in Jackson, Mississippi; South Florida, Alabama, East Tennessee, West Tennessee, North Carolina, South Carolina, New Orleans, Atlanta. Future meetings scheduled for Dallas (July 12), Little Rock, Richmond, and Houston.

SUMMER, 1971

Project entitled "The South: A Strategy for Change" will support several Lamar Society student internships during the summer of 1971. This will focus on specific economic, social, political, and educational problems in the South.

SEPTEMBER, 1971

Publication of *You Can't Eat Magnolias*, a collection of papers dealing with specific Southern problems. Contributors will include Willie Morris, Terry Sanford, Maynard Jackson, Curtis Graves, Reynolds Price, Reese Cleghorn, and Ed Yoder. To be published by McGraw-Hill. Brandt Ayers and Thomas Naylor, editors.

FALL, 1971

Implementation of Southern Regional Growth Board, proposed by Terry Sanford at Atlanta meeting, in conjunction with Southern governors and legislators.

OFFICERS

President
H. Brandt Ayers
Editor & Publisher
Anniston (Ala.) Star

Vice President
Representative Curtis Graves
Texas State Legislature
Houston, Texas

Executive Director
Dr. Thomas H. Naylor
Professor of Economics
Duke University

Treasurer
William Davis Comstock
Assistant Comptroller
P. Lorillard Tobacco Company
Greensboro, N.C.

Associate Director
William G. Hancock
Office of Development
Duke University

DIRECTORS

Rep. Benjamin D. Brown
Georgia State Legislature
Atlanta, Georgia

Moses Burt
National Urban Coalition

Hodding Carter, III, *Editor*
Delta Democrat-Times
Greenville, Mississippi

James Chubbuck, *Director*
Institute of Politics, Loyola U.
New Orleans, Louisiana

W. J. Michael Cody
Attorney
Memphis, Tennessee

Congressman Bob Eckhardt
U. S. Congress
Houston, Texas

Charles Ferguson, *Asso. Editor*
New Orleans States-Item
New Orleans, Louisiana

Joel L. Fleishman
Vice Chancellor
Duke University

Babette Fraser
Houston, Texas

Stewart Gammill, III, *Chairman*
Interpine, Inc.
Hattiesburg, Mississippi

Dr. Vivian Henderson,
President
Clark College
Atlanta, Georgia

Watts Hill, Jr., *Chairman*
Home Security Life
Insurance Co.
Durham, North Carolina

Maynard Jackson
Vice-Mayor of Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. James Leutze
Department of History
University of North Carolina

John Lewis, *Executive Director*
Voter Education Project
Atlanta, Georgia

Cyrus MacKinnon
Vice President
Louisville Courier-Journal
Louisville, Kentucky

Willie Morris, *Former Editor*
Harper's Magazine

Daniel W. O'Connell
Attorney
West Palm Beach, Florida

John Harvey Quinn, Jr.
Attorney
Washington, D.C.

John Ritchie, Jr.
Executive Assistant to
Governor Holton
Richmond, Virginia

Frank E. Smith, *Director*
Tennessee Valley Authority
Knoxville, Tennessee

Alan Steelman, *Director*
President's Advisory Council
on Minority
Business Enterprises

Wilma Dykeman Stokely
Newport, Tennessee

John L. Ward
Winthrop Rockefeller's Office
Little Rock, Arkansas

Mayor R. Cooper White, Jr.
Greenville, South Carolina

LUCIUS QUINTUS CINCINNATUS LAMAR SOCIETY

Southern Governors Panel From left, Gov. Dale Bumpers, Arkansas; Gov. Reubin Askew, Florida; Hon. Terry Sanford, president of Duke University and former Governor of North Carolina, who was panel chairman; Gov. Jimmy Carter, Georgia, and Gov. John West, South Carolina.

Panel: Cities Designed for People At left, Moses Burt of the National Urban Coalition. Center is Richard Pettigrew, Speaker of the Florida House of Representatives. On the right is W. Wyche Fowler, member of the Atlanta Aldermanic Board and chairman of the panel.

Panel: Role of the Lamar Society in the Urban South L. to r., H. Brandt Ayers, Editor and Publisher, ***Anniston Star;*** Norton Beach, Dean of the School of Education, University of North Carolina; Rep. Benjamin Brown, Georgia State Legislature, and Dr. James Clotfelter, Professor of Political Science, Emory University.

Panel: Practical Implementation of the Humane City Joel Fleishman, Vice Chancellor of Duke University and panel chairman is shown at the lectern. Seated, l. to r. are Mayor Russell Davis of Jackson, Miss.; George H. Deyo, Assistant Mayor of Anniston, Ala.; Mayor Moon Landrieu of New Orleans, Richard Lee, former Mayor of New Haven; H. Foster Pettit, candidate for Mayor of Lexington, Ky., and Mayor R. Cooper White of Greenville, S. C.

Part of the crowd attending the televised Gov

A Pictorial Rev
L.Q.C. Laman
2nd Annual Sy
Atlanta · April 30

THEME – The Ur
Northern Mistakes in a

PANELS • SPEAKERS •

H. Ross Perot is pictured addressing the May 1 luncheon.

Se
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overnors Panel

Senator Muskie greets one of the younger set during Friday evening reception which preceded his address.

eview of the
r Society
ymposium
0-May 1, 1971

rban South:
a Southern Setting?

• PARTICIPATION

Gov. Bumpers, Terry Sanford and Gov. Askew accept congratulations following panel of Southern governors.

Sen. Edmund Muskie of Maine, who addressed the symposium on Friday evening, is pictured with H. Brandt Ayers (left), newly elected president of the Lamar Society and W. J. Michael Cody (right), Memphis attorney and immediate past president of the Society.

Helen Oldham of the Carolina Population Center, Chapel Hill, N. C., makes a point to John Osman, right, of the Brookings Institution. In the background are, left, Heathcote Wales, Professor of Law, U. of Texas, and Rep. Curtis Graves, Texas State Legislature.

H. Foster Pettit exchanges views with a member of the audience following the panel on "Practical Implementation of the Humane City." On the right, Mayor White of Greenville, S. C., leans forward to converse with other members of the audience.

September 9, 1971

Miss Ruth L. Harvey
Attorney
453 South Main Street
Danville, Virginia 24541

Dear Miss Harvey:

Just a reminder that we need from you the addresses of Mr. Mary Jones and Mr. Charles McLead.

Thank you for giving the day.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Carnegie Corporation of New York

437 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022 • (212) 753-3100

SEP 13 1971

Eli N. Evans
Executive Associate

September 9, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
% Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

Please excuse my delay in acknowledging your letter of July 20 to Mr. Evans regarding your resignation from the Council. Not only have I been on vacation but Mr. Evans is currently on leave of absence from the Corporation and will probably not return until sometime later in the fall.

I have taken the liberty of forwarding your letter to him.

Sincerely yours,

Rue Canvin

Rue Canvin
Secretary to
Mr. Evans

September 13, 1971

Mrs. Marilyn J. Miner
New York Foundation
4 West 58th Street
New York, N. Y. 10019

Dear Mrs. Miner:

Attached is a listing of the major sources of income for the Council's general operation during 1970, excluding the support from the New York Foundation. We anticipate a comparable amount of support from these sources during 1971, although not all of it is committed.

We have submitted to the Foundation a copy of our audit for 1970. If you desire additional copies, please let me know.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Attachment

GENERAL OPERATIONS - 1970

Rockefeller Foundation	$ 35,000.00
Ford Foundation	80,000.00
New World Foundation	30,000.00
The Ottinger Foundation	4,000.00
Louise L. Ottinger Trust	2,500.00
Interest Income	10,964.00
Royalties	4,538.00
New South (Subscriptions)	7,953.00
Sale of Literature & Books	3,641.00
Individual Contributions	12,521.00

NEW YORK FOUNDATION
INCORPORATED 1909
4 WEST 58TH STREET
NEW YORK, N.Y. 10019

September 2, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street, N. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

This will acknowledge receipt of your letter requesting support for the general operations and community organization project of the Southern Regional Council.

In order that we may complete your application, we will need a list of the major contributors to your $300,000 general operations budget and the amount contributed by each.

We look forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,

Marilyn Miner

Marilyn J. Miner (Mrs.)
Fellow-New York Foundation

September 14, 1971

The Honorable Julian Bond
Representative
361 Lee Street, S. W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30310

Dear Julian:

We will be more than happy to share our mailing list, or any portion of it with you.

At your convenience would you call Jim Wood to discuss the mechanics? Needless to say, we won't consider any charge.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

JULIAN BOND
Representative, District 111
861 Lee Street, S.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30310

COMMITTEES
EDUCATION
School Buildings & Supplies
INSURANCE
Fire, Casualty & Allied Lines
STATE INSTITUTIONS & PROPERTY

SEP 13 1971

The House of Representatives

Atlanta, Georgia

September 10, 1971

Dear Paul,

I have accepted the presidency of the Southern Poverty Law Center, a nonprofit organization doing pioneering work in civil and human rights in the South.

We are interested in obtaining mailing lists, and I am writing to inquire whether you can lend, exchange, give or sell 5,000 names to us.

We hope to send out a large mailing by October 15, and therefore would appreciate a speedy reply.

Best wishes,

Julian

Julian Bond

Paul Anthony
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, NW
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

September 20, 1971

Mr. McGeorge Bundy
President
The Ford Foundation
320 East 43rd Street
New York, N. Y. 10017

Dear Mac:

While I more than understand the reasons for you being unable to address the Council, I am nevertheless very disappointed.

Thank you sincerely for giving so much thought to this request.

With warmest regards.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

THE FORD FOUNDATION
320 EAST 43RD STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10017

McGEORGE BUNDY
PRESIDENT

September 13, 1971

Dear Paul:

I have thought long and hard about the meeting of the Southern Regional Council in November, and I have also had a look at my schedule for November, and I am very sorry to have to say that I do not think I can come to the Council this fall.

I want to emphasize that this decision is in no way at all a reflection of any rumored difficulties between the Foundation and the Council. As you know better than nearly anyone, the Foundation has had the greatest respect for what the Council has achieved, and we certainly have no negative pre-judgment on what it may move on to do under your successor. My difficulty is the quite different one that I have already agreed to give several serious talks this fall and seem to be stuck with the fact that I have to be my own draftsman and am faced with limited time.

Sincerely,

McGeorge Bundy

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council, Inc.
5 Forsyth Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

September 20, 1971

Mrs. Frances F. Rogers
201 Overhill Drive
Walterboro, S. C. 29488

Dear Mrs. Rogers:

Thank you for the thoughtful and enthusiastic letter about serving on the Council. Your name will be placed in nomination in November, and I am sure you have a great deal to contribute to the Council.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Mrs. Wallace W. Rogers
201 Overhill Drive
Walterboro, S. C. 29488

September 13, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsythe Street
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

Dear Mr. Anthony:

For many years, I have followed the activities and work of the Southern Regional Council and have found both encouragement and hope for my community and state therein.

Your letter of September 10 to me brought much excitement, but more than that, a new challenge. I would deem it a unique opportunity to be included as a member of the Council. It will be my distinct pleasure to be of some small service to this dedicated group of citizens.

You most assuredly have my permission to place my name in nomination.

Sincerely,

Frances F. Rogers

Frances F. Rogers

September 20, 1971

Mr. Vernon Eagle
100 East 85th Street
New York, N. Y. 10028

Dear Vernon:

For some years now I have been more than grateful for your personal contribution, and the vote of confidence it represents.

This year in addition to that, you thoughtful comment on my performance gives me even more appreciation. I shall cherish your evaluation.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

VERNON AINSWORTH EAGLE
100 EAST 85TH STREET
NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10028

September 14, 1971

Dear Paul,

I have just returned from vacation which is the usual time for my personal contribution to SRC.

This year it is quite meaningful -- my modest way of letting you know the splendid job I think you have accomplished.

Best regards,

Vernon

Ck. 30 cc
9-16-71
PAE
Acct. 430
Posted to MB
MB

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

September 20, 1971

Mr. Vernon A. Eggle
The New World Foundation
100 East 85th Street
New York, N. Y. 10028

Dear Vernon:

This will acknowledge with our most grateful appreciation the Foundation's contribution in the amount of $30,000 in support of our program during 1971.

We shall, of course, provide the Foundation with program reports and an audit of the use of these funds shortly after the end of the year. Enclosed is a signed copy of the Foundation's requirements for grantees, indicating that we shall abide by them.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

Enclosure

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF
100 EAST 85TH STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10028

VERNON A. EAGLE
Executive Director

September 14, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forsyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

ck. rec'd. 9-15-71 PAE
Posted to Money Book
9/16/71

Dear Paul:

I am pleased to enclose the Foundation's check in the amount of $30,000 which represents the grant approved by our Board of Directors for general support of the work of the Southern Regional Council for the year 1971.

As in the past, we shall require certification of one of the attached "Requirements from grantees of The New World Foundation" by an authorized signature. We look forward to receiving reports on the Council's activities, and in due course we shall require a report on the Council's 1971 activities, as well as a separate financial accounting of how our Foundation's grant funds were expended.

We wish you every continued success.

Best regards,

Vernon

THE NEW WORLD FOUNDATION NWF

100 EAST 85TH STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10028

VERNON A. EAGLE, *Executive Director*

Requirements from grantees of The New World Foundation in connection with the Tax Reform Act of 1969 (Public Law 91-172)

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1. A certification from you that the funds hereby granted will not be used to influence the outcome of any specific public election or to carry on, directly or indirectly, any voter registration drive.

2. A certification from you that the funds hereby granted will not be used to carry on propaganda, or otherwise attempt, to influence legislation (a) through an attempt to affect the opinion of the general public or any segment thereof, or (b) through communication with any member or employee of a legislative body, or with any other government official or employee who may participate in the formulation of the legislation (except technical advice or assistance given to a governmental body or to a committee or other subdivision thereof in response to a written request by such body or subdivision), other than through conducting and making available the results of nonpartisan analysis, study or research.

3. A statement from you that the funds hereby granted will be administered through a separate account, and that you agree to provide us with full and complete reports annually or at such more frequent intervals as we may request, establishing that the funds granted have been spent solely for the purpose for which made. Such reports must be sworn to by a responsible officer of your organization and attested by independent auditors. If you are a private foundation that is not an "operating foundation," the report or independent audit must also certify that the funds were so expended not later than your first fiscal year following the fiscal year in which you receive the grant.

4. Your agreement to provide us with full and complete reports regarding progress made with respect to programs carried out under the funds hereby granted annually or at such more frequent intervals as we may request, and your agreement to forward to us copies of all studies, reports and similar literature produced with the funds hereby granted, as soon as practicable.

BOARD OF DIRECTORS: ANNE BLAINE HARRISON, *President;* STEPHEN J. WRIGHT, *Vice President;* JAMES VORENBERG, *Secretary;* HAROLD C. FLEMING; VERNON E. JORDAN, JR.; KATHARINE TAYLOR

September 20, 1971

Mr. Vernon A. Eagle
Executive Director
The New World Foundation
100 East 85th Street
New York, N. Y. 10028

Dear Vernon:

I do think it will be appropriate for me to submit a request for renewal, and I think it will be particularly appropriate for me to provide you and your Board with my evaluation of the future of the Council. I shall attempt to do that within the next several weeks, although if possible, I would prefer doing it after we know definitely who the next director will be. Certainly we should know no later than mid-October.

I had hoped to be in New York by this date, but some sort of intestinal infection has kept me close to home. Undoubtedly, psychosomatic! At any rate I do hope to get up there in the not too distant future.

Best.

Sincerely,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

100 EAST 85TH STREET, NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10028

September 14, 1971

Dear Paul,

You will be receiving my letter transmitting the final installment of our grant, and I thought I should let you know that our next Board meeting will be held in November, if you wish to submit a new request.

Since you will be leaving the Council, your evaluation of its future would be helpful for any recommendation I may make, unless you feel requests should be submitted by Ray Wheeler.

Best regards,

Vernon

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council
5 Forwyth Street, N.W.
Atlanta, Georgia 30303

September 20, 1971

Mrs. Martha Ragland
3821 Abbott Martin Road
Nashville, Tennessee 37215

Dear Martha:

The bitterness of your recent communications to the Council surprised and distressed me. Even if a case could be made for your allocations of bias against women - as perhaps a good case could be - the bitterness and shooting from the hip is atypical of all of my previous dealings with you. Your letter about Kitty is a good case in point.

We have had here a very ackward editorial structure. Reece Cleghorn's leaving gave us an opportunity to partially correct this. And, other corrections will follow.

Bob Anderson is now editor of all SRC publications, since we feel there must be coordination by one office for all of these efforts. In the process of that reorganization, Kitty is now the senior staff person responsible for SOUTH TODAY. In fact, for all purposes, the entire contents of that publication will be selected by and edited by Kitty and an associate, who is also a woman. In our eyes, and in hers, I believe we think of this as a desired promotion and a substantial increase in responsibility based on passed performance and production.

I thought of you as a friend and would like to still do so. However, no friend of mine could ever err so badly as to receive from me the kind of curt indictment as is your letter of September 14th.

Sincerely yours,

Paul Anthony
Executive Director

PA:jb

cc: Bob Anderson
Raymond Wheeler

Mrs. Tom Ragland
3821 ABBOTT MARTIN ROAD • NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE 37215

SEP 20 1971

September 14, 1971

Mr. Paul Anthony
Executive Director
Southern Regional Council

Dear Paul:

I was disheartened (though not surprised) to see that Kitty Terjen was not made editor of South Today. Not surprised because SRC has such a strong anti-woman bias.

I am willing to grant that it may be unconscious. But for this short-sightedness and insensitivity to continue, with all of the current opportunity for upgrading your awareness, is very discouraging.

Robert Anderson already had two jobs with SRC. Was the necessity for a male editor so desperate that you have to give your males multiple assignments while bypassing the women on your staff?

Sincerely,

Martha

Copies to Raymond M. Wheeler and others

Photo—David Sandoval

Former U.S. Congressman Al Lowenstein, an Encampment alumnus and Board member, presents his views to one of many Encampment audiences he has inspired to constructive action. Many of the Encampment's alumni are active in vitally important social service-social change positions, and return to Encampments to share their insight and experience.

Since 1946 the 52 six-week summer Encampments for Citizenship have helped more than 4,300 outstanding young men and women of all racial and economic backgrounds prepare for constructive involvement in public affairs. The Encampment's method emphasizes learning by participation – by seeing, doing, and discussion – as well as through lectures and films. Non-profit, non-partisan and non-sectarian, the Encampment's program has drawn high praise from Presidents Kennedy and Johnson as well as from independent educational evaluators and community leaders. Summaries of evaluations are available upon request.

Founded by Algernon D. Black and the American Ethical Union, the Encampment had the warm support of Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, for 17 years Chairman of the Encampment Sponsors Committee. New York's Mayor John V. Lindsay is now Sponsors Committee Chairman.

Encampment staff members are highly motivated young teachers, human rights and anti-poverty workers, and former Peace Corps, Teacher Corps and VISTA Volunteers. A majority of the encampers receive full or partial scholarships; recruitment is planned so as to secure a genuine cross-section of promising American youth.

Each Encampment site and program has distinctive features, and each group of encampers and staff join in developing their own program, but in recent Encampments the usual weekly schedule has included two or three days devoted to morning speakers and discussion groups and afternoon specialized workshop meetings; two days of workshop activities in the local community or nearby cities; and a one-day educational fieldtrip. Camp government meetings, films, debates, panel discussions and other camper-planned programs, recreational and cultural activities fill most of the evenings and weekends.

Inquiries and requests for applications may be made on a postage-free card enclosed in this brochure.

Encampment for Citizenship, Inc.
2 West 64th Street, New York, N. Y. 10023

YOU

can make a difference . . .

LIVE

with youth of every racial, religious and economic group in America

SHARE

ideas and experiences with people who care deeply about peace, justice, and human rights

LEARN

ways to work effectively for social change

THIS SUMMER

take part in a six-week

Encampment for Citizenship

for 15 thru 18 year-old youth

Photo—David Sandoval

Charles McGregor, David Rothenberg and other spokesmen for the Fortune Society, prison reform organization started by Encampment alumnus Rothenberg, lead an EFC discussion.

"The Encampment for Citizenship . . . has established in the hearts and minds of thousands of young people enduring adherence to fundamental democratic principles. In six-week summer Encampments more than 4,300 young people from throughout the United States and many other countries have been given both specific training and inspiration to go into many forms of public service activity, especially in the areas of human rights, politics, anti-poverty work and international service such as the Peace Corps. The Encampment's work in carrying the cause of freedom to the young will gain increasing numbers of friends as time passes."

MAYOR JOHN V. LINDSAY
Chairman, Encampment Sponsors Committee

What an Encampment for Citizenship IS and IS NOT

An Encampment IS . . .

- an educational experience presenting a variety of ideas, people, programs and community activities

- a small community in which everyone can contribute ideas and leadership regardless of age, race, religion or economic background

- an effort to help promising youth to understand—and to prepare themselves to help solve—urgent racial, poverty and international problems

- an unusual program in which staff members are chosen for their demonstrated commitment to their ideals, their willingness to work for them and ability to communicate them

- an opportunity to form lasting friendships with youth of every background — Black, White, Indian, Puerto Rican, Mexican-American and Asian-American; urban and rural, well-to-do and economically disadvantaged, of many religious affiliations and from every part of the United States.

An Encampment IS NOT . . .

- just a "summer vacation" away from home

- a traditional-style woodsy "camp" emphasizing outdoor recreational activities for either upper middle class or "underprivileged" youth

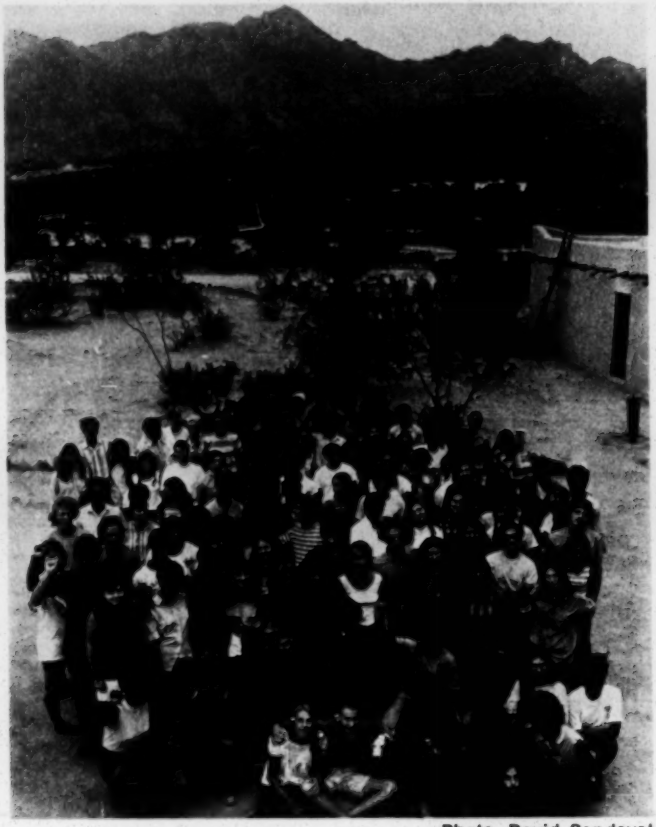
- the place for youth so preoccupied with drugs, personal hang-ups or rebellion they have little interest in helping solve social problems

- a propaganda program aimed at making converts to any particular political or religious point of view

- a confrontation-seeking, political position-taking action organization

Tucson, Arizona Encampment

July 4-August 14, 1971
85 youth ages 16 thru 18; 15 staff



Photo—David Sandoval

1970 Arizona Encampment for Citizenship encampers and staff, at the Southern Arizona School.

The new Arizona Encampment will be held for the second summer at the Southern Arizona School, on the lower slopes of mountains near Sabino Canyon, a half hour's drive northeast from downtown Tucson. The somewhat isolated location helps in building a strong Encampment sense of community, but does not prevent fieldtrips and workshop community activities two or three days a week in Tucson, a rapidly growing city of nearly 300,000 people.

In addition to the dining hall, dorms and classrooms, the Encampment uses the School's new outdoor swimming pool, and has occasional use of a few horses kept at the School. Two school buses and two minibuses

Photo—Vincent F. Wright

Tutoring & Head Start workshop members on the job, in recent Montana and Kentucky Encampments.

Photo—Sheldon Kantor

provide transportation. Although the dorms are air cooled and the classrooms used by Encampment workshops and discussion groups are more effectively air conditioned, encampers should be prepared for the intense dry heat of Southern Arizona. Applicants for whom hot weather is particularly enervating should choose one of the other Encampment sites.

The diversity of Tucson's population—Mexican-American and Indian as well as black and white—helps assure local speakers and activities for several of the Encampment workshops. Encampers will take part in decisions about places to be visited on the longer weekly fieldtrips, including a decision about whether to make a long travelling-by-night (to avoid the heat) bus trip to northern Arizona to visit Grand Canyon and the Navaho Reservation.

The 1970 Arizona Encampment's 87 encampers were from 16 states, Washington, D.C., the Virgin Islands, Guam and Israel. About half were youth of all racial and economic backgrounds from the New York area.

Although a final list of workshops has not been completed as of this writing, 1971 Arizona Encampment workshops (of 8 to 12 encampers and one staff member each) may deal with Indian Heritage & Social Change; Chicano (Mexican-American) Heritage & Social Change; Black Heritage & Social Change; Population & Environment; Housing, Politics & Community Organization; Tutoring, Head Start & Educational Reform; Youth and Social Problems; and Social Action Drama. Each workshop meets "on campus" two afternoons each week and devotes two full days each week to community activities, sometimes volunteer social service work related to the workshop topic. Campers select their workshops on the opening day of the Encampment, and join with their workshop leader in choosing topics to be given priority within the workshop.

Further details, and biographical data on the Encampment Director and staff members, will be published in May for distribution to applicants. Encampers should plan to bring sleeping bags for fieldtrips.

Great Falls, Montana Encampment

July 4-August 14, 1971
85 youth ages 15 thru 18; 15 staff

Photo—Roy Berkeley

Montana encampers in the Black Heritage & Social Change workshop prepare puppets to use in African folk tale puppet shows put on for Great Falls youth in the city's summer recreational programs. The group is working in the gym of Heisey Memorial Youth Center, site of the Montana Encampment. The Center and a school next door provide double-deck bunkrooms, bowling alleys and a stage, in addition to dining facilities and the gym.

For the fourth summer, the Montana Encampment for Citizenship will enable youth from throughout the United States to learn, firsthand, about Indian and conservation issues, and to make weekend visits to farms and ranches, to one of the great national parks, and to a major Indian Reservation. Both of the Great Falls sites used since the first Montana Encampment in '68 have been urban, however, so applicants considering the Montana Encampment should not expect a wilderness site. Great Falls (pop. over 70,000) is one of the two largest cities in Montana.

Many of the more than 150 Encampment alumni living in Montana join in leading oneday fieldtrips and other activities, and offer a weekend of hospitality to individual encampers on their farms and ranches. It is expected that again in 1971 there will also be a weekend spent in Glacier National Park and the Blackfeet Indian Reservation, a "wilderness weekend" of camping led by members of a volunteer search and rescue organization headed by an Encampment alumnus, and a weekend at the Montana Farmers Union camp in the Highwood Mountains.

The 1970 Montana Encampment's 86 encampers and 15 staff were from 16 states, Washington, D.C., Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam and Israel.

Who Sponsors the Encampments?

The Encampment for Citizenship, sponsored by the American Ethical Union, is a voluntary organization made possible by the devoted efforts of a Board of Directors which meets monthly in New York.

Abraham P. Kanner, vice president for finance at Maidenform, is chairman of the Encampment Board. Vice Chairmen are Simeon Golar* (New York City Housing Authority chairman), Mrs. Michael Elbert (manpower executive), Morris Kellner (radio-television association executive), Mrs. Jean Kotkin (executive secretary of the American Ethical Union), David Rothenberg* (founder & executive secretary of the prison reform organization The Fortune Society), and Miss Althea Simmons (National Training Director, NAACP). Secretary of the Board: S. Arthur Dembner, Vice President at NEWSWEEK. Treasurer: Mrs. Albert Mannheimer, long a devoted Encampment volunteer.

Honorary Chairman of the Encampment Board is Mrs. Alice K. Pollitzer, whose 100th birthday was observed in conjunction with the Encampment's 25th, last May. Mrs. Pollitzer—affectionately known as Nanny to hundreds of encampers—helped Algernon D. Black establish the Encampment in 1946, when she was 75.

Additional members of the Encampment Board include Ethical and religious leaders Algernon D. Black, M. Michael Grupp, Rev. Robert Polk, Howard Radest, and Rev. Lucius Walker, Jr.;

Businessmen Barnett Berch, Paul W. Fink, Milton Goldstein, William F. Haddad*, Alan Kalmus, Walter Lowe, Lawrence S. Mayers, Raymond Marcus, Gordon McCormick, Martin Racine, George Shettle and George Soros;

Educators, anti-poverty and social workers Miss Sally Bowles, Miss Maria Canino*, Dr. James Gutmann, Dr. Anna Lee Hopson, Steven Jervis, Miss Judith Katz*, Dr. Lucile Kohn, R. Edward Lee, Mrs. Arvil Lovett, Miss Virginia Price, Franklin D. Roosevelt III, Charles Trice and Miss Ana Velazquez*;

Other professional men and women Roy Berkeley*, Lester Cobb, Jr.*, Mrs. Frank Field, Mrs. Alan J. Freedman, Dr. Douglas Kahn, Leonard Kolleeny, Congressman Allard K. Lowenstein*, Tyrone E. Monro*, Frank Opton, Sheldon Pollack, Warren R. Ross, William R. Schmidt*, Mrs. Roger Strasser, Haskell G. Ward, Donald Wardle*, and Robert C. Weinberg; and

Civic and community leaders Mrs. Ted Benjamin, Mrs. Herbert Epstein*, Mrs. Horace Friess, Mrs. Frank Karelsen III, Mrs. Ulysses Kay*, Mrs. John Kernochan, Mrs. Robert Kintner, Mrs. Gerhart L. Kobrak, Mrs. H. Robert Kobrick, Mrs. Julius Medwin*, Mrs. Elizabeth Peterfreund, and Mrs. Peter Weiss.

*Encampment for Citizenship alumni

About half were youth of all racial and economic backgrounds from the New York area.

Although a final list of workshops has not been completed as of this writing, 1971 Montana Encampment workshops (of 8 to 12 encampers and one staff member each) may deal with Indian Heritage & Social Change; Black & Chicano Heritages & Social Change; Rural Problems; Population & Environment; Housing, Politics & Community Organization; Tutoring, Head Start & Educational Reform; Youth and Social Problems; and Social Action Drama. Each workshop meets "on campus" two afternoons each week and devotes two full days each week to community activities, sometimes volunteer social service work related to the workshop topic. Campers select their workshops on the opening day of the Encampment, and join with their workshop leader in choosing topics to be given priority within the workshop.

Further details, and biographical data on the Encampment Director and staff members, will be published in May for distribution to applicants for the Montana Encampment. Encampers should plan to bring sleeping bags for fieldtrips on the weekends.

1970 Montana encampers unload concrete forms for use by ten low-income local families in a self-help housing project. The 1971 Encampment's Housing, Politics & Community Organization workshop will have the opportunity to continue such work, two days each week.

Photo—Great Falls Tribune

Who Provides Scholarships?

More than half the Encampment's participants could not attend without full or partial scholarships. Many small contributions from alumni and supporters of the Encampment idea help make scholarships possible; during the last five years there has also been assistance from:

American Federation of Teachers
Louis D. Beaumont Foundation, Ohio
Bing Fund, California
College Entrance Examination Board
Commonwealth of Puerto Rico,
  Education Department
Danforth Foundation
Emergency Committee for Czech Refugee Students,
  New York
Ferndale Foundation, Minnesota
Marshall Field Foundation
Merrill and Emita Hastings Foundation
Heckscher Foundation for Children
International Ladies Garment Workers Union
Inter-Religious Foundation for Community
  Organization
Johnson Foundation, Wisconsin
Ethel K. Loeb Foundation
Metzger-Price Fund
Montana Farmers Union
National Association for the Advancement
  of Colored People
Roy and Marie Neuberger Foundation
New Hope Foundation
New York Foundation
Newark, N. J. YMCA
Office of Economic Opportunity
  Community Action Program
  Training Division
Readers Digest Foundation
Leo Rosner Foundation
Samuel Rubin Foundation
St. Croix, Virgin Islands, Federation of Teachers
Taconic Foundation
Unitarian-Universalist Association
United Scholarship Service, Denver
Urban Coalition of Newark, N. J.
U. S. Office of Education
  Elementary & Secondary
  Education Act, Title I Program
Vinmont Foundation

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NEW YORK, N.Y.

BUSINESS REPLY CARD

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ENCAMPMENT FOR CITIZENSHIP, INC.
2 West 64th Street
New York, N.Y. 10023

White Plains, New York Encampment

July 4-August 14, 1971
50 youth ages 15 thru 18; 10 staff

Photo—Tom Lustica

These 57 encampers and 13 staff members of the 1970 White Plains Encampment for Citizenship represented 16 states, Puerto Rico, the Virgin Islands, Guam, Israel, Mexico and Africa. Led by Co-Directors Sister Kathryn Rutan (a Catholic college political science teacher) and Doug Kelley (EFC executive director and former Peace Corpsman), the staff included Black, White, Puerto Rican and Japanese-American teachers and social change activists, and an African graduate student of international relations at Columbia.

For the fourth summer this Encampment will be housed in the modern building of the Westchester Ethical Humanist Society, on the outskirts of White Plains. The site is just under an hour's drive north from midtown Manhattan (on the Hutchinson Parkway), and five or ten minutes from low-income areas in White Plains where some of the Encampment's workshops do community work. The building provides kitchen and dining facilities, a meeting hall and recreational facilities, showers, and double-deck bunkrooms each housing eight or ten encampers and staff members. A forest preserve and a county-owned outdoor swimming pool are on adjoining property.

A weekly fieldtrip takes encampers to the United Nations, City Hall, cultural institutions in Harlem and elsewhere, to an outstanding drug addiction treatment center, to Wall Street and to labor union headquarters, and on a hike along a Connecticut section of the Appalachian Trail. (Encampers may decide to vary this 1970 list of fieldtrips.) Weekend recreational activities will include trips to beaches, parks, and off-Broadway dramatic productions.

Although a final list of workshops has not been completed as of this writing, the five workshops (of 8 to 12 encampers and one staff member each) may deal with World Affairs; Population and Environment; Housing, Politics & Community Organization; Black & Puerto Rican Heritages & Social Change; and Tutoring, Head Start & Educational Reform. Each workshop meets "on campus" two afternoons each week and devotes two full days each week to community activities.

What it Costs, and How to Apply

The total fee per camper for board, room and tuition in any of the three six-week Encampments is $750. This fee does not include personal spending money ($5 per week is sufficient, and campers are urged not to bring more), nor round-trip transportation from your home to the Encampment site. FULL AND PARTIAL SCHOLARSHIPS ARE AVAILABLE, on the basis of economic need and the applicant's demonstrated interest in social problems.

The attached postage-free card may be used to request an application form, to ask questions, and/or to request more brochures like this one to give to friends. Applications should be submitted as soon as possible; the Encampment Admissions Committee starts making acceptances February 1, and applications received after May 1 are less likely to be accepted.

DATE _____

Please send me _____ application(s) and _____ additional copies of the Encampment's 1971 brochure.

I am especially interested in the Encampments checked or numbered:

☐ Tucson, Arizona ☐ Great Falls, Montana

☐ White Plains, New York

NAME _____ AGE _____

MAILING ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ STATE _____ ZIP _____

OCCUPATION (if student give year in school) _____

QUESTIONS I HAVE ABOUT THE ENCAMPMENT:

Photo—David Sandoval

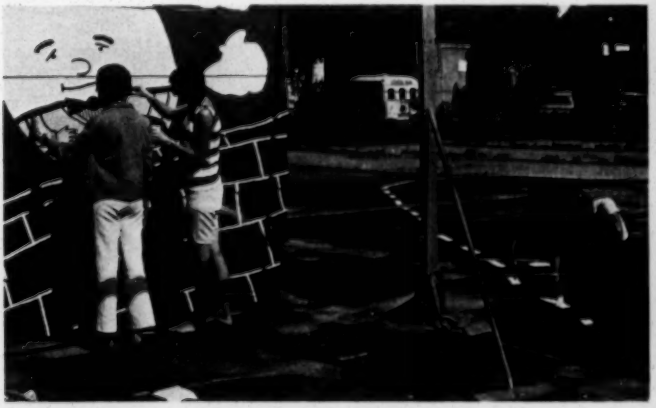
White Plains Encampment World Affairs workshop members from Guam, Israel, and several states question a United Nations diplomat on a fieldtrip visit to the UN. World Affairs workshop members have opportunities to do some volunteer work for UN-related agencies, and to secure foreign diplomatic mission speakers and films for the White Plains Encampment.

It is expected that again in '71 the Tutoring workshop and the Black Heritage workshop will devote their community activities days to volunteer staffing of an integrated, innovative children's day camp program at the nearby Community Church of White Plains. The World Affairs workshop normally devotes its community activities days to visiting (and doing volunteer work for) UN-related voluntary organizations in New York City. The two remaining workshops listed above will study and work on problems they select, probably in the White Plains area. Campers select their workshops on the opening day of the Encampment, and join with their workshop leader in choosing topics to be given priority within the workshop.

Further program details, and biographical data on the Encampment Director and staff members, will be published in May for distribution to applicants for the White Plains Encampment. In the meanwhile a daily log, "What Happened at the White Plains Encampment, 1970" is available upon request, from the Encampment office.

Members of the Population & Environment workshop put finishing touches on their 1970 project at the Union Day Care Center in White Plains. The workshop turned a junk-strewn lot into a playground for low-income families' children, and also distributed literature explaining what everyone can do to combat pollution.

Photo—Tom Lustica



Gentlemen,

I've just finished reading Mr. Coles' book "Still Hungry in America". I want to help! But what I'd like to do is help on a one-to-one relation. Is there any I can contribute to one specific family, with food, clothes, etc.?
This would be so much more satisfying than sending money to an organization.
Is this possible.

Mrs. Terrence Rickert
1320 E. Northwest Hwy.
Arlington Hts., Ill. 60004

FORM 44

NOTICE TO RECIPIENTS OF FUNDS FROM THE SOUTHERN REGIONAL COUNCIL

Section 4945(h) of the Internal Revenue Code (as added by the Tax Reform Act of 1969) requires us to exercise "expenditure responsibility" with respect to any grants made by our organization. Accordingly, we must make it clear to you that our grant is conditioned on the understanding that funds will be used solely for the purposes specified in your application; that no expenditure will be made on attempts to influence legislation; that you will, at our request, furnish us with full and complete reports on how the funds are spent; and that you will give our representative access to your books and records for this purpose as we may reasonably request from time to time.

Within a reasonable time after the time of the agreed upon date, ending the grant period, we will expect a full record of the expenditure of the grant.

Calvin Bromley
Asst-Sectry Kennedy
Issued July 9, 1970

The Internal Revenue today issued the following statment in response to inquiries concerning news reports that it is checking readers of certain books:

Checking by IRS Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms investigation with Libraries regarding readers of certain books have been conducted in three localities in the U.S. according to information obtained from IRS Field Office. This investigative technique was undertaken at the initiative of the local IRS office involved, and was not prompted by any specific instructions from the IRS office in Washington.

Field Reports indicate that the 3 localities in which libraries were contacted were in the Milwaukee, Atlanta, and San Francisco areas. Reports also indicate that the library inquiries were made in the course of investigating specific suspects in bombing involving violations of federal criminal law administered by the IRS. No effort was being made in any community, or in any group of communities to develop lists of persons reading books dealing with explosions.

The library inquiry technique used in investigating such violations is neither unique or novel, and variations of it have been used by police and other law inforced organizations in the past.

cf to ALA files

The IRS fully appreciate the individuals right of privacy, and does not look to the library as a significant source of information. However, the public interest must also be considered here, and in any particular criminal investigation this source of information may be critical.

The IRS National Headquarters has not previously given specific attention to the full implication of the investigation technique, and invites an exploration of these implications with the American Library Association, and other concerned organizations. In the interim, IRS headquarters is gathering details where the instances reported included identification of the particular books that were involved by the field offices.

It goes beyond ALA in terms of public interest

Dictated by phone - JB

Mrs. Louise Leonce — 50.—
78 Benning Rock Rd.
Greenwich, Conn.

Peggy Morison — 25.—
333 E. 14th St. (3-J)
New York, N.Y.

France Helen Main — 20.—
c/o Elliott, Apt. 13 F
70 La Salle St.
N.Y., N.Y. 10027

Bill Nute — 25.—
501 W. 123rd, Apt. 19
New York, N.Y. 10027

John Dean Leddens — 25.—
Weldon, N.C. St. Andrews Church

Margaret Gilman — 25.—
111 Hamburg Turnpike
Pompton Lakes, N.J. 07442

Martha Cusick
38 Irving St., Boston, Mass. 02114